

THE
WESTMINSTER
REVIEW.

JULY AND OCTOBER.
1877.

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"Truth can never be confirm'd enough,  
Though doubts did ever sleep."

SHAKESPEARE.

Wahrheitsliebe zeigt sich darin, daß man überall das Gute zu finden und zu schätzen weiß.  
GÖTTE.

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THE even tenor of affairs within the ancient City of London is disturbed at the present time to a far greater extent than it has been since the futile movement for inquiry and reform compelled a resort to electioneering tactique, in the return of Lord John Russell to Parliament, more than forty years ago. The cause of unrest is the same as then it was, namely, a proposal for the investigation of the functions, finances, and privileges of the incorporated Livery Companies. It is endeavoured to be met by the same expedient; to wit, a denial of right and authority for inquiry. On the former occasion, public opinion showed a decided set towards reform; and the mistake that was committed by the advocates of that course lay in delaying action until the wave which had borne them upon its crest was spent. Now alarm is manifested when, looking out from their post of observation, the soothsayers of the City, like Ahab, detect the small cloud, "no bigger than a man's hand," upon the horizon of Parliamentary debate, that is the first premonition of an approaching storm, while yet the winds are powerless to lash into fury the waters of a sea which, for a long while past, has been untroubled and calm. The explanation of this disquiet is easily found. By way of avenging the curtailment by a Liberal Cabinet and Parliament of some small civic privileges, the influence of the Corporation has been exerted for the return of a Tory majority; and the decline of Liberalism within the charmed domain over which that body bears rule promises, by sundering the last tie between the Liberal party and the City, to render Corporation Reform a prominent feature in any new Liberal programme. On the other hand, the temporary predominance of the Conservative party affords little security to civic powers that be. In matters of home policy, that party is fettered by the traditional Liberalism of the constituencies. The inevitable result is that, with a view to the retention of their tenure of the Treasury benches, they are condemned to the illicit appropriation of whatever bodes ill to them from the Opposition; and it becomes merely a question of time and degree when, and to what extent, the Corporation of London shall be made amenable to such principles of equity as in other cases are enforced, and to such wholesome checks as elsewhere are all but universally placed in the hands of the community.

The issue that is raised between the advocates and the resisters of inquiry cannot be misconceived. On one hand, it is claimed that corporate bodies possessing specific privileges

and immunities, empowered as trustees of property held by them in virtue of charters, owe to Parliament an account of their transactions, and have need to justify their continued existence by clear proofs of their public spirit and usefulness. On the other hand, it is maintained that, incorporation notwithstanding, the Livery Companies are simply, and, apart from limited charitable trusts (within the jurisdiction of the Charity Commissioners), solely the associated possessors of private property, as to which the public and Parliament have no right of inquiry; that they may absolutely sell, divide among members, or otherwise dispose of as shall please them, the entire sum of their possessions, provided that the charitable trusts be met by the assignment of certain specified amounts; and that if an agreement should be voluntarily made among them to disband their fellowships and appropriate their incomes to the increment of their personal resources, no hardship or grievance would be imposed upon any one whereof complaint could legitimately be made. A Member of Parliament who unites in his person the profession of a lawyer and the trade (nominally) of a skinner, has broadly asserted that the object of the demand for investigation is spoliation, and in elegant phraseology denounced the conduct of those who seek to enrich themselves by dipping their hands into the pockets of others. Another Member, who rejoices in the (nominal) occupation of a carpenter, protests with almost equal vigour against investigation. The very language employed by members of the Guilds is indicative of the weakness of their defence, and of the necessity for such measures as they seek to avert. Were there no other right possessed by Parliament, the fact of 6,446 electors being registered in the City as persons who are qualified by their membership of the Livery, would be a sufficiently powerful one to warrant any step that might to the wisdom of the Legislature seem expedient.

Fortunately, materials in ample quantity are available to research for the purpose of ascertaining what measure of truth may lie on either side in this controversy. Reports and returns respecting charities furnish much information that is valuable; and the School Board for London has wisely given attention to this branch of the subject. The secrecy in which the Courts of the Livery Companies have sought to retain particulars of their general proceedings has not been preserved so carefully as to prevent an immense body of facts getting into the hands of non-privileged persons. The complaint has been urged time and again, that the system of close courts places a barrier, unscalable and impenetrable, between the governors and the governed; but every effort that has been made to guard the citadel, and every fresh survey that is made of its capability for resisting attacks,

suggests some new direction for advantageous scrutiny from without, and discloses facts that were not previously known. The champions of exclusiveness, characterised as they have ever been by ability and loyalty to their employers and constituents, may be complimented upon their success in letting light in upon obscure points, and thus effectively arming their antagonists. The compiler of the "Black Book" observed, that, "with one or two exceptions, the charters of the Companies have *never been published*, but, for reasons too obvious to mention, have remained under an impenetrable veil, either among the records in the Tower of London, or in the strong boxes of the several Courts of Assistants, whose uncourteous demeanour to members seeking information is only equalled by the patient endurance of the latter in submitting for so long a period to their usurped authority" (edition of 1832, page 463). The attention directed to those charters, together with the issue of a Commission for inquiry into the Companies, prompted Mr. Herbert, the Librarian of the Corporation, to the publication, in the interest of the Livery, of the title-deeds of the twelve principal Guilds; while the late Remembrancer of the Corporation, jealous for the inviolate sanctity of civic immunities, re-edited Norton's "Commentaries on the Chartered Franchises of the City." Following in their wake, with the avowed design of correcting sundry damaging errors of Herbert and Norton, Mr. Causton, of the Skinners' Company, furnished an admirable "Historical Review of the Incorporated Mysteries;" and indulging a taste for antiquarian research, the Corporation ultimately encouraged Mr. Riley to undertake his curious translation of "The White Book," compiled by the Common Clerk during Whittington's mayoralty. Somewhat of recent gains is due to the shifting policy of the Corporation when resisting various modes of assault. Thus, counter-schemes are sometimes nominally projected, as though the fever of municipal reform had seized the City fathers. In 1867, when it was imagined that a municipal constitution might be obtained for each of the Parliamentary boroughs in the metropolis, the Chamberlain of London issued his "Statistical Vindication," for the encouragement of those who "would create in London municipal institutions based upon popular representation, improved by the intelligence of modern times, as affording better security for efficient local administration than the centralising government of despotic states." And after enumerating points of difficulty that must arise in the event of the several municipalities being isolated one from another, Mr. Scott propounded the question, "Where then is the solution?" answering, "It is to be found only in a representative corporation, which should be, for all purposes not strictly local, a federated corporation" (2d edition, p. 189). At the time the scheme found

favour. The object was, of course, to secure for the older Corporation a dominating influence, and for the Lord Mayor a wider sovereignty. But when such a project assumed definite form in a Bill to be brought before Parliament, and it became manifest that any enlargement of the area of the Corporation must carry with it the diffusion also, to some extent, of the vast resources at its command, the standard of opposition was unfurled, and every effort that could be put forth to ensure the rejection of that measure. None the less is Mr. Scott's pronunciamento worthy of being borne specially in remembrance. It was for popular, as opposed to centralised and despotic, government. Mr. Benjamin Scott, as a Liveryman of the Turners' Company, will at once perceive the application of his words to the new demand for the reconstitution of the chartered mysteries upon their primary popular basis, in every instance in which their continued existence is at all necessary or desirable. And, again, in nearly the same breath as they protest against interference, and declare the superfluous revenues they are alleged to possess the merest phantasy of disordered brains, counsel for the Guilds take credit for initiating—as, no doubt, they do upon paper—grand and costly schemes for the endowment of technical education: overlooking the admission, to which this is tantamount, of their possession of an immense surplus, their personal and immediate grasp of which is manifestly insecure.

The part which Mr. Gilbert fulfils is that rather of setting in a clear light facts that were known before than of adding to the sum of our knowledge on the stewardship of the Corporation and the Guilds. He leaves untouched the records of the marvellous growth of the City, until, like “a fruitful bough by a well,” its “branches ran over the wall,” and contents himself with accepting the Corporation as it stands to-day, and examining its title to be regarded as the faithful conservator of certain trusts committed to its care. Moderate in its tone, its careful statement of particulars renders the book a powerful indictment of the management of matters affecting the poor and the sick; and it is no small praise of it in this connection to say, that it is worthy of the pen to whose exercise was due the limning of an effective series of “Contrasts” three years since. The mal-administration of poor-relief in the period antecedent to the formation of the City Unions is pointedly shown by one out of many facts which might be quoted.

“The parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, containing the Royal Exchange as well as the Stock Exchange, had, some forty years since, but one pauper—an old man, who was comfortably boarded and lodged some twenty miles from town. Of course, the parish possessed its

Board of Guardians as well as other parochial officials to look after his welfare; and one of the pleasant events of each year was to make formally an excursion into the country to visit this fortunate pauper, and see that he was cared for in a proper manner. For some years he continued in remarkably robust health, and the Board of Guardians continued, as in duty bound, their annual visits of inspection; when one day they received the intelligence that their old friend had died suddenly. They most conscientiously lamented the event, though their sorrow was not altogether aroused by the pauper's death, nor by the loss of their annual trip. Another element was mixed with it; for, by the law as it then stood, whenever it came to pass that a parish had no poor of its own, it was liable to be joined to some more heavily burdened parish in the same neighbourhood. The Guardians of the Poor of the parish of St. Bartholomew the Great, whose rate did not exceed 1d. in the pound, now looked anxiously around them to discover a parishioner poor enough for parochial relief. None, however, was to be found, and as a last resource the Guardians of St. Bartholomew the Great were driven to the painful necessity of advertising for a pauper, though for some time without success" (pp. 15, 16).

The sarcastic commentary which a circumstance of this nature suggests upon charity and public spirit in civic circles is not written by Mr. Gilbert. Nor is any endeavour made to show how fitly the story takes its place in the annals of the City. Instead, Mr. Gilbert brings under notice the policy which has been steadily pursued of overcrowding the poor, and then obliging them (even in the time of their distress) to relieve each other.

"The demolition of second and third class houses in the richer parishes continued without abatement, and in consequence the overcrowding of the poorer districts became even denser than before. The complaints of the parish officials, especially the medical officers, were so loud, that none but the Corporation of the City of London could have remained callous or deaf to the existing state of things. At length a circumstance occurred which fully proved to the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and others, the necessity of immediate and energetic action, and this motive power was no other than the visitation of the cholera. The attack over, they immediately commenced operations. After having deliberated a short time, they resolutely determined to destroy all the houses in the present Farringdon Road line, as that district was more overcrowded than any other in the City. And their resolution was not only carried out to the letter, but before they had finished their labours they had far exceeded their original determination. Every house in the line was demolished, and more than 40,000 of the working classes were driven from the locality; not a thought having been given by the destroyers as to where those ejected were to find shelter. Of those driven away, a vast number settled in Clerkenwell, beyond the City boundaries; others went over to the Surrey side into Lambeth and Southwark; others of the more intelligent among them

endeavoured to find lodgings in Holborn, St. Ann's, Blackfriars, and other localities where house-rent was likely to be within their means, even though the accommodation afforded might be small" (pp. 17, 18).

And, of course, on all sides, as the demand for workmen's dwellings increased, so were rents advanced in an equal or greater ratio. Continuing the recital, the author says:—

"The reader might imagine that building operations would soon commence. Those who imagined anything of the kind evidently knew very little of the Corporation of the City of London. Every man among them set his face against any proceedings of the kind, and the whole space of ground at last acquired, the name of the Farringdon Street Wastes. For some time the whole line of road remained barren and profitless, notwithstanding that many builders from time to time made offers for it. Each in his turn had, however, his offer rejected, till at length the patience of the speculators became exhausted, and the Corporation was no longer troubled in the matter. Their poorer fellow-citizens, who had dwelt in the houses, had been driven away, and what more could be wanted? But after a rest of some years the slumber of the metropolitan [? civic] authorities was again broken, and their energies were called once more into action . . . to adopt measures similar to those which had been so effectual on former occasions—in other words, to drive away the poor altogether. But an excuse had to be found which might offer some justification for such a proceeding. To project a new line of road would hardly do in the present instance, as no improvement was at the time required. Another reason was now given, and one which certainly carried with it a good excuse—the degraded manner in which the inhabitants were crowded together, and the sanitary improvements absolutely required to guarantee the metropolis against an outbreak of fever or pestilence. . . . The ejections and demolitions decided on at last commenced, but the Corporation said not a word about replacing the houses destroyed with better-class dwellings. At length public indignation was aroused, and expressed itself so loudly and emphatically, that even the civic authorities could no longer be indifferent to it. Still nothing was done till the year 1861, when Mr. Charles Pearson forcibly brought the subject under the notice of the Common Council. . . . Here certainly appeared, on the part of the Corporation, a step in the right direction. The City had promised, nay, voted, the money, and had even gone so far as to purchase the site at a cost of some £25,000. They then waited nine years; public indignation in the meantime died gradually away, and the philanthropists were soothed; nay, more, the members of the Corporation were much complimented for their liberality. But having waited until it might be hoped the pledge would be forgotten, in place of building the lodging-houses promised, the City sold the land at a very enhanced price to the Metropolitan Railway Company for ware-houses and works" (pp. 18–19, 21–22).

Quotations might be multiplied interminably, every one like

every other ; and a case that is even stronger against the City might be shown to have been most conclusively established with respect to the medical charities which are wholly or in great part subject to the government of the Corporation. The point that is demonstrated, however, is the same. The Corporation first secures possession of endowments which of right belong, by royal charters and by centuries of prescription, to the craftsmen and the poor of the City and its suburbs ; and while they fare sumptuously every day upon the proceeds of those endowments, Lazarus, deprived of his inheritance, languishes in poverty and sickness outside the City gates, where, it may be said with apparent truth by the City fathers, he is not chargeable to them. It is thus that Dives, who might appropriately be upon the Court of the Grocers' (formerly the Pepperers') Company, to-day fulfils those noble tasks of charity and mercy for which credit is largely taken within the sound of Bow bells ; and thus, if left to enjoy an affluent ease, will he continue to fill the cup of his rejoicing, until the call of the Master Pepperer shall give his conscience a faint twinge in the final hour.

It is difficult to separate the Corporation of London from the Incorporated Mysteries, so necessary to the former, as at present constituted, are the latter. To be perfectly accurate, we must describe the Corporation as a representative body, chosen in part by the freemen-householders, in part by the householders, and in part by the freemen of the Livery. The qualification of an elector voting in the choice of members of Common Council is that of the occupation of a house in some one of the City wards ; that of the constituency of an Alderman consists in the freemen of the City occupying premises within the ward ; the Lord Mayor is elected by members of the Livery meeting in Common Hall ; while Members of Parliament are chosen by the Liverymen, *plus* the householders and lodgers enfranchised by the Acts relating to the representation of the people passed in 1833 and 1867. It is somewhat significant that while in 1831 three contested elections for the Mayoralty took place, in consequence of a determination of the Livery to rally under the banner of Reform, to the famous cry of "The Bill, the whole Bill, and nothing but the Bill" of Lords Brougham, Grey, and Russell—and the firm stand then made was of no small weight in assuring the ultimate triumph of that measure,—writers who in any manner allude, as advocates for the City, to that for the time judicious and necessary enactment, invariably describe it as an invasion of the prescriptive rights of the Guilds. Some doggerel stanzas issued in the midst of the conflict between Sir John Key and Sir Peter Laurie, and received with general favour, render the issue which was being fought out perspicuous and clear.

"Rouse, Liverymen, rouse ! for the contest prepare,
And decide the great question of who's to be Mayor ;
Will you have a Reformer, in every way fit,
Or a Saddler, who'll only reform bit by bit ?

* * * * *
"Our Key is a key that suits every Ward well !
A Master Key is, as all London can tell !
Of the key-stone of Freedom our Mayor is a lover ;
Support then the bridge that has carried you over.

* * * * *
"Show you're not to be driven—your rights, friends, protect ;
Prove stable in turn, and the Saddler reject !
From the cause of Reform its best prop do not sever,
But shout ' Key and Freedom, and London for ever ! ' "

—(" Three Contested Elections," pp. 21, 22.)

Moreover, in a meeting of the Mayor, Aldermen, and Liverymen of the several Companies of the City of London in Common Hall on the 7th of March 1831, it was

"Resolved unanimously, That this Common Hall, true to the principles by which the Livery of London have been long actuated, when they have expressed their anxiety for a reform in Parliament, repel with indignation the supposition that the Livery of London would oppose a measure involving a great public good, merely because it was supposed to abridge some of the privileges of its non-resident members ; and although this Common Hall is convinced that their station in society will secure the exercise of the elective franchise in other districts to those who now vote as non-resident Liverymen, yet they would, were it otherwise, cheerfully sacrifice that exclusive privilege for the purpose of securing, so great a public good as this important measure will confer upon the Livery of London, in common with the country at large."—(" Addresses, Remonstrances," &c., pp. 241, 242.)

Mr. Causton, however, in the teeth of the Livery making this unanimous declaration of principle, states that "the exclusive right of the Liverymen to elect citizens to serve in Parliament has been *infringed* by the 2d William IV., c. 45. . . . Moreover, the *rights* of the Liverymen are further curtailed by limiting the franchise to those only who shall reside within seven miles of the City of London" (Mildmay on "City Elections," note, p. 13) : and other acknowledged City authorities could be quoted to similar effect. It will be useful, therefore, to bear in remembrance always, that when measures of reform are in question, the champions of the City regard themselves as superior to the authority by which rights are ascertained and determined in times of supreme emergency. For the nonce, we do not quarrel with those who arrogate thus to themselves an amount of wisdom which by far exceeds the representative wisdom of the Legislature

and the nation. Where we have need to call to our aid the evidence that may be furnished by members of the Honourable Court of Common Council, or of the Worshipful Companies who have their interests in ghostly keeping, we shall accept such, and only such, a construction of language as it is designed by the witnesses testifying to bear, and, for this reason, the vaunt of superhuman judgment will probably stand us in excellent stead.

Into the origin of the term "Guild" it is superfluous here to enter. The question may, with perfect propriety, be left to the settlement of philologists and the labours of antiquaries. Whether the designation were Roman, Saxon, or Norman, it boots not to inquire; nor is it of the least importance to solve the disputes as to its precise original meaning and application. By "Guilds" in the City are understood to be intended the various incorporations by statute or charter of trades, crafts, or mysteries, forming primarily large contributaries to the state, wealth, and power of the Corporation, and enjoying by virtue of an uninterrupted succession the possession of immense and constantly increasing revenues. There is never a doubt of this being a just statement of the alleged position of the Livery Companies. Let those who so elect derive what comfort they may from the fiction that Merchant Taylors never were tailors at all, but instead were merchant princes; that Mercers, too, were not chapmen or dealers in small wares, but more highly esteemed even than the Grocers, who derive their trade designation from the wholesale dealings of old time, when the grosser weights of merchandise were placed upon the King's beam: the fact stands incontrovertibly upon the face of the several charters, that not only were the traders incorporated, but their journeymen and apprentices were embraced by the lower grades of the fellowships. Herbert is careful, upon these points, never to stray beyond his authorities.

"The Mercery, adjoined by a large meadow on the south, called 'Crownssild,' with the old Cheapside cross in the midst of the high street on market, must have exactly resembled the country fairs they had been originally accustomed to frequent. Here, at the beginning of their settlement, they sold the merceries, or mixed wares, at little stalls or standings" ("History of the Twelve Great Companies," vol. i. p. 232). "The Sumptuary Act, 37 Edward III., ordains that clothiers shall make suitable quantities of cloth of the various prices which are specified; and that mercers and shopkeepers in towns and cities 'shall keep due sortment thereof, so that the laws be duly observed'" (p. 233). "In 1561 we find the Mercers to have been an actual trading company, and, conformably to what is at present understood by the name, dealers in silk. Stow writes of them, after this time, as consisting 'much of such as seld rich silks brought from Italy, who

lived chiefly in Cheapside, St. Lawrence Jewry, and the Old Jewry ;' adding in another part of his 'Survey' 'these mercers are generally merchants'" (p. 237).

Their charter of incorporation styles the fraternity "the men of the mystery of mercery of the City of London." The subsequent will of Whittington (dated 1421) names the principals "keepers of the commonalty of the craft of mercerie;" and the charter of the second year of Elizabeth is also of "the mystery" (Herbert, vol. i. pp. 244, 294-296). In other instances, the particulars of the trades secured to the persons to whom charters were granted are set out in detail in the charters. A charter of James II. reads—

"Whereas confectioners, druggists, tobaccoists, and tobacco-cutters by the freemen of the Mystery of Grocers, both now and of late, were educated, and their arts esteemed to be of the Mystery of Grocery; neither has any distinct incorporation of the same existed: we, for the better rule and government of all persons of the arts and mysteries aforesaid within the City, suburbs, and three miles around, do grant that all persons exercising the arts aforesaid, or any of them, shall be for ever part of the body politic of the Mystery of Grocers." (See the charters *in extenso*; Herbert, i. 380, also 381-383, 384-386, 386-388.)

The Fishmongers' charter of 37 Edward III. appears to have been granted—

"Because all sorts of people, as well non-freemen and strangers as denizens of other mysteries, come to buy with the Mystery of Fishmongers, using the fairs in the kingdom where fish is to be sold, engrossing often the greater part of the fish found at the same fairs, and enhancing such fairs, so that the Fishmongers cannot reasonably market from the fish being so bought up; and the market would be more simplified and reasonable with one trade, and that trade to rule, than for it to be in the hands of the commons of various trades" (Herbert, vol. ii. pp. 118-120).

In like manner, the Goldsmiths' charter of James I.:

"And for the credit of the men of the said craft, and for the preventing of damage and loss for want of care in regulating our subjects and others using and exercising the said trade without any regard to the credit of the Company; and also for the preventing subtleties and deceits: we do grant to the Wardens and Company, and their successors for ever, that the Wardens of the said mystery shall have the search, inspection, trial, and regulation of all sorts of gold or silver wrought, or to be wrought, and to be exposed for sale," &c. (Herbert, ii. 287-298).

The Skinners' charter of Elizabeth runs similarly: "That the men of the mystery, acting for the public good, as also for the due correction of defects, shall for those ends be incorporated" (Herbert, ii. 374-382). So, too, the Merchant Taylors' charter of Henry VII. commits to their charge "the making, cutting,

and working of men's apparel" (Herbert, ii. 528). The Vintners' charter of 38 Edward III. forbids the trading in wines of any but enfranchised members of the Company (Herbert, ii. 632). The proof of the Clothworkers being, in 1549, a recognised working fraternity, is found by Anderson in the Act of 3 & 4 Edward VI., c. 11, "which has many well-contrived clauses for preventing of frauds in the woollen manufacture of England." By this statute the Wardens of the Clothworkers were, jointly with the chief magistrates of corporate towns, to appoint overseers for the visitation, search, and regulation of the trades of clothiers, drapers, dyers, and dressers. To the same purport the Poulterers' charter, of the 4th year of William and Mary, declares, "that all persons using the trade of poulters, or selling poultrywares, conies, butter, and eggs" in the City, or within seven miles of it, shall be "one body corporate." However we agree, then, with Causton in dissenting from Norton's opinion as to the purely mercantile character of the civic incorporation, it must be conceded that Norton correctly defines the membership of Guilds as being concurrent with, or rather simply the consequence of, the pursuit of trade or of some industrial calling; and there is abundant evidence of the imperative requirement that admission to the freedom could only be obtained through the membership of one of the mysteries ("Commentaries," p. 120).

Equally true is it that the converse of the requirement alluded to was also operative and compulsory; namely, that every person of either sex using any craft that was incorporated must become a member of the incorporation, and contribute his or her share of the charges whereby certain benefits and advantages were to be secured. The Weavers, by petition to the Commons in 1406, prayed that foreign weavers might be obliged in all things to be of their Guild, and to contribute in proportion as they did; and six years previously, an appeal of the Flemish linen manufacturers for exemption from payments to the Company was disallowed by the Court of Exchequer (Herbert, i. 20-21, 398). The Drapers' charter of incorporation, 1364, makes prior apprenticeship to the Company a condition of the exercise of the trade (Herbert, i. 399-400). Among the Fishmongers, freedom of the mystery was a prerequisite to meddling with the fish trade (Herbert, ii. 20). A minute examination of charters discloses this feature in nearly every instance. The most intelligible explanation yet afforded of the collocation of artificers in their respective mysteries is that of Causton in his Introduction to Mildmay on "City Elections." The most judicious of the Plantagenets, following in the wake of William the Conqueror in the work of compacting the nation firmly together for governmental purposes, saw in the encouragement of the

Guilds and the increase of their power effectual means of control, surpassing the former Saxon rule of frankpledge. Hence the 37th of Edward III., known as the Statute of Artificers, was passed; and every freeman of a craft was called upon to take an oath, which is still binding, though, probably, in some cases regarded as obsolete.

“You shall be true and faithful to our Sovereign Lord the King, and to his heirs and successors. In ~~all~~ matters lawful and honest, you shall be obedient to the Master and Wardens for the time being in that office; and obedient and ready to come to their lawful summons, except you have lawful excuse, without feigning delays, or else you shall pay such penalties as you shall forfeit by your disobedience, according to the lawful ordinances of this your craft; which ordinances, and every of them, you, to your power, shall observe and keep, or else, as is aforesaid, pay such fines and penalties as you shall forfeit by reason of your disobedience or breaking of the same. All the lawful secrets of the said fellowship, and all such things as at any time of assembly shall be lawfully in communication amongst the fellowship at the Common Hall, you shall keep secret, and not disclose the same to any [not] of that fellowship, and especially to any such person whom the same doth concern or touch, or to any manner of person whatsoever. *So help you God.*”

The oath of Wardens of the City crafts was made more precise in its terms.

“Ye shall swere that ye shall wele and treuly or see the craft of —, whereof ye be chosen Wardeyns for the yeere —. And all the goode reules and ordynances of the same craft that been approved here be the court, and non other, ye shal kepe and doo to be kept. And all the defautes that ye fynde in the same craftes ydon, to the Chambleyn of ye Citee for the tyme beyng ye shall wele and treuly p'sente, sparyng noo man for favour ne grevyng noo p'son for hate. Extorcion ne wrong under colour of your office ye shal non doo, nether to nothing that shal be ayenst the stat peas and profite of oure Sovereign Lord the King, or to the Citee ye shall not consente; but for the tyme that ye shall be in office, in all things that shalbe longyng unto the same craft, after the laws and ffranchises of the seide Citee wele, and lawfully ye shal have you. *So helpe you God and all seyntes*” (pp. cclxxii–cclxxiv).

That the purpose of the Crown, as defined by Causton, was to establish a more sure governing expedient than that of frankpledge, is capable of confirmation by a collation of the “*Liber Albus*” with numerous facts placed on record in the books of the older Companies, and culled therefrom for the entertainment of readers by Arundell and Herbert. In the “*White Book*” of the City will be found numerous particulars of assizes and inquests as to matters of trade; and others, again, as to breaches

of the peace. Both forms of procedure seem to have passed within the control of the Courts of the Guilds, saving only the Guild of the Fishmongers, whose charter was taken away for a year, in the reign of Richard II., upon proof that they occupied no craft or mystery, but only sold again that which they had purchased, and was restored *minus* the power of holding courts (Causton, p. ccxxxii). In pursuance of this transfer of justiciary functions, the Grocers' Company, having ordained that no member of the fraternity should put another out of his house by enhancing the rent payable by him, fined Richard Haale and Thomas Have £10 for the commission of the offence named against Edmond Teryle (Heath's "Account of the Grocers' Company," p. 323; cited in Herbert, i. 49). Among the Merchant Taylors, Robert Maltby was committed to prison in 1574 for breach of the sumptuary ordinances; Thomas Elliott was fined for wearing a cloak; one Swaynson was cautioned, in 1575, for wearing apparel beyond his station; John Swinnerton (later on, Lord Mayor) was committed, in 1586, for impertinence; William Kimpton was mulcted for calling Stephen Misney, in 1562, "a crafty boy;" for the phrase "a prating boy," William Hector was, in 1563, fined 40s.; for assaulting Lwys Lloyd, in 1568, Miles Gilbert was sent to prison; and for rash and unseemly speeches, one Offley was punished, in 1581; while, two years later, another person was compelled to pay a fine and render an apology to the person aggrieved (Herbert, i. 190). The Drapers stripped and thrashed John Rolls, an apprentice, for violating the chastity of a maid-servant in his master's house; and required an apology from Thomas Huntingfield, in 1518, for "ungodly words" (Herbert, i. 424, 430).

The measure of obedience that might still be enforced upon the Livery was brought to the test of a decision in one of the superior courts of law during the Mayoralty of Alderman Beckford. As all who are familiar with English history know, Beckford and Wilkes were peculiarly distasteful to the dominant coterie in the court of George III. Common Halls had been summoned before, as they have been since convened, by direction of the Lord Mayor, whose precepts were addressed to the Master and Wardens of each Court of the Livery, calling upon them to assemble the members of the Guilds for the consideration of questions of public policy. The refusal of Mr. Alderman Plambe to assemble the Goldsmiths led, in 1775, to disfranchisement upon the prosecution of the Common Serjeant in the Lord Mayor's court. Proceedings in error were instituted for the reversal of this arbitrary act; and the judges, on the ground of the Livery being, with regard to their original institution, inde-

pendent of the Corporation, which, for all ordinary purposes, consisted only of Mayor, commonalty, and citizens, allowed the claim of the Goldsmiths, and restored them to the enjoyment of their freedom (Causton, pp. cclxxxii-cclxxxiv). The report of the Commissioners for inquiry into municipal corporations cites a curious later illustration, however, of the liability of tradesmen to be harried by prosecutions at the suit of the Companies.

"A case was mentioned by the town-clerk of a tradesman who, having been admitted a Wheelwright, set up a shop as a cheesemonger; and as in this occupation he sold butter and eggs, he was summoned by the Poulterers to become a freeman of that Company, with which he complied. He then added sucking pigs and summer pork to his stock, when the Butchers required him to become a member of their Company, and he complied also with this summons. He then, having left off business, was summoned by the Poulterers to take their livery, which he refused, he appearing on the City books as a citizen and wheelwright. An action was commenced against him, but, on the suggestion of the Court of Aldermen, it was discontinued" (Carpenter, p. 11).

It must remain an occasion of regret that the action in question was not carried so far as to obtain the ultimate judgment of one of the higher courts. A really authoritative decision would have been of great specific value, as showing how far one of the most modern charters of incorporation retains force or validity; for upon this point turns the larger question of the right of the Companies to the custody of their immense and growing wealth. At the same time we may fairly wonder that action was not taken against the offending wheelwright for intermeddling with pursuits other than that of his primary choice. The Statute of Artificers expressly ordains—

"That all artificers and people of mysteries shall each choose his own mystery before the next Candlemas; and that having so chosen it, he shall henceforth use no other; and that justices shall be assigned to inquire by process of *Oyer and Terminer*, and to punish trespassers by six months' imprisonment, or other penalty, according to the offence."

According to the aspect in which this proviso is viewed, varying constructions are put upon it. Causton observes, taking the frankpledge view, that—

"Here not only was the peremptory classification enjoined by Parliamentary enactment, but a supervisory power in the mysteries, by the same institution, tended greatly to add to the recognised authority and importance of those institutions as the executive of the Crown, with which they were afterwards in so many instances invested" (p. cclxxii).

Herbert, on the other hand, speaks of it as neither less nor more than a restraint upon the freedom of pursuing various crafts, very much of the same order as the modern trades' union regulation limiting a man's occupation not only to his craft, but to some specific branch of it. This Act of Edward's Parliament, as it related to "men of mysteries," was, indeed, according to Northouck, whom Herbert quotes, "so strictly enforced afterwards, that in 1385 Breme, the Mayor, is stated to have disfranchised several freemen for following trades to which they had not been brought up; as John Lynne and Nicholas Merchant, for that, being free of the Haberdashers, they occupied merceries; and Geofry Presbury, for that he knew the said Nicholas Merchant to have so occupied mercery, and procured him to be made free of the Haberdashers; William Southbrook, free of the Weavers, for that he occupied drapery, or the selling of cloth; and Richard Skinner, for using drapery, he being a tailor; and along with the latter [? last named] six other tailors are named who were at this time deprived of their freedom for merely concealing their knowledge of the circumstance" (Herbert, i. 30). Efforts were made in 1575 to obtain from the Legislature new powers of limitation; and it was recited that in the 5th of Elizabeth an Act pronounced it not lawful for any other than such as then lawfully used or exercised any art, mystery, or manual occupation, except he was brought up therein seven years; nor to set any person at work in such mystery, except he should have been an apprentice. At that time the City offered to the Lord Treasurer a paper showing (according to Stow and Strype) that the several Companies in London were incorporated to see that true and perfect wares were made and sold in the realm; that at the period of incorporation, every Company was strictly limited to its own trade; and that if every man occupied his own trade, abuses might easily be espied (Herbert, i. 174). The Drapers' primary charter required that tenterers, tellers, and fullers should confine themselves to their own mysteries. A draper's apprentice who had completed his full term of indenture was forbidden by ordinance to seek a master in another trade. The charter of 38th Edward III. provided against any intermixing of other crafts; and in 1498 a fine was laid upon a member for taking a tailor into partnership (Herbert, i. 400, 423, 480, 429).

The end for which the various incorporations took place, so far as it concerned the pursuit of trade, was that of establishing and securing a profitable monopoly. The reigns of Elizabeth and some of her successors upon the throne were characterised by innumerable grants of patents of profit and privilege to court favourites, speculative adventurers, and corporate bodies. The

Virgin Queen was innocent of care whether her patents were in duplicate to different recipients or otherwise; and even the London Guilds found their guarded immunities occasionally in jeopardy of being appropriated to private owners. An attempt of the Earl of Oxford to obtain an excise patent, whereby, says Strype, he would have undone the Pewterers, was negatived by the Attorney-General; whereupon the Queen generously gave the coveted privilege to the Company. The rage for incorporation in consequence of monopolies endeavoured to be perpetrated is satirised by the same author, who states, that bows and arrows were both manufactured by one Company at a time when they were in demand; but when they had come to be almost wholly superseded by firearms, the makers of bows and the makers of arrows must be separately incorporated as Bowyers and Fletchers. The silk trade was stated in 33 Henry VI., c. 5, to have been carried on by the silk-women and throwsters of London, who, in their petition for that enactment, prayed that the Lombards and other strangers might be hindered from importing wrought silk into the realm, contrary to custom, and to the ruin of the mystery of silkmaking and other virtuous female occupations. Other statutes were passed on the same subject in 1 and 22 of Edward IV., 1 Richard III., and 1 and 19 of Henry VII. Sometimes the demands of the Companies passed beyond the confines of discretion, and were positively impertinent. Thus the Painters' Stainers, under their original name of Painters, existed in the reign of Edward III., and remained till 1575 a brotherhood and a company without incorporation, having neither lands nor revenues, but levying among the brethren every man according to his ability. In that year they petitioned for a charter; but they showed the cloven foot in a prohibition which they sought to have embodied against any one not previously apprenticed to their Company "painting pictures of the Queen, noblemen, and others, as well as all other manner of paintings." This extraordinary manoeuvre had made for it the excuse that paintings were not all they seemed to the eye to be; but as it was admitted that freemen of the mystery possessed no occult power of determining what work was fair and cunning to the eye, and what, on the other hand, was truly and substantially wrought (see Herbert, i. 175), it may be presumed they would have solved all difficulties by applying acids to the colours for ascertaining their composition, and edged steel to the finished painting by way of probing its thickness. Privileges were to be considered just or unjust according to the people who held and maintained them. So when in 1585 a precept was read to the court by the Wardens of the Grocers of a license granted by the Queen to one Acerbo Devitelto, an Italian, that *he* only should import common and

salad oils, and sell freely to any and every one "at his own beame," this being thought prejudicial to the freemen of the City, a petition to the Mayor and Aldermen was ordered in behalf of the Company to be drafted, praying them to take steps for the redress of the evil ("Account of the Grocers' Company," p. 70; Herbert, i. 156). And the Leathersellers, when a monopolous patent was placed in the custodianship of a non-member, protested in very decided terms against any recognition of it, and even pleaded the oaths they had taken as being infringed thereby. "Judge," they said to the Aldermen who, as mediators, were sent to them, "if to admit Mr. Darcy's ministers to search and seal is not to run into the horrible sin of perjury?" (Herbert, i. 155-156.)

But here a grave question arises—one which involves the honour of the great mass of the Livery. The civic construction of the charters is, that in consenting to forego the specific exercise of trade control in behalf of those occupying themselves properly in the craft, the courts of the Guilds would have been guilty of one of the most heinous offences even yet known to the criminal law. What is to be said, then, of the Companies whose members have voluntarily abandoned every tie that formerly bound them inseparably to the trades incorporated in them? What pleas can be urged for the Grocers, whose ordinances, dating from their constitution in 1364, required that each new member "should be of good condition and of the craft"? (Herbert, i. 45.) What defence can be made of the Company whose court, despite the regranting by William and Mary of the privilege of garbelling spices for the protection of the consumers of that kind of foreign produce, were even at the time neglecting it, and had in 1687 already sold to one Stuart (the City garbeller) all rights in the office for 20s. per annum, and a fine of £50? (Heath's "Account of the Grocers' Company," p. 61; Herbert, i. 310.) Or for the Mercers, bound by the will of Lady Camden in 1642 to prefer, in the distribution of her charitable bequest, first "the shopkeepers of the mercery," and next "silkwomen"? (Herbert, i. 234.) Or for the Drapers, whose oaths, to be taken by officers, apprentices, and members, obliged them to faithfully discharge their respective duties as theretofore accustomed? (see charters of 38 Edward III. and 4 James I.; Herbert, i. 402-404, 419.) Is there nothing in the nature of "covin or crafty practice" (to cite terms that are employed in the Drapers' constitution) in the appropriation, by persons no way connected with the craft, of endowments granted to the occupants of that craft and their legitimate trade successors exclusively? The Master and Wardens were, by the charter of 17th Henry VI., to be *drapers* and *freemen*. Freemen doubtless they are; but are they drapers? By a clause in an Act of 2 & 3 Edward VI., workmen associated

in building works were licensed to exercise their occupations in cities and towns corporate, though they were not free of such corporations ; but the City afterwards succeeded in obtaining the repeal of this Act, upon the pleas of the costs and charges craftsmen were liable to for the national as well as corporation taxes, and the great danger of "the decay of cunning," by driving away freemen if foreigners should be admitted among them (Herbert, i. 116-118). The danger thus indicated is not a present one, nor one that will imminently threaten either the living or a succeeding age. The City shows no deficiency at least of acuteness among its supporters, whatever faults be rightly laid to its charge.

"It will not be necessary," said Mr. Walter James in his speech to the Commons on April 10, 1877, "that I should detain the House in speaking of the constitution of the Companies, or the privileges attaching to their courts. Any one who looks through the City Directory will find all these particulars at full length. To deal, however, at once with cases of abuse, I may first remark that there are many of them whose purposes and objects modern enactments of the Legislature have entirely abrogated. The duties of the Grocers' Company are, for instance, now discharged by officers under the Food Adulteration Acts ; the Fishmongers', by the powers given to the Court of Sewers, in whose name and by whose authority unsound fish are seized, and, on magisterial order, destroyed. The Vintners' functions, as also those of the Brewers and the Innholders, are exercised by holders of special appointments under statute, of inspectors of weights and measures drawn from the general body of the citizens, and by the action of the officers of the Excise and Inland Revenue. The functions of the Butchers are rendered unnecessary by the officials of the Markets' Committees, and by the authority of the Court of Sewers ; as also are those of the Poulterers and the Fruiterers. Scriveners have no status in consequence of the abolition of scriveners under the Judicature Act. The Parish Clerks have their functions abrogated by the Acts constituting and extending the powers of the Registrar-General's office ; and the Carmen have been affected by the Acts regulating the trade of a common carrier. There are also Companies whose members cannot be, in any proper technical acceptance, qualified as possibly fulfilling the terms of apprenticeships within the City. These are the carpenters, the [cloth-workers, the] cordwainers, the masons, the tilers and bricklayers, the joiners, the weavers, the plasterers, the paviours, the shipwrights, the pinmakers, and the needlemakers. There are also, as previously stated, Companies rendered altogether obsolete by the absolute extinction of their trades within the City in process of time, such as the [fletchers, the] girdlers, the bowyers, the musicians, the horners, the gardeners, the long-bow-string makers, the fishermen, and the silk throwers" (Speech, pp. 6, 7).

In truth, the bowyers, the fletchers, and the long-bow-string makers long have ceased to occupy their crafts within the City ;

nevertheless, the drawing of the long bow is a craft by no means extinct there, if aught may be inferred from the presence on the Livery of persons professing to be members of those mysteries. A singular mixture of incongruities and anachronisms would be disclosed, however, by analysis of the actual pursuits of these nominal craftsmen. Well may Mr. George Mitchell, himself a denizen of the City, exclaim as to the Companies, "In the words of Hamlet,

‘Are you ~~finest~~—are you fair?’

If so, look up the original deeds, and extend present means to present requirements. . . . Mr. Bedford complains of trades unions, while he admires the City Guilds. What were these but trades unions? And why are they so inoperative that you buy your brandy from the grocer, your tea from the publican, your meat from the cheesemonger, your coffin from the upholsterer, and your headstone from the ironmonger?" He needed not to pause at this point in drawing his illustrations of the gross anomalies which now prevail. With equal force and pertinence he might have inquired, Why does an accountant who seeks the suffrages of his Wardmote for an Alderman's vacant gown style himself a "Loriner" and a "Saddler"? Wherefore do we intrust our legal affairs to citizens of (nominally) any pursuit but that of the law, and our architecture to a cordwainer, and look for solace for our souls to freemen Haberdashers and Leathersellers? Herein is a reminder of the ancient jest, which erewhile was brought to the notice of a Roman Cardinal, who deemed it a lamentable infraction of good order that one student for the priesthood called another "a cobbler." Had the Cardinal been a warden and the student an apprentice of the Worshipful the Company of Cordwainers, no difficulty could then have been felt in applying in that case such measures of redress, in accordance with the ordinances and usages of hoar time, as to him should seem meet. No such power, however, was within reach of his ready hand, and the hesitance arising from his perplexed mood was turned to account by the wit, who inquired with grave sarcasm whether it were not indeed an honourable distinction that singled out a future priest as being fit for the cure of soles? It must be by some title of this kind—for no other hypothesis is sufficient for the explanation of this veritable mystery in consonance with the laws and customs of trade—that we find the Rev. Thomas Arundell, B.D., a stout defender of the Companies, upon the livery of the Leathersellers; the Rev. Apsley Chase Banger enrolled as a maker of pewter pots; the Rev. Canon Alfred Barry, B.D., and the Rev. Henry Wadmore Robinson fully installed among the Saddlers; the Venerable Archdeacon John Jennings, M.A., and the Rev. Thomas Sier, D.C.L., appar-

ently (could their profession be believed) making spectacles (which, otherwise than as genuine craftsmen, they must indeed occasionally present); the Revs. William D. Bodkin and Richard S. Cobbett denominated Painter-Stainers; the Revs. Richard Whittington and Edward J. Watson calling themselves Merchant Taylors; the Revs. Markland Barnard and J. Baden Powell among the Mercers; and, generally, enough of priests to bless the corporate bodies who will apply to the building of churches and the endowment of church livings funds that were bequeathed by the dead for quite other purposes. Are these the men or the manner of men who care two straws for the regulation of trade, or for the due induction into honest handicrafts of such among the rising generation as desire thus to contribute to the prosperity of the realm?

If the clergy generally were capable of administering affairs which have no reference to their own special interests, or if their policy in regard to endowments were commonly such as inspired confidence in the breasts of the people, somewhat might be said of the maladministration of trusts which equal the personal resources of Continental princes, that should stir their souls with righteous resolves that, come what might, right should be done. When the City was younger, and the resources at the disposal of its chartered Guilds were small, every youth was duly instructed in the minutiae of some art or mystery; the Company in each case being responsible, equally with the member to whom the apprentice was bound as servitor, for the due performance of the contract. Now, a clergyman living in Essex may, as the "Examiner" says, have as apprentice a boy living in Yorkshire, who not only never sees his pseudo-master, but at the end of seven years the apprentice becomes admissible as a skilled craftsman, even although neither apprentice nor master have the smallest conception of the craft which is thus farcically traded upon. The Apothecaries', the Goldsmiths', and the Stationers' Companies have, it is true, a title to existence as, in a limited measure, fulfilling the objects of their incorporation. Parliament and the people need no assurances in the guise of discreetly inspired statements that those Companies are still living and active; nor do those Guilds require to advertise their existence by taking contributions, like the Shipwrights from the Fishmongers, to enable them to hold exhibitions of models for awards, while their own funds float in great part down the appointed channel separating harbour-mouths from the unfathomed coast-lines of stomachs below. Technical education must be popular, indeed, in strange quarters, when it is thus caught up, rehearsed, and echoed—"deep calling unto deep!" Possibly some Parliamentarian learned in the law, when next he makes additions to

our polite phrases, may be pleased to say wherein the Worshipful the Shipwrights' Company differ from anybody else in desiring to parade their hobbies at the expense of other people? Possibly, also, a like authoritative settlement may be afforded of the question whether—seeing that the Guilds do not, save in a very limited number of exceptional cases, discharge any one of the conditions named by their charters—those whose hands are, or are to be, thrust into the pockets of others be not the favoured scions of the City?

There are Companies which undoubtedly muster in their ranks some, at least, who would rightly be enrolled therein if the incorporations longer held an equitable title to continue. There chance to be bakers, brewers, and butchers, distillers, innholders, poulterers, and vintners who appear to bear some defined connection with their trades. For the rest, they are almost exclusively composed of persons who could not, but by infraction of the laws and ordinances provided for the government of the mysteries, obtain admission within the charmed circle. Mr. Serjeant Pulling, indeed, states that, "it may, nevertheless, admit of considerable doubt whether every tradesman within London has not still an inchoate right to be admitted as a member of the particular Company having a superintendence over his trade. These Companies," he points out—and in this statement he conclusively negatives the pretensions of ex-Lord Mayor Cotton, Alderman Sir James Lawrence, Sir George Bowyer, Sir Hardinge Giffard, Mr. Bramwell, C.E., and the rank and file of present champions of exclusion—"are not voluntary societies, consisting of persons chosen by voluntary consent, nor can the admission of members, as in the Corporation at large, be considered to be settled by prescription, and confined to persons possessed of particular qualifications, as apprenticeship or patrimony. On the contrary, the charters of all incorporated Companies expressly state them to be composed of the *working members* of the different trades or mysteries which they represent, and further, in many instances, requiring all persons in such trades, within certain limits, to become members thereof" (Gilbert, pp. 92, 93). The learned Serjeant's dictum is, we are perfectly aware, disputed; and there is, moreover, an unanswerable objection against action upon any such "inchoate right" as that which he alleges. There is no longer, in the greater number of the eighty-nine Companies, a court that is lawfully constituted from the men of the mysteries, by whose authority additions can be made, from time to time under the charters to the freedom and the livery. If any portion of the charters possess the least significance, it is clear, beyond all questioning or doubt, that they are void by reason of defaults;

and the direction which reforming zeal should take is that of rescuing the trusts from the custody of those who hold them by an illegal tenure, and securing them for wise and legitimate uses under newly-constituted trusts in equity. The earliest instances of violation of ordinances, &c., by the admission of honorary members to fully privileged degrees, are recorded in detail; but until the close of the last and the commencement of the present centuries, they were few and far between. Livery was allowed by the Grocers to aliens from their craft first in 1435. Herbert, who describes this custom as one by which the crafts broke their own laws in admitting strangers to understand their mysteries, tells us that it had become common—though it could not have prevailed—in other Companies before that date; and he mentions the case of a Dutchman, one Cornelius Gheene—a case which is shown by the care taken in minuting it to have been quite of an exceptional character—admitted by the Brewers in the Mayoralty of Barentyn, *temp.* Henry V. (Herbert, i. 60). Far different, however, is the case of the Mercers' Company, of which it has been noticed, wrote Herbert, forty years since, as "a curious singularity," that in it "there is scarcely a single mercer at the present day" (i. 241); and in another passage this author states that "taking apprentices, admission of freemen, and other routine business, only applies in a very minor degree to 'the Mercers,' which continues, in all respects, what it has been just described, a select company" (i. 245). And, indeed, nothing else was to be looked for with reason, as the inevitable result of the system of close courts, to keep the main body of the Livery in profoundest ignorance of the extent and the management of the corporate affairs. The Companies as they now exist have, we are constantly assured, no fear of investigation; and the impression which is sedulously conveyed, or sought both in and out of Parliament to be fostered, is that they rather court it than otherwise, and would be well pleased could they make a clean confession of all their transactions. Some proceed even to greater lengths than this, and while they maintain with Mr. Bramwell, C.E., the Second Warden of the Goldsmiths, that no reason exists why the City Companies should have Parliamentary inquiry pressed upon them, assert that if inquiry were made, the result of it would be to cause the public to share with them the feeling, that not only is it "undesirable to destroy, or even to cripple, the action of these bodies, . . . but that, if such bodies as the City Guilds, with all their property and powers of dealing with that property, did not exist, it would be in the interests of the community, were such a thing possible, to establish them." Such a declaration in an after-dinner speech it would merely be sheer waste of time and ink to repeat upon paper.

But Mr. Bramwell's mark was of a more substantial nature than the passing folly of the hour. Elaborating his notions with the care for which men look to members of the Civil Engineers' profession, the Goldsmiths' Warden committed them to writing, and evidently furnished his manuscript for the purposes of printing and publication. We have already mentioned this Company as one that yet "discharges some of the binding duties set forth in its charter ; but that reference by no means covers its responsibility for revenues so enormous as to be perplexing by their amount. To say that £20,000 are voted for a church in a district where the Goldsmiths' interest is not large, only points the moral of a case for investigation. Were the spiritual necessities of the poor the want that was sought to be met by the vote, the Bishop of London's, the Bishop of Winchester's South London Church Extension, the Incorporated Church Building, and the various Additional Curates' Societies, the Diocesan Church Building and Church Education funds, were all in waiting for the whole or for parts of such a munificent donation. But, then, the hungry might have been filled with good things, and the rich sent empty away. Not for the poor does the Court of the Goldsmiths act, but for the creation of new and highly profitable investments. It had its brace of trading clergymen, and not a few others, educated by means of the City Companies' Exhibitions at the elder universities, clinging tightly to the skirts of professional friends and blood relations who bear rule over the blessings dispensed by way of old livings or new benefices. The Rev. Thomas Arundell, who, as a member of the Leathersellers' Company, took up his parable in behalf of the Guilds some years ago, may be said to have indulged in the vending of prunella. Verily, he hath his reward ! He was the Vicar of Hayton in Yorkshire ; but now the Revising Barrister reports him to be possessed of full voting qualification for the City, and residing at Whetstone Vicarage—a translation as remarkable, and, to the reverend gentleman, as pre-eminently satisfactory, as one that was heard of in the career of Bottom the weaver.

But not to the needy claimants for spoil in the distribution of Church patronage, whereto it is the custom to assign the *alias* of provision for spiritual destitution, or the cloak of an ostentatious charity—not to these only are gifts freely given. About the time of Mr. Frederick Bramwell's now famous speech, there was submitted to auction in the City a brace of properties, 18 Haunsell Street, and 22 Well Street, Cripplegate, for the fifty-three and a quarter years that remained of the lease. The auctioneers' announcement of these properties described them as being let on lease at the "most inadequate rent," and held under the Gold-

smiths' Company. Surely one may ask, wherefore is the Company's name trailed through the mire in this fashion as the grantor of beneficial leases? Is this one of the purposes for which the human race, if it had no guilds, would even establish them? In 1609 Poulterer Warden bequeathed a house, known by the sign of the Pepper Queen, to bear the yearly charge of £3, 12s., of which £2, 12s. should be distributed to the poor by twelve ~~persons~~ every Sunday in bread at the Church of St. Peter, Cornhill. Be sure the bequest is most piously and devoutly fulfilled. Inclusive of lump sums to every one about the church, and "about" 18s. 6d. to charity children, the annuity now charged upon the house of Robert Warden's gift has since 1773 been £8, 2s., 6d. It is capable, fortunately, of sustaining the increased burden. It is situate at the corner of Cornhill and Bishopsgate Street, and is in the occupation of Mr. Alderman Carter, a chronometer-maker, at £150 per annum, on lease for twenty-one years. Dares any one assert that £150 per annum is one-fourth or one-fifth of the letting value of that property in open market? Where are the apostles of charity and just dealing dispersed, that one of them, though he be called Judas and surnamed Iscariot, arise not in each of the courts, and, with an unction worthy of the part, ask in wondering amaze, why were not these and other properties put up to auction and leased for the highest bids, seeing how largely they would have enhanced the resources that might then be given to the poor? Not in mere irony, however sharp and bitter, are these interrogatories written. The occasion is too grave for idle dismission after this fashion. If Iscariot spake out now, it would be "because he carried the bag:" the poor, to be most bountifully enriched would be himself and his peculiar associates. But, as Mr. Bramwell recites in what he mistakenly assumes to be a complete vindication of the Companies, "*A* never sees *B* in trouble without wishing to relieve him, not with his own goods, but with those of *C*."

Yet, if Mr. Bramwell be so sure that he and his colleagues in the Wardenships of the Guilds would strengthen their case by disclosure, it is much to be regretted that he does not avail himself of his official status by virtuously doing that which ere long must become a necessity. For fifty years past the members of various Companies have been claiming information which is always and persistently denied to them in common with the public. The demand found voice in the era of Parliamentary Reform in the "*Free Inquirer*," and Mr. Franks even framed a satisfactory plan for dealing with all the revenues, so as to secure them for the advantage of the public. "The chief facts,"

we read in "The Black Book," to be borne in mind relative to the City Companies are the following :—

"1. That the whole of the Companies, with the exceptions of the Goldsmiths, Stationers, and Apothecaries"—and the first of these boasts a lawyer and a civil engineer, instead of goldsmiths, for its Prime and Second Wardens for 1877—"have ceased to exercise any control over the trades they bear the title of, or to which they may be considered allied.

"2. That nearly the entire site of the City of London belongs to these powerful and disgracefully-conducted monopolies.

"3. That most of the property has been jobbed or under-let to the private friends of the respective courts.

"4. That the courts of the Companies are mostly controlled by stockjobbers, parsons, and lawyers.

"5. That the whole of the bequests in land, houses, and money left in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries has increased from fifty to one hundred fold.

"6. That the population of all the parishes within the jurisdiction of the City of London amounts only to 123,198.

"7. That the annual revenues of the City Companies exceed £1,000,000" (p. 463).

Is the tale of wrong, of which the sum is herein only barely suggested, less true from lapse of time? If it be, Mr. Bramwell and others must accept the onus of demonstrating, by the irrefragible evidence of proven facts, what is the truth. As the matter stands, many Liverymen would greatly like to know how many entries, and in how many books, may be found like this of the Merchant Taylors :—

"Resolved; That thanks be given to Mr. J. C. Hanbury for his distinguished ability as Master on the occasion when the foreign Kings dined at the Hall on the 13th June.

"Resolved, That a piece of plate be presented to Mr. J. C. Hanbury on the occasion, value £105.

"Resolved, That the thanks of the court be given to Messrs. A. J. Nash, Coles Child, G. A. Nash, and W. Costeker, the Wardens.

"Resolved, That a piece of plate be presented to each of those gentlemen.

"Resolved, That the thanks of the court be given to the clerk, Mr. Teasdale, and a piece of plate be given to him for his services on the occasion." (Carpenter, p. 42.)

A considerable number of Liverymen would like very much to know how many banquets the courts sit down to, at what cost, and what is the amount of the fees paid for attendances to the privileged few who condescend to eat free dinners, after the

fashion of children of charity in East London soup-kitchens. The fees vary according to the wealth of the Companies, and rather more is known than the courts suspect, as to the specific sums that are paid. The Joiners are desperately poor, but they contrive to share £204, 15s.; the Tallow-chandlers are not among the wealthiest, but each member of the court receives £5 and his dinner fourteen times in a year; other Companies divide less, and others, again, a great deal more. Certainly, so long as such fees continue to be payable, just so long will an exclusive spirit and policy be rampant in the courts.

And to this close guarding of secrets we should entertain no objections, were it true, as the Merchant Taylors pretended in 1833, that "the entire property belongs to the Master and Wardens only, and not to the fraternity;" to the former "absolutely to be disposed of at their own free wills and pleasure" (Carpenter, p. 42). But, as the report of the Charity Commission of 1820 discovered to every one, such charges are made without any reference to whether property be owned or whether it be held in trust.

"Another item in this account"—it was St. Paul's School that was then under dissection—"is, courts and committees, £287, 14s." When the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company, or committees appointed by that court, are summoned, it is customary, in order to secure a sufficient number for the dispatch of business, to pay a sum of money to each member who attends. This custom prevails with the courts and committees which are held for the ordinary business of the Company, and is therefore extended to those which are summoned for the especial business of St. Paul's School. In the latter case, the sum paid to each member attending is £1, 1s., which is charged to the school account, and constitutes the above item; in other cases the sum paid out of the Company's funds is larger. We are told that many of the members reside in the country, from whence they attend at some expense, and that others are persons engaged in business, whose loss of time is not compensated by the pay they receive. This payment certainly appears, at least with respect to the latter class of persons, to militate against the rule that a trustee is not entitled to charge for his time and labour; and it is obvious that if it amount to more than a mere indemnity, it must have a tendency to produce an unnecessary multiplication of courts and committees, and consequently an unnecessary charge upon the funds of the charity" ("Endowed Charities," pp. 41, 42).

In such practices lies the secret of the great gulf which separates the officials within from the Liverymen without the parlour doors, and the explanation is in our hands of that singular condition of affairs in which the courts do not dare to confide in the Livery, much less the public at large. Whether

Mr. Bramwell will persist in his extraordinary show of bravado in speech remains to be seen.

As for the statement of the Solicitor-General in the House of Commons, opinion gains ground in the City that it passed altogether beyond his brief. It is true he but echoed the speeches of the ex-Lord Mayor and Sir J. C. Lawrence, and these were no more than repetitions of the answer to the Court of Queen's Bench sent in 1833 by the clerk of the Merchant Taylors. But when it is assumed by a law officer of the Crown that certain properties being private cannot lawfully be inquired into, he should take special care that at least he has not taken up that position without warrant. Firth, who had previously given to the subject considerable attention, supplied one important factor in the establishing of precisely the opposite conclusion. The Skinners' Company brought an action with respect to their share of the estate of the Irish Society, only to gain a decree from Lord Langdale, and a confirmation of that decree from the Lords. The Court of Appeal held that "the Irish Society were simply trustees for public purposes" ("Municipal London," quoted by Gilbert, p. 193): The decision, which affected immediately the Irish Society, as representative of twelve companies, must also govern the whole of the Guilds existing under charters. They are all alike simply trustees for public purposes. And if ever any room was left for doubt to creep in upon this point, the case of the Donkyn Charity of the Merchant Taylors would effectually have settled it. It was of the ordinary type, the charity being limited to its originally stipulated amount, while the profits arising from increased value of the property were as religiously appropriated to other uses. "It was held," says Gilbert, "by the Master of the Rolls and the Court of Appeal, that the Company were not entitled to appropriate the surplus to their own purposes." If the testator had given estates to the Company, merely burdening them with a rent-charge for charitable uses, the decision would have been different; but in the case in question, there was no evidence of any other than a charitable intention in the mind of the testator, and hence the Company were held strictly responsible for the discharge of duty as trustees only (see Gilbert, pp. 198-199; Firth, &c.). Yet another circumstance is worth relating in brief, as not only completely answering Sir Hardinge Giffard, but, at the same time, showing a right of Parliamentary inquiry. When in 1747 the Mercers, who had found themselves hopelessly insolvent two years before, petitioned Parliament for aid in their extremity, they did not claim to be by any manner of means an association of persons for purely private purposes; it was not to them as private debtors that, by two Acts of the 21st of George

II., £105,000 of public money, levied in the form of a charge upon the coal-duties, was made over to them in the course of thirty-five years next ensuing; nor were they left, as any private association would have been, to their fate, when another Act of the 4th of George III. enabled them to issue new bonds, and to pay them off by a lottery drawn in their own hall. (See Herbert, i. 238–239). So much for one of the most baseless and impudent fictions that has been sought to be foisted upon Parliament and the nation.

During many years the Companies declined in membership; and Mr. John R. Taylor showed some years ago, that the Parliamentary register bore the names of 9,527 persons of the Livery in 1832–33, and no more than 6,123 in 1871–72, although 589 had been added in the seven closing years of his statement ("Reform your City Guilds," 2d edition, p. 28). In 1865 there were but 5,534 Liverymen on the register, belonging to seventy-five Guilds. During the septennate following, the increase noticed was in each case as follows:—Apothecaries, 15 to 23; armourers, 44 to 50; bakers, 108 to 126; barbers, 90 to 92; bowyers, 21 to 23; brewers, 39 to 47; broderers, 24 to 33; carpenters, 77 to 86; clothworkers, 106 to 127; coachmakers, 46 to 89; curriers, 74 to 80; cutlers, 71 to 76; drapers, 189 to 232; feltmakers, 43 to 49; fishmongers, 249 to 309; founders, 73 to 94; fruiterers, 18 to 78; glass-sellers, 18 to 21; gold and silver wire-drawers, 36 to 38; goldsmiths, 125 to 148; grocers, 124 to 167; gunmakers, 24 to 25; haberdashers, 294 to 345; joiners, 58 to 62; leathersellers, 98 to 113; loriners, 314 to 338; masons, 31 to 39; mercers, 64 to 83; merchant taylors, 153 to 166; painters, 80 to 90; pewterers, 61 to 75; plasterers, 26 to 39; saddlers, 64 to 71; salters, 90 to 118; scriveners, 33 to 35; skinnfers, 108 to 117; spectacle-makers, 296 to 328; stationers, 259 to 260; tallow-chandlers, 94 to 104; turners, 18 to 30; vintners, 175 to 197; weavers, 54 to 64; woolmen, 18 to 19. Other Companies had decreased; namely, the blacksmiths, butchers, carmen, clockmakers, cooks, coopers, cordwainers, distillers, dyers, fanmakers, farriers, framework knitters, girdlers, glaziers, gloves, ironholders, makers of playing cards, musicians, needlemakers, pattenmakers, plumbers, shipwrights, tilers and bricklayers, tinplate-workers, wax-chandlers, and wheelwrights; and a third series—including basketmakers, fletchers, horners, ironmongers, poulterers, and upholders—remained without increase or diminution (Taylor, p. 33). Dexter, writing on "The Government of London" in 1875, mentions the Worshipful Company of Basketmakers as embracing the master, wardens, clerk, livery, and freemen in a single person, who, by the way, was not a basketmaker; but the ink was hardly dry upon the sheets of his brochure ere a court

was convened for the election of a new member in the person of the son of the livery, and now an entire Company has suddenly sprung into being with no fewer than fourteen registered electors. Shall we guess the true explanation of this mystery, and of other mysteries of its class? The task were easy, reading contemporary history between the lines. The manufacture of faggot votes is now being as unblushingly pursued, for the purpose of giving preponderance to the City's opposition to the movement for inquiry, as once before for not dissimilar ends it was when 400 members were suddenly admitted into the livery of the Worshipful Company of Fishmongers (Causton, pp. cccxxii-cccxxiii.).

Several of the Guilds have further taken refuge, in their simplicity, behind schemes for technical education, and a noteworthy project has been placed upon paper by a defence committee. We shall not be wrong in stating that the idea is caught at only as a straw might be by any one in troubled waters and out of his depth. Once, previously, some slight agitation disturbed the equanimity of the City fathers; and in 1870 a committee was formed at the Mansion House, the reports of which body lie before us. The proceedings then taken were a dead letter. Nothing was really done, probably because just as much was intended. And having in view the extraordinary labour in which, on former occasions, the mountain has travailed, we shall feel no surprise if it now bring forth a very small mouse, and hasten to smother it as soon as it can conveniently be got out of the way. Prior to the settlement of any technical scheme, it will be well for the Companies to consult the commonalty of their liveries, and for the commonalty to prove their right to dispose of funds of which it has been shown they are not legitimately trustees.

The Lord Mayor and the Court of Aldermen possess a visitatorial power over all the Guilds, and Acts of Common Council have repeatedly been passed relating to the internal administration of the Companies' affairs; yet the Corporation, as a whole, whenever measures of reform are in question, puts on record a plea *ad misericordiam* as to its being wholly at the mercy of its minor chartered bodies (see "Statement of the Corporation read at the Privy Council Office, 1854," pp: 9-13); nor is any effort made to render the Guilds amenable to corporate authority. In this manner responsibility for deeds of wrong is banded about like a shuttlecock between opposing battledores; though both parties make common cause whenever the note of alarm is heard relative to investigation. The working men of London had few possessions, which could tempt the greed of the affluent, but they had of right a claim, to one ewe lamb—the inheritance bequeathed to them, and for their benefit, by their dead ancestors.

The self-styled princes of the City beheld it, and regarded it with covetous eyes. If they could not kill them, as David did Uriah the Hittite, at least they could expel them from their borders, and place them in the fore-front of the battle, where they must suffer cruelly from the necessity of fighting for the sustenance of their families and other families beside. Accordingly they seized the coveted ewe, and parcelled it among them, not thinking that the hand of Nemesis would point to them one by one, so surely as 'his feet should tread upon their heels. But that fate has fallen upon them, and they are called upon to restore to the craftsmen by whose skill they are enabled to subsist the spoil which too long has remained in their hands. As a first step toward rendition, inquiry is demanded; and even the creation of ten thousand faggot votes can avail little either to hinder or to delay the ultimate triumph of right.

ART. II.—ILLICIT COMMISSIONS.

Published Correspondence on Commissions, Mercantile and Professional, reprinted chiefly from the Times Newspapers of December 1876 to 13th January 1877, with other contributions. By JOHN S. STORR. Bickers & Son.

WHAT'S in a name? Much, everything, we reply, in spite of Shakespeare's answer, "The rose by any other name would smell as sweet." Place the question in a different form. Does a sweet name make the rank weed to smell less rank? Unhappily it does. There are many weeds in our midst whose rank smell is stifled under a savoury name. The importance of calling things by their right names can hardly be over-estimated. Under the good old mercantile expression, "*Commission*," recalling memories of old days when the British merchant was a moral power, not only in Europe, but wherever the English tongue was heard, there has long lurked an evil, which, already deep-seated in every branch of commercial industry, and in many, if not most, of the liberal professions, is ever growing and extending the circle of its contamination, until it bids fair to become one of the special vices of the age. It is the object of this paper to tear aside the protection afforded by an honest name, and to drag this rank unsavoury weed to the surface under its real name—Bribery.

It is strange to note, in an era of social reform, when there is scarcely a question affecting human relations that has not been brought up for review before the moral instinct of the age, when

social abuses are being daily ferreted out from the dusty corners in which they have hitherto escaped observation, that so widespread an evil as that veiled under the title "Commission," has not attracted a larger share of notice. Society has, no doubt, been more or less dimly conscious of certain proceedings to which a specific title was at first denied, but which are now openly talked of under the impunity of a borrowed name. Beyond, however, a faint recognition that something was wrong in vague connection with "hard times," and "these days of competition," and such like laments by way of excuses, public opinion has not concerned itself much with the matter, until startled out of its propriety at the end of last year by the revelations of the different correspondents in the "Times."

It will be well perhaps here, at the outset of this inquiry, to dissect roughly the word "commission," and see what it connotes in its original and proper, and what in its applied and improper meaning. This will lead us at once to the subject in hand—to the evil to which we desire to call attention. Commercial relations are, moreover, so intricate and varied in their combinations, and the jargon of trade so perplexing to the general public, that transactions of the most iniquitous character may easily be passed over, unless some touchstone in the shape of a clear definition is ready to our hands. Without committing ourselves to a strictly legal and scientific definition, we may say that commission is properly used to denote the wage or remuneration paid by the employer for services rendered by the employed. It is, in fact, practically synonymous with wage, with this difference, that where services are rendered by a servant, the remuneration is called wage or salary, and is a fixed amount; where by an agent, this varies with the character and importance of the transaction, and is called commission. Of this latter nature is the commission paid to the merchant who buys or sells for his foreign correspondent, and charges, for his services, an agreed percentage on the price of the article bought or sold. The merchant, again, may have to employ the services of a broker in order to execute his correspondent's orders to the best advantage. These services are paid by another percentage on value. Then we come to the wide class of agents in general, from the agent who is intrusted with the floating of a loan or the purchase of a gunboat for a foreign Government, to the small shopkeeper in a country town who is agent for Holloway's pills. In these instances the services of the agent are legitimately remunerated, not by a fixed salary, but by what is called a commission. Whether these services of agents, or middlemen, could not with benefit to society be to a great extent dispensed with, and consumer and producer, supply and demand, be brought more directly together, may perhaps be questioned; but we are not at

present concerned with that side of the question. So long as such services are demanded and performed, they must of course be paid for in some form or other. Among the professions, we find this remuneration sometimes called "commission," as in the case of architects, surveyors, auctioneers, and accountants; sometimes "fee," as in the case of the learned professions, barristers, surgeons, and physicians; and sometimes "charges," as in the case of solicitors. It is needless, however, to multiply examples. With cases where nothing more is involved than the acceptance of a certain remuneration for services rendered, agreed upon between employer and employed, whatever form or name it may assume, we have no concern. The remuneration is, of course, fairly earned. The labourer is worthy of his hire.

But under the general term "commission" is included a class of so-called commissions of a totally different character. In these cases the "commission" received does not represent the fair and open payment of services rendered, the hire of the labourer, but is a gain or profit secretly made by the agent behind the back of his principal or employer, in addition to the fixed and proper commission he charges and receives. Such illicit "commissions" are in reality bribes, for they are offered and taken upon the understanding that the influence of the agent or servant is to be exerted in favour of the person offering the bribe, and their direct effect is thus to establish a conflict of interest between principal and agent, master and servant. In some cases the conflict of interest is marked, and easily perceived; in others, as we shall presently see when we come to examine the different forms under which such "commissions" present themselves, the tendency is less direct, and may escape notice altogether. It will be found, however, upon examination, that in all cases where the "commission" is secret, and in addition to the fixed remuneration agreed upon and paid by the employer, this conflict of interest will be set up in greater or less degree. It is against this class of commissions, falsely so called, that we propose to make war. We shall endeavour to show that they are utterly subversive of the fiduciary relation between employer and employed, principal and agent, upon which all honest service, all sound trading, is based; and that their corrupting influence, already widely spread, must shortly pass beyond control, unless prompt and effectual remedies are applied.

The first step will be to show that our foe has a real existence. We have seen that it was not until a few months ago that public attention was turned to the magnitude and serious nature of the practices concealed under the name "commission." The evil, however, was of old standing, though it is only recently that it has found a congenial soil, and attained its present luxurious

growth. Mr. W. H. Simpson and Mr. Alexander Rainy; the late eminent land agents and auctioneers, were apparently the first to call public attention to its existence in their own and the legal professions. In 1838 Mr. Simpson published a pamphlet, in which, alluding to Mr. Rainy's efforts in exposing these practices, he says—

"Mr. Rainy has proclaimed the discreditable fact that there exists between many, and indeed by far the greater part, of the land agents and auctioneers of the metropolis, and not a few of the solicitors engaged in the transfer of real property, a secret pact or understanding, which, however spuriously disguised; or, as in some instances I believe to be the case, inconsiderately adopted, in compliance with what is supposed to be a general usage, is, in fact, dishonest towards the employer. The public are undoubtedly much indebted to Mr. Rainy for the disclosure thus made. Nothing but the fear of misconstruction has prevented me from publishing long ago the same fact."

"Now, for whatever purposes the services of a land agent or auctioneer may be required, the person primarily employed in the operation will, nine times out of ten, be a solicitor (frequently the confidential friend and adviser of the party interested), and to him will be confided the selection of the individual by whom the sale or valuation is to be made. Solicitors therefore are, in fact, the patrons and providers of the body of auctioneers; and the more astute and unscrupulous, having long ago discovered that this patronage was worth something, have hit upon a method of turning it to profitable account."

The general result is summed up as follows :—

"The owner of the estate gives the highest price for the worst and most inefficient service; he pays a third-rate auctioneer as much as would secure him the talents of the ablest; his confidential solicitor pockets the difference between the pay of these two; and the vendor probably loses some thousands of pounds by an ill-managed and slovenly sale. As a matter of course, the solicitor feels bound to throw his shield over the auctioneer, and screen him from the consequences of any mismanagement or misconduct."

Mr. Rainy himself, in his advertisement published in the "*Times*," April 24 and 26, 1844, says—

"There exists between many solicitors and many auctioneers an understanding for which the epithet 'collusive' would scarcely be too severe, because by it the interests of their clients, the vendors, are often seriously compromised; and in this manner the vendor, instead of himself selecting the auctioneer or agent for the disposal of his property, will, in many cases, confide the choice to his solicitor."

"And what is the consequence? In such quarters (*i.e.*, solicitors),

the auctioneer who is willing to concede the largest share, or, in other words, to pay the heaviest bribe, he, be he quack or otherwise, and with slight reference to his regular initiation into his profession, or his qualifications, or his experience, or (what also is evidently an essential consideration) the extent of his connections and influence, he is preferred. Thus tempted, many solicitors have become reconciled to abuse the patronage they have assumed, and aimed at excluding those auctioneers who, like Mr. Rainy, have consistently and uniformly refused to submit to a tyranny subversive of all proper rivalry, and at variance with all independent and honourable feeling."

The evil, which we shall presently show has since extended itself into every class of society, was thus known among solicitors and estate agents forty years ago; and we would call attention to the high character of the evidence on this point, as doubts have been expressed by leading members of both these professions as to whether such practices are at all general. It may safely, we think, be assumed, that a disease left to itself since 1838 has, at all events, not grown less. Mr. Rainy seems to have continued his efforts, though without much support, for some years, and suggested to Lord St. Leonards, in 1852, that a bill should be introduced providing that solicitors accepting these bribes should be struck off the rolls for three years, and that the auctioneer offering the bribe should have his license suspended for three years; but no such bill was ever introduced. Since that time, with the exception of an occasional outcry from some unfortunate sufferer, the matter has practically slumbered, so far as public attention is concerned, though, favoured by the unprecedented growth of commerce during the past ten years, and the increased competition in every department of industry, the evil itself has rapidly spread. The case of *Coe v. Sothorn* in December last, and the very singular verdict of a special jury, which will be fresh in the recollection of our readers, served to reopen the question. This action was for damages for a wrongful dismissal of the plaintiff, a stage manager; and the question turned upon whether the dismissal was justifiable or not. It was not denied that, in the exercise of his duties, among which appears to have been the engagement of actors for his employers' theatre, he had received half the commission paid by the actors to a theatrical agent, named Blackmore, for their introduction to him. It was contended that this was an abuse of his employment as a salaried servant, and therefore in a fiduciary position, for the purpose of gain, and to the prejudice of his employers. On the other side, it was argued by the plaintiff that his employer knew, and so sanctioned, his acceptance of this additional commission, and that such commission was commonly taken by persons of his calling. The verdict of the jury, giving the plaintiff more than the amount of damages claimed, must, no doubt have been based

upon the evidence tendered on these two points, otherwise it appears to us unintelligible. It was clearly the plaintiff's duty, in consideration of his salary, to make the best terms he could with actors and actresses on account of his employer, and if, without his employer's knowledge, he received an additional payment from the agent in the discharge of his duty, this payment was clearly of the nature of a bribe, and tended directly to separate his interest from that of his employer; for while the latter was concerned to obtain the most suitable actors at the lowest rates, his stage manager's interest would be to engage only such actors as were introduced to him through the agent with a view to the "commission." If his employer, however, was privy to this proceeding, and the jury seems to have been satisfied on this point, the nature of the commission would be at once changed, and become so far unobjectionable. But as there was nothing to show how far the jury based their verdict for the plaintiff on this point, its direct tendency was to weaken that standard of rectitude which the presiding judge insisted it was so desirable for juries to uphold in cases of the kind. This case at once gave rise to a crop of letters to the "Times" from all quarters—solicitors, brokers, auctioneers, accountants, contractors, and other contributors—showing that such practices were not confined to the theatrical world, but were common to nearly every branch of trade, and to many of the professions. Foremost amongst these was a letter signed by Messrs. Debenham, Storr, & Sons, the old-established firm of London auctioneers, which appeared in the "Times" of 30th December 1876. This was the first communication on the subject bearing the signature of the contributor. Unquestionably the thanks of all honest men are due to this firm for the fearless way in which they have come forward to denounce so widespread an abuse, which but for them would possibly never have got beyond the stage of anonymous discussion. The whole correspondence has since been reprinted by Mr. J. S. Storr, in the shape of a pamphlet, with extracts from the daily press, and much other valuable information, and it is to this source that we are indebted for our quotations from Messrs. Simpson and Rainy's publications.

Similar in character to the commissions alleged to have been received by the plaintiff Coe, and indeed belonging to the same class, are the secret commissions or presents offered to, or more frequently demanded by, servants of all kinds, who are paid for their services by a fixed remuneration. This class is very large, and we will commence with its lowest subdivision—household servants. One or two examples will serve to illustrate the general character of these cases. A gentleman living in London had occasion to leave a West End tailor, who had hitherto

made his servants' liveries, and to employ a working tailor, to whom he had been specially recommended by a friend. His servants were naturally indignant at the change, but submitted to be measured in silence. The liveries were finished, and gave every satisfaction to the employer, who already congratulated himself on the saving in cost he was making without sacrifice of efficiency. In a few weeks, however, buttons began to fall off, seams to open, and rents to appear in all directions. The servants said the cloth was "rotten-like." The tailor was sent for, and roundly abused by the master. "Sir," said the man, "I have put the best of material and workmanship into your liveries, but being a poor man, I could not afford to put half-a-crown into the waistcoat pocket of each suit. That is the custom of the West End trade, and the reason that my work is in holes." It is needless to say that the master was worsted, and that the livery suits in future always contained the half-crown in the waistcoat pocket. If we pass from the servants' hall to the butler's pantry, we shall find that functionary levying his commission from the wine merchant; while in the stable department the coachman exacts his due from the horse-dealer, carriage-builder, corn-chandler, and saddler. Cases of this kind will be within the experience of most of us. We do not say that there are not many servants who would scorn to receive bribes of this kind, but there is no question that the practice is very general indeed. As to its morality, we have met employers who see no objections to these commissions. They maintain that it is nothing to them what the tradesman chooses to give to their servants. In fact, they look upon them as legitimate perquisites, which serve to keep their servants happy and contented. A little reflection, however, would show that these commissions really come out of the employer's pocket, for the tradesman takes care to add the percentage he allows the servant to his master's bill in the shape of increased prices; and that the employer is further injured by the conflict of interest created by the acceptance of a bribe by the servant, who will sacrifice his interest in his anxiety to secure his own "commission."

In some cases, even, he is exposed to more direct injury still. For instance, a gentleman buys a horse or a carriage of a dealer. The coachman at once demands his commission of the dealer. If this is refused, the horse is somehow never well, his coat stares, he falls lame, dark suggestions are made of incipient fever in the feet, or similar disease; while the carriage runs badly, and is constantly in need of repair. Matters go on in this way till the master's property is destroyed and the tradesman's reputation ruined. There are coachmen and grooms, even, who, as far as they dare, keep their horses purposely, out of condition, with a

view to their being sold and others purchased—operations fruitful to them in “commissions.”

Next under the class of servants we come to clerks of all kinds, foremen, engineers, superintendents, and examiners of work and articles delivered under contract, managers of companies (notably gas companies) and hotels, secretaries of clubs, and a host of others too numerous to mention. To give a general idea of the fearful extent to which secret commissions are offered to or demanded by servants of this kind, we cannot do better than give an extract from an article on the morality of commissions which appeared in the “Manchester City News,” 24th February 1877:—

“Foremen in mills systematically receive commissions, only too willingly paid, for recommending a particular make of machines, or oil, or straps, or brushes, or cards. If the commission is not paid, it is extorted. An honest maker finds his files or his brushes or his shuttles condemned, when he knows they are the best obtainable, and he invariably discovers the reason to lie in the fact, either that he has not ‘wet them,’ or that a change of foreman has taken place. Patentees and inventors know the difficulty, know the absolute necessity of feeing managers, especially where the master is not a practical man. Even when the master is satisfied of the value of a new purchase, he cannot compel his workmen to use it properly, and his final remedy of discharging his foreman is likely to result in his getting another one equally corrupt. There is no doubt that many valuable machines and processes have been defeated because their originators have been too ignorant of the blackmail system, or too conscientious to submit to it; while, on the other hand, many wasteful and inefficient inventions have made the fortunes which remained after feeing, bribing, and corrupting untold numbers of men.

“Tradesmen, handicraftsmen, and agents for stores who use brushes, spindles, rollers, shuttles, reeds, healds, bobbins, pickers, files, cards, and tools, can tell how many good wishes they receive at the New Year, even from the lower grades of workmen in mills and workshops, who seem to appoint themselves, at this period, the ultimate judges of the quality of all goods supplied to their masters. Then there are the warehousemen, clothlookers, and weighers-in of the home trade and shipping houses.

“Everybody who has had experience in making cloth to contract has had more or less difficulty in getting his goods ‘passed’ by the Manchester clothlooker, who has a marvellously acute eye for detecting faults in cloth until he is presented with a pair of spectacles made of two coins, and with the aid of which he sees nothing. The manufacturer’s difficulties are again increased when the attention of the clothlooker is stimulated by the merchant’s consciousness of a falling market; but even this obstacle can be overcome by a timely gift to the merchant’s representative, and thus an endless and intricate system of paying commissions becomes a part of the economy of trade.”

This is no over-estimate. It may be denied that the better and more respectable servants accept such "commissions," and the custom may be more or less general in the different classes instanced. Genial optimists even may be found to say that in their experience they have never heard of such practices. But such denials serve only to disprove what has never been asserted—that the practice is universal; they do not disturb the positive evidence as to the existence of the fact in so many cases as to warrant the assertion that it is very general. While of those who give an unqualified denial to its existence we can only say, we envy the good-natured blindness which closes their eyes to the wickedness around them. But as our first care is to prove our case beyond possibility of refutation, we will call our readers' attention to the further evidence as to this class of commissions contained in a letter to the "Times" of 30th December last, signed E., an hotel manager, in which he gives at length the story of his trials in the furnace of temptation prepared for those who endeavour to give honest service in return for their salary;—to a letter from Sir Edmund Beckett, dated 8th January, where, speaking of architects' clerks, he says, "I have known tradesmen, whose things were specified to be used in building contracts, supplanted by others by order of the architect's head clerk, as was confessed on inquiry;"—and to a letter signed "A Commission Abolitionist," testifying to the commission levied upon material of every kind employed in gasworks by the paid officers of the company, and to the practice among managers of "condemning" old plant in order to secure their commission upon the purchase of new. Instances of the same kind might be multiplied indefinitely, but we will close our case under the head of servants' commissions with one more example, for the truth of which we are personally responsible, and which shows that the highest positions of trust between employer and servant are not free from this insidious form of bribery. An intimate friend of this writer accepted the post of private secretary to a nobleman who had recently been appointed to an important colonial government, and it became his duty to attend to the purchase of a very extensive outfit of all kinds. Of course his best endeavours were used to buy in the cheapest market, and having arrived at the lowest prices, and settled questions of discount for cash, &c., he left some small orders on his own account among several of the tradesmen employed. When the accounts were sent in, in every case his own private account was receipted in full. We were present when the first of these documents was received, and shall not readily forget the indignation of our friend. "This is a personal insult," said he, "rank bribery!" In order to test the grounds of this instinctive repu-

diation of what would have been accepted without scruple by many, we suggested that he should accept the proffered gift. "What!", was his reply, "accept what I have done nothing to earn? If Messrs. ——— can afford to make me this present, and yet make a profit on the goods supplied to the Governor, they can afford to supply these goods cheaper still." The result was that he insisted on paying for his own orders, and on a further deduction being made on his employer's orders. He subsequently told us, that had he chosen to accept the "commissions" offered, he would have pocketed nearly £500 on the entire outlay he made in behalf of his principal. Does not this anecdote point irresistibly to the conclusion that bribes of this kind are offered to persons occupying high positions of trust, and accepted? for if they were never accepted they would not be offered.

Looking back, then, to the instances we have given of "commissions" received by servants of all classes, we find that they all fall under our definition of "illicit commissions," or bribes. For they represent no services rendered; they are received without the employer's knowledge; and inasmuch as they are always offered with the special object of enlisting the servant's influence with his employer in the interest of the person offering them, they are clearly of the nature of a bribe. Of their corrupting influence on the individual we are not so much concerned at present. That they tend, directly or indirectly, to the injury of the employer, is sufficiently obvious from what we have said to render further argument unnecessary. A word as to who is to blame in these cases before we pass to the consideration of agents' commissions. It will have been remarked in the instances given, that the "commission" seems in some cases to be offered, and so to partake of the nature of a bribe; in others, to be an exaction, or blackmail. In its inception it seems probable that the practice originated with the tradesman, stimulated by competition and a desire to extend his business. The duller brain, however, of the salaried servant or clerk, who was first sought out by the cupidity of the trader, would not be long in learning the lesson taught him. The person bribed would soon see the power of the weapon put into his hand, and from those who did not offer he would exact. The offence of the briber seems to be that of corrupting the person bribed, and the morality of his class, by the temptation to emulate successful dishonesty; that of the bribed, the betrayal of his trust.

We now come to illicit commissions received by agents, understanding by the term all who transact business for others in consideration of a certain remuneration agreed upon between them. It was to these commissions that the correspondence in the "Times" was chiefly directed. They are more varied and compli-

cated in character ; and from this and the fact that the fiduciary relation between principal and agent is closer than that between master, and servant, especially where the agent is a member of a profession, and from the higher social position and education of the parties, the importance and difficulty of getting at the full extent and varied ramifications of the evil is proportionately greater.

First of mercantile commissions. A merchant's business may be said to consist principally in selling produce consigned to him by his correspondents abroad, and in buying and shipping to them goods of all kinds, chartering ships, effecting insurances, and generally transacting their business in any given place. His remuneration is a fixed commission or percentage on the business passing through his hands. In addition, however, to this legitimate remuneration, these operations permit of his obtaining secret commissions which do not come to the knowledge of his principals. When goods are purchased, it is the usual custom for manufacturers and wholesale traders to furnish the merchant with two invoices or bills of the articles purchased—one with discount deducted, the other without. This custom unquestionably originated in the wish to keep the trade discount secret, and to leave the merchant free to deal with it as he liked. It does not necessarily point to anything wrong, as there might possibly be an arrangement between the merchant and his constituent by which the former was allowed, in addition to the fixed rate of commission, to keep all discounts. When, however, the arrangement is that the principal or consignee should have the benefit of the discounts, the merchant's remuneration being confined to a fixed commission—by far the most general arrangement—the merchant can by this system, and does as a matter of very general practice, credit his principal with a portion only of such discount. In cases where the discount is fixed by general custom, as with Manchester goods, this is of course impossible, as such discounts are too well known. But in miscellaneous purchases the discount is to a great extent a matter of bargain. Where the discount is fixed and known, or where the coirespondent abroad is suspicious on the point, and it is found impossible to levy toll in this way, the merchant arranges with the manufacturer to furnish him with two invoices—one, we will suppose, of cotton prints at 3d. per yard, which is sent out and charged to the consignee, and the other at 2½d. per yard, which the merchant keeps, and upon which he pays the manufacturer. The difference of ½d. is the merchant's illicit commission.

We have now before us two circulars or price lists forwarded by a large manufacturer in London to a firm of commission merchants in the City of old standing and high respectability.

One of these is printed on thin paper, and registered for transmission abroad, and the other on ordinary paper. In other respects they are identical, with this important difference, however, that the prices quoted in the foreign circular are slightly higher than those in the other. The intention is sufficiently obvious, but to the uninitiated it may not be so apparent. It is briefly this: the manufacturer wishes to extend his business, and being a student of human nature, he knows that it is weak, and to be bought with a price. His own experience, moreover, teaches him that an increasing number of merchants who purchase his goods insist upon his invoices being furnished as just described in the case of the cotton prints. He therefore says to himself, "I will save these gentlemen the trouble of stipulating for this little accommodation every time they require it by issuing a general circular for distribution among their principals abroad, which will prepare their minds for the scale of prices which it may be convenient for my friends to charge them; while by distributing simultaneously to the London merchant a list of prices on a larger scale for his guidance, I shall convey to his mind that I sympathise with his legitimate aspirations, and am prepared to make any arrangement in the way of commission that will suit him; so shall I make to myself friends of the mammon of unrighteousness, and ever increase the area of my business." Here, then, we have an iniquity conceived, no doubt, originally by the merchant, under the pressure of competition, but quickly taken up by the manufacturer, who thus makes known among his customers, the merchants, the last device for defrauding a principal. And so the contagion spreads. These practices, we assert, are common, fearfully common, among merchants. That such unblushing invitations to dishonesty as the circulars alluded to are distributed broadcast, is strong proof that they are not matters of special arrangement amongst the few, but that the area of prepared soil is already large enough to yield an abundant crop to the scattering of the poisonous seed. A curious confirmation of this is to be found in the following incident. A large wholesale manufacturer in London conceived the idea of turning the tables on the commission merchants. He set to work to obtain the names and addresses of the foreign correspondents of his different customers, the London merchants, and in a very short time he had obtained the addresses of consumers of his wares in all quarters of the globe. To these he despatched regularly lists of the prices at which he was supplying their agents the merchants in London. As soon as this got wind, every effort was made by the merchants to crush so daring an intruder, but to no purpose; for the foreign consumer, finding his invoices to be thus "salted" in their passage through the

merchant's hands, sent his orders direct to the manufacturer. The enormous direct trade with all parts of the world which was the result of these tactics is a significant proof that the number of victims of the "salting" process described was not a small one.* Again, if a buyer demands the price of an article in a wholesale warehouse, it will be given higher or lower, as it is known that the firm he represents looks for a heavy "commission" in addition to the ordinary trade discount, or a light one, or perhaps none at all.

In the sale of produce it does not appear that the practice of secret commissions is so prevalent, though we have been told by respectable brokers, doing a large business, that they have frequently been asked for a return of a half commission, the full commission being retained in the account sales, which are forwarded to the owner of the produce, and we imagine there are very few brokers who have not been solicited in the same way. The conscience of trading companies and corporate bodies is not less elastic than that of the individual. We were only recently informed by a broker of high standing that an offer of 30 per cent. on the amount of the dock charges had been made to him by a certain Dock Company upon every vessel he could influence to their dock. From one point of view that might seem almost legitimate, and would be so if the broker were known to be employed by the Dock Company to bring business to their docks; but in this case he was not, and the commission being a secret one, it was nothing less than a bribe; for the docks in question were not suitable for the discharge of the produce in which the broker dealt, and his influence would thus have been used to the injury of his principals—a fact which could hardly have been unknown to the Dock Company. The proceeding was thus a bribe of the most flagrant character.

Such practices as we have just enumerated would unquestionably appear immoral to an unbiassed mind coming fresh to their consideration; but to a large class of merchants they seem fair and legitimate. It is alleged that merchants' commissions are now reduced so low by competition that the merchant is forced to eke out his profits in these and similar underhand ways; that the principal does not suffer by the practice, for, were he personally to attend to his business, he could not buy or sell to better advantage; that these secret commissions are a matter between the merchant and the broker or manufacturer; that they are, in fact, the premium which the manufacturer or broker is willing to give to secure the large business which a merchant

* The manufacturer we allude to is very well known, and we can vouch for the strict accuracy of what we have written.

can offer him, and are strictly analogous to the abatement in price which is made upon the sale of a large quantity, and that this abatement in price the merchant is fairly entitled to. Arguments like these might be multiplied till volumes were filled, and the essence of the matter lost in the barren logic of political economy. The question, however, is one of morality. The whole fabric of commission rests upon the loyalty of agent to principal. This cannot be maintained when the interest of the agent conflicts, however slightly, with that of his principal, and such a conflict is the direct result of these secret commissions. It is in their secrecy that the evil lies. Would A, living in India, be satisfied that his interests were properly cared for if he found that B., to whom he paid a commission for transacting his business in England, purchased, not necessarily in the cheapest or the best market, but wherever the return commission was the largest?

But put the case in a different light. A. is not a man of business; he is an officer or a civilian in India, unable to leave his post; a time comes when he finds he can no longer delay sending his children home. He accordingly despatches them with his wife to England, with parting instructions to apply at once on landing to his agent, B., to whom he has previously written on the subject. The wife on her arrival is received by the agent with the greatest attention, and a consultation soon follows as to the selection of a school. She is charmed with the earnest suavity of the agent, his great knowledge of schools, and the marked interest he evinces in her children. The school he recommends is selected, and the mother sets out on her long journey back, full of thankfulness that her children have found so kind a friend. But how would her joy be turned into bitterness if she knew that the schools offered for her selection were classed in the agent's books, not in their order of merit, but as the "commission" allowed upon the introduction of pupils was large or small? We have not been simulating such a case. Here is the original in the form of a letter from the well-known tutor Mr. Walter Wren to the editor of the "Times":—

"ACCESSORIES TO FRAUD.

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"SIR,—The above is a far more truthful heading than 'Commissions,' as every one knows who has had to do with receipts and payments on a large scale. Pray do not let the discussion end till some result has been achieved under your new and accurate definition. My contribution follows. On the 11th of May 1871 I received a letter, now before me:—

"India Army Civil Service—Agents and Bankers.

"W. WREN, Esq., 3 Powis Square, Notting Hill, W.

"SIR,—We shall be obliged by your furnishing us with some copies of your prospectus, and we wish to be informed whether you would

be prepared to allow us a commission in the event of our sending young gentlemen to your establishment. Awaiting your reply, we are, sir, your obedient servants.'

"I sent no answer. On the 4th of June following I received a second, —heading, &c., as before :—

" 'SIR,—We beg to refer you to our letter of the 10th ult., to which we shall be glad to receive a reply. We are,' &c.

"I will send you the originals if you wish. The name at the top and bottom of these letters is not of some unknown 'bankers,' but of a name known, I believe, in every town in India and England where there is a bank. If firms like this ask for commissions, where does the evil stop? Your obedient servant, WALTER WREN."

We are assured that the firm in question occupies a very leading position in London, and that their foreign connection is very large. Can anything show more conclusively than this how deeply the poison has eaten into the heart of our community? Here are agents and bankers, men who trade upon their high position and spotless reputation, ready to sacrifice the most sacred trust in their greed for gold. It is idle to say that the children's interests do not suffer. In the first place, schoolmasters and mistresses of high feeling and position will not stoop to this system of bribery, for it is nothing else, though it may be the agent who demands, and not they who offer the bribe. To them their calling is something more than a commercial speculation. They have won their reputation by years of hard and honourable labour, and look to that reputation alone for future success, and not to the paid services of a touting agent. The best schools will therefore find no place upon our agents' books; and as it is only natural to suppose that the characters of those who do so will vary inversely with the amount of the bribe offered, his interest will lie in recommending the most inferior schools. How is it possible, moreover, for an agent who has made his arrangement with a schoolmaster for so much per head on all pupils obtained through him to investigate complaints, should any such be allowed to reach the parents abroad, or act honestly on their behalf, when he is already pledged to support the other side, and feels that a display of zeal might lead to disclosures of an awkward nature? Those who know by experience the vast extent of a London agent's connection throughout our colonial empire, the multiplicity, variety, and importance of the business placed in his hands, and the absolute dependence placed upon his loyalty and integrity which such business implies, will not underrate the significance of the letter addressed to Mr. Wren, or the debt of gratitude they owe to him for publishing it in the "Times." What higher fiduciary relation can exist than that between such agents and the

thousands of our countrymen scattered throughout the world, who are compelled to intrust their dearest interests, their children and their fortunes, to their care? And yet we find, such trust betrayed, and that not by some unknown firm struggling into existence, but by one of the largest and most widely connected firms in London. Doubtless it will be said that this is an exceptional case; that Messrs. A., B., & C., and a number of others, are alone in such practices; that a class of honourable men must not be branded with the offence of one black sheep. We believe that there are many honourable men among the class described—a majority it may be—but how long will they remain so? how long can they stand against the competition of their rivals who accept a lower open commission, which they take care is more than made up by the secret commissions of which their principal knows nothing? It is a mere question of time. The honest man will sooner or later be driven out of the field, or yield to a force he can no longer resist. And so the practice becomes common, usual, universal, and the corruption of a class is complete.

We now come to the consideration of the subject as it shows itself in the practice of the professional classes. We shall here quote freely from the correspondence published in the "*Times*," as our main object is to prove, by as much independent testimony as possible, that the evil we speak of is no phantom of our own creation, but a reality the existence of which it is impossible to deny. The following letters to the editor of the "*Times*" (among many others) assert that it is an ordinary custom of solicitors and accountants to demand a return of commission upon all business introduced by them to stockbrokers and auctioneers:—

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From the "Times," December 26, 1876.

"SIR,—The incidental remarks that have been made in connection with the cause *Coe v. Sothorn* as to the questionable morality of dividing commissions, suggest reference to the practice of solicitors demanding half commission from stockbrokers on business introduced through their influence. That there are many honourable exceptions to this rule I am well aware, but that it is an ordinary custom is well known. If I, a broker, undertake to buy £100 Consols for 1s. 3d. instead of 2s. 6d., my obligation to do the best for my principal is no less, and I should have thought the same moral responsibility attached to a solicitor who is paid for his services. If he gives his client credit for the return commission, well and good; on the other hand, he is doing what is equivalent to a broker making something out of the dealer of whom he buys stock in addition to his commission—a proceeding as to the character of which there can be no question, and which would render him liable to immediate expulsion.

"A BROKER."

"SIR,—In your remarks on *Coe v. Sothorn*, you stated that the practice which led to the dismissal of the plaintiff would not be tolerated in any other than the theatrical profession, though it may prevail to a large extent between butlers and housekeepers and the family tradespeople. It may interest some of your readers to know that persons in a much less humble position—namely, solicitors in good practice—do not disdain to receive commissions surreptitiously, to the detriment, as it must be in the long run, of their clients. For instance, it is a common thing for a solicitor to receive from an auctioneer and estate agent one-third of the commission he may derive from the sale of an estate or other property. The client may suffer, consequently, in two ways:—either he may be charged at a higher rate than is necessary to pay the agent for his services, that the latter may be able to pay the solicitor a commission; or the solicitor may recommend an incompetent agent, who will allow him a commission, rather than a well-qualified one, who sets his face against such a practice.

AN AUCTIONEER."

From the "Times" of December 29, 1876.

"To the Editor of the Times.

"SIR,—Your correspondents doubt the accuracy of the statement that solicitors take commissions, as a rule, from stockbrokers; but daily experience proves that a very large number levy 'blackmail' from stockbrokers, auctioneers, and accountants, as something to which they are entitled. They have a kind of 'patronage,' and have no hesitation in selling it. Solicitors who assume, and are considered to hold, good positions in their profession do not feel ashamed to say, 'We have some business we can send you. What proportion of your charges will you allow us?' And if the broker, auctioneer, or accountant should decline to share the product of his experience and labour, the business is taken elsewhere. To such an extent has this system been carried during the past ten years, that it has almost become a custom. There are, of course, solicitors who would not accept any commissions, and there are brokers, auctioneers, and accountants who refuse to 'divide.' The evils resulting from the system are numerous, incapacity and high charges not being the least. There are liquidators without experience who have procured their nominations by 'making allowances,' and the practice of giving the conduct of the winding-up proceedings to the solicitors of the petitioner is an encouragement to the more astute in the way we live now.

"Where charges are high enough to permit a discount of 30, 40, and even 50 per cent., such allowance should be made to the principal, not to the agent. This would be honest, but some of the practitioners of the present day would deem it Quixotic.

"The Law Institution could remedy many of the abuses, but who is to 'bell the cat?'—Yours obediently, M. I. A."

From the "Times" of December 29, 1876.

"SIR,—The letters which appeared in the 'Times' of yesterday from

'A Country Solicitor' and 'S.S.C.' must surely emanate from persons living in a very remote part of the kingdom, and utterly ignorant of what is notorious in the metropolis. I boldly assert that it is a common practice for auctioneers to divide commission with solicitors, and that the former frequently offer, and the latter not uncommonly exact, that the commission shall be divided in stipulated proportions, generally one-third to the solicitor. It is scarcely necessary to remark that this system (which I distinctly affirm to be extensively prevalent) leads to the employment by solicitors of the least competent agents at the highest scale of remuneration, to the manifest injury of the principal, who not unfrequently, especially where he is a trustee or an executor, leaves the choice of the auctioneer to his solicitor, who generally considers himself entitled to the patronage and the profits appertaining thereto.

"I entirely disagree with your correspondent 'A Country Solicitor' that there is nothing dishonourable in his sharing a broker's commission on the sale of funded property; he is simply appropriating to himself what belongs to his employer. This vicious practice is of comparatively recent origin, and dates back to the period when professional accountants and financiers were unknown.

"That there are honourable and high-minded solicitors and auctioneers who are not amenable to my censure, I willingly admit, but the exceptions are comparatively few, notwithstanding the allegation of 'S.S.C.'—I remain, sir, your obedient servant, X. Y. Z."

From the "Times" of December 30, 1876.

"SIR,—The five letters on this subject in your impressions of the 26th, 28th, and 29th instant have all been anonymous. We will ask you to insert a few lines from us in our own names.

"1. There is no doubt that the vast majority of solicitors, accountants, and official liquidators demand, as of right and custom, a share of the commission from the auctioneer to whom they intrust the public sale of the properties they have to deal with in their professional capacities.

"2. There is also no doubt that almost every auctioneer in London—either with or without some qualified form of protest—is content to pay these third parties for the introduction of business.

"We are old enough to remember the brave stand made by the late Mr. Alexander Rainy some thirty years ago, when certain lawyers started this system. Mr. Rainy protested, and resisted it. His business as an auctioneer and valuer fell off, and he died recently in poverty. Since then efforts have been made by the Society of Auctioneers and others to check the evil; but these have been feeble, and not always sincere, and no *esprit de corps* has been established.

"It is common enough to meet with solicitors who bemoan the small amount their charges come to in comparison with the percentage of the auctioneers. They then seek, as a supplement, some part of the auctioneer's commission, and, in most cases, they obtain it. Indeed

the principle of 'nothing for nothing' runs through almost every branch of our complicated industrial life, and it can scarcely be otherwise at present. 'What allowance do you make me?' is probably the second question asked by most of the B.'s when they take business to the A.'s. 'We are but mortal,' was the quaint but significant expression of a firm of accountants to our representative a few days ago; and we could name instances worse than these.

"Before the days of liquidations, when creditors elected two of their own number as the trade assignees of a bankrupt's estate, and official assignees were appointed by the court, there was little or none of this modern and objectionable practice. Each matter was placed, as a rule, in the hands of the man best fitted to perform the duty, and a fair scale of commission was fixed by the Bankruptcy Court both for sales and valuations. Now the solicitors and liquidators do as they like, and the auctioneer must either 'arrange' with them, or see the business drift elsewhere, while he is vainly lamenting that 'the client suffers,' and that an incompetent or perhaps dishonest rival is employed.

"We will only add, that our English bar is protected from these encroachments on their fees, first by the high standard of honour among their members, and then by the rules of the various Inns of Court. We fail, however, to see any difference between a solicitor who marked a brief one hundred guineas, and received back thirty guineas for his own use, and a similar proceeding when an auctioneer, whose duties are often most responsible, and involve an infinity of care and labour, and long years of experience, stands in the place of a barrister. —Your obedient servants, DEBENHAM, STORR, & SONS."

From the foregoing correspondence, solicitors seem to be still, what apparently they were forty years ago, the chief offenders in respect to these secret commissions. As a class, they are probably neither more nor less immoral than others. It is simply that their business brings them very frequently into contact with stockbrokers and auctioneers. Indeed, it is well known that a very profitable part of a solicitor's business consists in operations on behalf of his clients necessitating the employment of such third parties. The solicitor is, in fact, the great patron of both broker and auctioneer. We shall not, therefore, be surprised to find that a solicitor figures in so many instances as accepting or exacting (more frequently the latter) the commissions we complain of. Nor, practically, is this gainsaid. It is true that Mr. Benjamin G. Lake, a solicitor of good position, and a member of the Council of the Incorporated Law Society, is bold enough to deny Messrs. Debenham, Storr, & Sons' assertion that the "vast majority of solicitors receive a share of the auctioneers' commission on the sale of properties placed in their hands for realisation," or "that an instance of it has ever come to his

knowledge," and refuses to believe "that any high-minded solicitor would stoop to such a practice." Mr. Lake, however, is here only speaking for himself, and those who, like himself, are reputed to be above suspicion, in the same way as Mr. Barry and Mr. Street deny the imputations against the better class of architects, or as Mr. Harding, the accountant and official liquidator, who appears to think that in denying the imputation as a purely personal one he is denying it for the whole of his profession. Not all men, however, are desperately wicked, nor have we yet arrived at the stage of universal depravity. We do not want these gentlemen, with something of the spirit of the Pharisee, to tell us that they are virtuous. It is not among the highest and most honoured members of a profession, to whom a fair name is the corner-stone of success, that we look for vicious practice, any more than among the houses of the rich for the diseases bred by want and poverty. It is sufficient if we find clear and unmistakable traces of such practices in the general body, bearing in mind, at the same time, that it is, for the most part, a minority alone in a class that is strictly above suspicion. It is only fair, however, to Mr. Lake's candour to say, that he admits the division of the stockbrokers' commission by solicitors to be "more common," while he does not hesitate to stigmatise both that and the kindred practice of taking commissions from auctioneers to be "indefensible, illegal, and unprofessional." Further, as a matter of evidence, those who speak to the prevalence of the evil, and notably Messrs. Debenham, Storr, & Sons, who lend the great authority of their name and position, are better witnesses than members of the very class that is allowed to be the chief offender and the principal gainer. It is probably true that some leading solicitors do not believe such practices to be prevalent, but their belief is of no weight against positive evidence of the fact. They are the last, indeed, among whom such experience might be expected, while professional pride would lead them to deny an accusation which might seem to reflect, in a measure, upon themselves. Not so with the broker and auctioneer, and especially the latter. They are, in this case, the victims of the solicitor; and here we are speaking of those who, like Messrs. Debenham, Storr, & Sons, decline, to their honour, but, at the same time, to their cost, to compete for business on such terms. When, therefore, we have a leading firm asserting publicly, and in their own name, that it is well known to be a matter of general custom for solicitors to exact such "commission" as the price of their patronage, and such testimony is confirmed by many other independent witnesses not solicitors; when, moreover, it is impossible to close our eyes to the fact that similar practices, under some disguise or other, meet us in almost every relation of life, we are forced to the

conclusion that the practice exists, in spite of the complacent denial of a few leading members of the profession. The Incorporated Law Society should have been foremost in the work of this investigation, but it has chosen rather to keep to its seclusion in Chancery Lane.

It might be thought, in such a case as we are now arguing, that to prove the fact was sufficient to ensure its condemnation. Two letters, however, were inserted in the "Times," one signed a "Country Solicitor," the other "X. Y.," in which a somewhat uncertain grasp of the morality of the matter is apparent. In both, the practice of exacting any part of the auctioneer's commission is unhesitatingly condemned, but in the case of the stockbroker it is upheld. "A Country Solicitor" bases his distinction between the two cases on the ground that the broker's fee is fixed and known, and, consequently, its division between the solicitor and the broker is an arrangement between them which in no way concerns the principal, and cannot affect him pecuniarily; while the auctioneer's fee, being more a matter of bargain between him and the solicitor, any portion of it which he may allow the latter is added, or liable to be added, to the total charge which the principal pays. No doubt, there is reason in this, so far that the practice in the one case is more objectionable, and more liable to be abused, than in the other. The varying nature of the auctioneer's business may sometimes enable him to recoup himself for the exactions of the solicitor by a corresponding increase in his fee or charge, in the same way as the tradesman compensates himself for the blackmail levied by the servant; and such an overcharge is directly paid by the principal. The difference, however, between the two cases, is one of degree only. They both unquestionably tend to separate the interests of principal and agent, and are therefore necessarily injurious to the former. In the case of the auctioneer this is plain and undeniable: in that of the broker, the evil is less in degree, and less striking, but it is still there. It may possibly be that some few solicitors of good standing, who make a practice of demanding a share in the stockbroker's commission, do not employ brokers who are not also of the highest position, and that practically, in these cases, the principal does not suffer in any way, but may even derive benefit from the experience of his solicitor. Such cases, however, are not really to the point. They merely prove that, where solicitor and broker are of the highest standing, the interest of the principal may not suffer. But we are not dealing with the *élite*, and, consequently, the minority, of this or any other profession. The practice, in a selected case, may be followed by no evil consequences. We are concerned with its effects on the class generally—on the weak rather than the strong—with the induce-

ments it offers to the agent generally to neglect his principal's interest in the pursuit of his own. Some will be strong enough to resist these inducements, or the inducements may be counter-balanced by others equally strong—such as regard to reputation, old-established connection, and the like—but these will be the few. The many must yield, and do yield, in ever-increasing numbers, as the pressure of competition is more keenly felt. Upon the question of fact whether the better class of stock-brokers and auctioneers do adopt the practice of dividing their commission, we may here quote Mr. Lake's testimony, which, on a matter of professional experience, is of value, that "brokers and auctioneers of the first rank will not submit to the imposition," and so he proceeds to add, "the solicitor is tempted to employ others of less high character, who will." It is to the inevitable tendency of the practice that we wish to call attention. It is precisely in the temptation which, as Mr. Lake observes, it gives rise to, that the strength of our argument lies. A. and B. may be solicitors of the utmost probity, and may divide the broker's commission with C. and D., whose character is equally unimpeachable; but if another broker, not of the highest standing, but who has learnt by experience that a large business may be built up by the expedient of offering the largest bribe to those who have the patronage, offers to do A. and B.'s business, and to return a slightly larger percentage of his commission than that allowed by C. and D., say, five-eighths instead of one-half, what then is the position of A. and B.? The extra one-eighth implies a considerable sum at the end of the year. The temptation is strong, the morality of the matter is entirely in their own hands, and, after all, the rival broker holds a very respectable position. There can be but one result. Men are no more able to serve two masters in the nineteenth century than they have been at any other period of their history, and if they have to decide between their own interest and that of another, is there room for doubt what choice they will make?

The argument advanced by a country solicitor, that the large amount of business solicitors are able to give to brokers warrants their demanding a premium upon its introduction, is analogous to the special discount or abatement in price which the merchant claims for himself upon large purchases. In both cases the argument *per se* is well enough, and would be unanswerable if solicitor and merchant were acting for themselves. But, apart from the question, which might very well be argued, how far it is their clients who place them in a position to make such a demand, and who are consequently entitled to the benefit of it, a totally different set of issues are at once raised by the agency in the matter of both solicitor and merchant. Granted this right to demand an abatement upon a wholesale transaction, are

they not morally, as they unquestionably are legally, bound to account for this to their principals? If they are not, then arises the objection, which we have just seen to be fatal, that their interests will at once cease to be identical, and must sooner or later become antagonistic to that of their principal. Moreover it is difficult to see, if the solicitor is paid already for his attendances, letters, and advice in the matter—and we have hitherto confined our attention to cases of this kind—what right he has to step in between the broker, who really does the work, and his legitimate profit.

In cases where the solicitor makes no separate charge to his client for his services in matters of investment, as is apparently the custom of X. Y., the practice would appear to be less objectionable. And we may here compare the analogous case of bankers, among whom the practice of dividing commissions with brokers in the same way, without special charge to their customers, is universal. This might seem, at first sight, fair and legitimate, but in reality it is open to the same objection which lies against all cases where an agent is paid by the profits arising out of his agency, whether those profits form the only remuneration, or are additional to the fixed remuneration paid by the principal—that it necessarily tends to destroy identity of interest between principal and agent. We have traced this tendency of “commissions” in the instances we have advanced, and we shall find it underlying them all more or less conspicuously. There is no difficulty in recognising this in the position of servants, clerks, foremen, managers, and others, where the term “commission” is really an euphemism for bribery of the most open kind; and a little examination will detect the same evil, though less in degree, in the case we are now discussing. The morality and high tone of the banking class generally is beyond dispute. But even the British banker is heir to the weakness of human nature, nor is he beyond the reach of temptation. A system, therefore, which necessarily exposes him to it must be unsound and vicious; and this is the direct result of the system of divided commissions. If the public require the intervention of a banker in making their investments—and we are far from saying that to a large class of investors, such intervention is not a clear advantage, or even, in some cases, a necessity—the fair and legitimate mode of remunerating his services is a fixed commission upon the amount invested. The banker would thus be absolutely free to do the best for his customer, without distracting influence of any kind. But if banker or solicitor is left to depend for his remuneration upon what he can screw out of the broker, he is no longer a free man. His interest at once diverges from that of his principal. He will strive to make his remuneration as large as possible, and in the struggle the interest

of his principal, sooner or later, more or less, will be sacrificed. Nor is the question seriously affected by the knowledge of the principal. If he chooses to submit to the specious argument that it is immaterial to him what arrangement his agent makes with the broker, his consent at once exonerates the agent. But the system is none the less bad and vicious because those who suffer by it do not recognise its real character. For the most part, investors who employ the services of a banker are people of no business experience—country clergymen, single ladies, and the like—and therefore it is not surprising that they do not realise the danger to which the practice tends. Satisfied with the high character of their bankers, they do not see that that is no reason for exposing them unnecessarily to temptation, any more than they would be justified in needlessly trying the honesty of their managers and cashiers. If it were proposed to such people that, in selling or buying a house or a farm, they should leave their agent to get his remuneration out of the purchaser or seller, they would at once perceive the unsatisfactory nature of the arrangement. But they are really doing the same thing when they sell or buy stock through a banker. Suppose, for instance, the leading stockbrokers were to agree that they would no longer submit to the exaction of one-half of their commission, and resolve in future to limit their concession to a quarter—and this is by no means an extravagant supposition—the bankers would at once be confronted with the temptation to give their customer's business to inferior men who allowed a larger return. Have we such confidence in our bankers that we have no fear in placing them in such a position as this?

Under the joint-stock banking system, with its millions upon millions of returns, are not the temptations of the directors and managers of their various departments far greater than under the old system of private banks, with men like Lord Overstone (Jones, Lloyd, & Co.) governing the business by their high principles and strict ideas of rectitude? Sydney Smith gave us a definition of the conscience of a public board. From year to year we see the very best members of our vast commercial system relinquishing business, tired out by their struggles against modern usages such as that now before us, and the places of these men are filled up by younger and less scrupulous persons, whose ideal of duty is to make money, and whose standard of probity is little better than that of the North Country commercial traveller, or the French *commis voyageur*.

But considered from the point of view of the broker, the practice seems equally indefensible; for why is the banker or solicitor, who practically does nothing whatever to earn it, to pocket so large a share as one-half of the broker's commission? If the broker's commission is excessive, competition may safely be left

to reduce it to its proper level, but such reduction should go into the pocket of the investor. The middleman, whose duties in the matter are confined to sending for the broker and placing the order in his hands, is entitled to no more than an adequate payment for his services. By no stretch of the imagination can the value of his services be rated at one-half of the whole charges on the transaction. The general reduction that has taken place in the profits and commissions of all kinds, under the fierce competition of the day, has been rapid and extensive enough. The result of this may have been, on the one hand, to cheapen commodities by the stimulus given to production. But, on the other, its direct outcome has been to lower the standard of commercial and professional morality; so that it may be doubted whether the advantages in one direction have not been more than compensated by the disadvantages in the other. Recent disclosures as to "sworn brokers" in the City of London are far from reassuring, and confirm the impression that it happens, not unfrequently, that there is collusion, to the owner's detriment, between these men and their *confrères* the merchants. Old-fashioned traders are confounded at the fortunes made in a few years by young houses, whose practices are known to be "cute" rather than scrupulous. But competition is a tendency of modern civilisation over which we cannot hope to obtain much direct control. The middleman, however, by the practice of "divided commissions," is enabled to take advantage of and to intensify its evils, without any corresponding gain to either party. For the consumer or principal derives no benefit, at all events no commensurate benefit, from the profit of the middleman, while the earnings of the producer or worker are oftentimes diminished below the level at which honest work can be done.

It will not be necessary to discuss the morality of the practice in its connection with auctioneers, as no attempt has been made to uphold it in this instance. The question, therefore, is narrowed to one of prevalence, to which we have already shortly alluded. From inquiries we have made, we are fully convinced that Messrs. Debenham, Storr, & Sons' assertions on this point are more than borne out in fact. It is not too much to say that in spite of the epithet "unjustifiable," applied to their assertions by the committee of the Estate Exchange, the business of many of the largest and most reputed firms of auctioneers in London has been built up by such commissions or bribes, and several of these are members of the Estate Exchange. This has been the real secret of the sudden rise of many a comparatively new firm, a rise which in every case has been effected at the expense of the few honest and capable men who have refused to truckle to the infidelity and dishonesty of their patrons, the solicitors. To such a pitch has this system of bribery been carried, that auctioneers will

frequently return one-third of the fees paid to them by solicitors for giving evidence as to values and other points connected with compensation cases. What the value of such testimony is it is not difficult to estimate.

But this part of our subject would not be adequately illustrated without some reference to the practice among solicitors of claiming a commission from life insurance offices on all policies issued through their introduction. We are able to state that this practice, at all events, is not confined to the dregs of the profession, but is almost universal among solicitors of the very highest position. From this source alone as much as £1200 per annum is derived by firms in large practice. The following extracts from the correspondence on the subject in the "Times" will serve to illustrate the extent and pernicious effects of the custom, especially the valuable letter from Mr. Sutton Sharpe:—

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"SIR,—Many animadversions have lately been passed in the 'Times' on the practice of solicitors receiving a share of the remuneration of brokers and auctioneers instructed by them, but nothing has been said of a custom which would seem to be even more fraught with danger to the interests of the clients—viz., their claiming commissions from life insurance offices on the introduction of business. A solicitor employed to effect an insurance, and making the usual professional charges, is bound to obtain the greatest possible advantages for his client, and it is not to be expected that his judgment of the relative advantages of different companies will be unbiassed if he knows that he will receive from some of them a considerable portion of the premium, from most a smaller percentage, and from a few nothing at all.—I am, sir, your obedient servant,
S. L. M."

"To the Editor of the 'Times.'

"SIR,—I could not venture to encroach upon your space by any attempt to illustrate the innumerable forms which commissions may be made to assume, or the countless number of transactions into which they enter; but I should like to be permitted to say a few words about the effect which they produce upon the business of life insurance, and also, indirectly, upon the trustworthiness of solicitors. The great insurance offices have been among the most potent of the causes which have led to the present development of the system; and the monster to which they have thus given life has, in return, strangled not a few of them before they have reached maturity.

"There are four offices, and, I believe, four only—the National, the Equitable, the Metropolitan, and the London Life—which employ no agents and give no commissions.* All others have fallen under the dominion of the system; and even well-established offices have lately been forced by competition to increase their former allowances. Thus

* The Clergy Mutual and the Scottish Metropolitan also pay no commissions.

the Law Life, which originally gave solicitors only five per cent. upon the premiums paid by their clients, has been compelled to double this upon the first premium, in order to compete successfully with the Legal and General, the Law Union, and the London and Provincial Law Life. The Law Life Office found, until they made this concession, that solicitors were taking their business to the other offices mentioned; and it needs no argument to show that, in the result, the clients were the sufferers. Commissions either require a higher rate of premium, or they diminish the profits divisible under the form of bonus. The above-named offices are all of such position that they may be trusted not to carry their payments beyond the point of safety; but this is more than can be said for many others. The reckless competition for business among the weaker offices is mainly carried on by outbidding one another in the matter of commissions, with the immediate result that such offices are unable to declare bonuses, and often with the ultimate result that they betray all who have trusted in them. As a matter of theory, no solicitor would recommend an unsound office merely that he might pocket a large commission; but as a matter of fact, large commissions never fail to bring business. The Albert and the European, up to the very day when their doors were closed, were receiving and accepting a larger number of proposals than fell to the share of many sound and solvent concerns.

"Insurance managers, as a body, are perfectly well aware of the injury which all offices sustain from the operation of the commission system; but they do not see in what way they can break through the net in which they have suffered themselves to become entangled. Solicitors introduce the great bulk of the insurance business, and the majority of them have no scruples in the matter, insomuch that managers often find themselves awkwardly placed between two of these gentry, each of whom demands a commission for the same transaction. This occurs chiefly in loan cases, where the borrower and the lender each employs a solicitor, and where the policy is a collateral security. Under such circumstances the two lawyers agree upon the office, and then each of them asks for the full commission upon the transaction. I have seen some very edifying letters which have been interchanged as the result of such demands and of endeavours to arrange them.

"It is also an established custom for solicitors who are intrusted with the money of clients to lend upon security, to charge a high commission to the borrower, and to divide this with his solicitor, or with the agent by whom the borrower has been introduced to them. The natural consequence is, that they are tempted to recommend bad securities, the owners of which will not scruple to pay the high rates for the money they require. By such means many solicitors have gained an appetite for commissions which is not easily satisfied; and they have at the same time acquired so robust a faith in them as effectual means of obtaining business, that it has become common for them to seek clients by the employment of touts, and to divide with those estimable persons the profits that may accrue from their introductions. Business or professional men whose affairs are in a tangle,

and who are more or less in the power of some solicitors, are often made to do dirty work of this kind—to recommend to others, under the guise of pure friendship, the legal spider into whose net they themselves have fallen.—I am, sir, yours truly,
SUTTON SHARPE."

We may add to this, that "An Actuary" states the total sum paid in commissions by eight offices, viz., the Gresham, Standard, Law Life, Scottish Widows, Briton, Royal, and Scottish Union, at £120,279 per annum; while Mr. W. S. Bloxson, Manager of the Scottish Metropolitan Life Assurance Co., writes that "reference to the Government returns will show that the total sum paid yearly for commissions exceeds £400,000." That this sum comes directly out of the pocket of the assured is as plain as that the master pays the "commission" exacted by his servant from the tradesman. Such commissions, in fact, seem to answer in every point to the general definition we have attempted of the class of illicit commissions. They are taken by agents holding the closest fiduciary relation with their principals; they are taken behind his back. They represent absolutely no services whatever which are not adequately paid by the regular professional charges. Their acceptance is in the most direct way injurious to the principal. They are, in fact, nothing less than bribes offered by insurance companies to the solicitors. No doubt the more respectable solicitors are able and do resist the temptation of directly injuring their clients by recommending unsound offices, but it is a notorious fact that unsound offices offer the largest commissions, and equally undeniable, as Mr. Sutton Sharpe pertinently remarks, that "large commissions never fail to bring business." The injurious effects of the system are amply recognised by the better class of insurance offices, but they are forced into the practice by the pressure of competition, and the number of offices is so great, that a combination sufficiently strong to resist it is almost impossible. In March last, Mr. Carment, commenting on this subject on behalf of the committee of the Scottish Provident Institution, concluded his remarks by quoting the words of the late eminent actuary Mr. Samuel Brown, which appear to us so admirably to sum up the indictment against this form of secret commissions that we cannot refrain from reproducing them here. "Where," says Mr. Brown, "is all this to end? If companies are continually to overbid each other, the limit will only be reached when the agents obtain the highest and the assurers the lowest amount of profit at which the company can exist." Among all the instances we have given, there is none which points more forcibly to the evils of the middleman than this, or to the enormous waste of a system which allows him to fatten upon the profits which properly belong to his principal, and which he does

absolutely nothing to earn. The sale of patronage can hardly receive a clearer illustration. Is there not something wrong when a single firm can realise £1200 per annum by the sale of the professional advice which has already been paid for by its clients?

Such instances as the Albert and the European life office failures, involving hundreds of families in litigation and ruin, and the fact that nearly half a million sterling is paid yearly by the life offices as bribes to solicitors and others who bring them business, suggest to our minds how easy it would be for the Government to extend their savings' bank system, and grant to life insurers the benefit of *minimum* rates of premium and a Government guarantee.

Whilst solicitors and other outsiders are ever seeking to thrust their fingers into the pockets of life assurers, stockbrokers, auctioneers, and, indeed, all those with whom they come into professional contact, whether as fiduciary agents or as friendly advisers, no surprise can be felt at the tricky ways and bad work done by those they thus elect to employ. This, again, reacts on the clerks, foremen, and others in the service of all parties implicated. The example is bad, the wages are probably low, and what more natural than that the hosts of employes should fall into the ways of their masters, and try their best to partake of the pillage, or black-mail, so greedily devoured and enjoyed in the private offices of the principals? One of these successful men has just told us, "I can honestly say that I never took a bribe in my life, but I've paid away thousands of pounds, . . . and I wish all forms of bribery could be abolished."

Under the heading "*City Wreckers*," the "*World*" published a series of articles in January last, in which the prominent figure was "*The Official Liquidator*," another novel variety of our *genus*:—

"If you hear nowadays of a new man having set up a carriage, and purchased a 'palatial mansion,' and showing other symptoms of being the happy possessor of a large fortune, you may be sure that he follows this most lucrative calling, and that his wife speaks of him with pride as an official liquidator."

"That monstrous abuses have grown up under this system; that the post of 'official liquidator' is sought for as one of the great prizes of the day; that some who follow the trade have grown immensely rich in a few years; that as much as £100,000 has been made out of a single failure; that companies and shareholders have alike been subjected to indiscriminate pillage—all this is very well known to everybody who has inquired into the subject. It is time that the whole scandalous scheme of jobbery, with its 'perquisites,' 'commissions,' and plunder, was brought to an end. We propose to see what we can do towards producing that desirable result."

It is not uncommon, when a struggle is made for this responsible position, for the petitioning creditor to withdraw his nominee on being paid twenty shillings in the pound for his debt. The estate may not be worth five shillings, but there are the pickings, the patronage, the charges, costs, expenses, which it is no one's business to audit. A few hundred pounds paid at starting to get rid of a rival may well be a sound and lucrative investment to the pushing man, the successful liquidator. As to engineers, there is the well-known case of the locomotive superintendent of one of our leading English railways, whose salary was but little over £1000 per annum, who not only lived well, but built chapels, and retired after a few years' service to enjoy the repose he so much needed. It was said that the bribes he received from engine and rolling stock manufacturers amounted to many thousands in each year of his valuable term of duty. The directors did not prosecute this man, but a porter who took a gallon of oil would doubtless have been sent to jail, and had three years' penal servitude.

On trial trips it is common to give the chief engineer of a sea-going vessel £20 for running the usual measured mile, and the contractor allows this same officer coal-money at per ton, or there are complaints from the engine-room—the speed is slow, the engineer cannot “get up steam” with coals like these! A royalty is often paid for patents long since superseded; but if A. and B. each derive benefit by sharing a bribe between them, it is not easy to discover that the invention is not an essential part of the internal machinery: it is reported “to work admirably.”

One more illustration of the ever-spreading nature of this vicious and undermining system we feel bound to disclose, though we do so with reluctance and shame, as it saps the root of our much-prized municipal institutions. Another class of “middleman” has come into active life within the last few years, the offspring of the loan system for improvements, drainage works, &c., in our large towns. “*The mortgage and finance broker*” is a gentleman with good manners and address, little means of his own, and less of conscientious scruples. On learning that some active members of a town council are suggesting “public works” for the benefit of this or that borough, he naturally thinks how he too may derive benefit. Nothing can be simpler or more plausible: he has but to make himself known to the town-clerk, and show him that his “good offices” are available to their mutual advantage; he even points out that the facilities his agency affords will save all legal expenses, for he will include them in his commission; and further, he will divide that commission, two and a half to three and a half per cent., with the town-clerk himself. Notwithstanding the low rate

of money for the last year or two, and the competition there is, especially among life offices, to invest in such securities as loans on local rates, negotiated direct with authorised applicants, as was always done until quite recently, our finance broker finds the bribe to the town-clerk will but too often secure him the business. We have even known cases where attempts have been made to bribe the secretaries of the life offices as well.

We have still to notice the secret commissions taken by architects and accountants, but the space at our disposal will not allow us to do so at any length. We must therefore refer our readers to the correspondence on the subject which appeared in the "Times" in the early part of January last. There will be found the same evidence as to the extent and nature of the practice as we have examined in the case of the other professions, and the same denials from a few leading members. We are quite content to leave this evidence in the hands of any impartial reader, merely inviting him to notice that the testimony to the prevalence of the practice is that of the sufferers, the testimony against it that of the classes benefited.

When can we know for certain that we have reached the limit of its corrupting influence? Shall we now attempt by legislative enactment to stamp it out, and brand briber and bribee with infamy? or shall we wait yet longer until physicians, the bar, our judges, our civil servants at home, in India, and the Colonies, Government inspectors of mines and factories, our very Ministers of State, are tampered with by these persevering, unscrupulous, and insatiable middlemen, who may be truly termed *chevaliers d'industrie*? Already we are much behindhand; in a few years it will be impossible to deal with the evil; the canker grows on us in depth and breadth. As we have seen, it has even now wormed its slimy way from the butler to the banker class. Almost every man who has patronage has also his price.

A Royal Commission on the subject of commercial and professional bribery—such as that recently appointed to look into the dark doings of the Stock Exchange, would disclose a state of things which would indeed cause "a sensation" in this land of liberty. "Nothing for nothing," and "We will stick at nothing," "Each man for himself and God for us all"—these are the sentiments which prevail, and are found "to pay."

We shall not go further into the subject. The facts that we have brought together form a mere fraction of the evidence which might be collected. They will doubtless be supplemented by each of our readers from his own experience. No reasonable doubt can exist that the practice of secret commissions is fearfully prevalent, or that its effects are injurious to the employer and principal, in fact, to the public at large, and destructive to the morality of the individual and society alike. The evil, moreover,

fed by the competition and rush after wealth, which are the features of modern life, and which in its turn it serves to intensify and extend, is steadily on the increase. The first step is to obtain a correct and clear idea of the extent and nature of the evil. We must form our diagnosis of the disease before we can apply a remedy. The question is essentially a moral one, and the moral faculty has not yet been sufficiently roused to its importance. Public opinion is still somewhat hazy and undecided, and unless clearer ideas are gained, it will be difficult to bring in the criminal lawyer and special legislation. We are convinced that, with the exception of a few of the most glaring cases we have mentioned, the average respectable householder, merchant, or professional man would find it difficult to pronounce offhand upon the morality of any given instance. The evil has been in our midst so long, and custom has asserted its deadening influence with such effect, that its real nature and tendency is lost sight of in the tacit sanction accorded to it in practice. We have only to note the bald result of all this recent agitation. A few letters to the "Times," some of which are devoted to a systematic defence of the practice, and others to a denial of its existence, a leading article or two in the newspapers, and some heavy, but practically useless, condemnation on the part of incorporated societies and royal institutes, and the matter seems to have dropped out of notice. Now we are no alarmists. This is no pet grievance which we are seeking to air, nor are we believers in the approaching decline and fall of modern society. But we say the time has come when the existence of this evil must be recognised. Confined till recently within moderate bounds, it has now burst through all barriers, and unless public opinion can be roused, through its recognised organs and by individual effort, to stigmatise it by its real name, it will soon become so ingrafted on our social life as to defy eradication. When it is seen that practices, which have hitherto been passed over under the name of "commissions," are in reality nothing but bribes of a more or less obvious character, the disease will then be ripe for a remedy, and society ready and willing to apply it.

But though we have no great faith in the principle of paternal legislation, or the possibility of making men moral by Act of Parliament, we believe that legislation is often of great use in strengthening public opinion. More than that, there are abuses which mere moral condemnation is insufficient to check. Such was the adulteration of food—an abuse springing from the same disposing cause as that under discussion. This at one time had reached such a pitch, that the surrender of the honest few who still continued to withstand its influence was only a question of time. Society recognised, but was powerless to check, the

evil. It had gone too far. When adulterated commodities were being sold at prices below the prime cost of the pure article, and the art of adulteration appeared to be still in its infancy, the law of self-preservation interposed, and the honest trader was compelled to yield. The special Act passed for its suppression has been eminently successful, while the stigma of a conviction under the Act has materially helped to form and strengthen the public judgment of the practice. Further instances of special legislation are to be found in the Act for the suppression of bribery at elections, in the control exercised over public-houses, the protection afforded to trade and hall marks, and the regulation of the hours of labour for women and children under the Factory Act. Then we have Mr. Gathorne Hardy's Act dealing with the treatment of sick poor in our workhouses, and Mr. Cross's Act for the removal of unhealthy dwellings in large cities. It is acknowledged now, on all hands, that the legislation in these cases has already been attended with marked benefit to the community at large, and that still larger benefits must follow shortly. Now, we are firmly convinced that the evil of these secret commissions, if not quite so far advanced as that of adulteration, has become so widespread and inveterate, that nothing short of arming society with a similar remedy will avail to check it. Those who see its injurious tendency are too often powerless to make head against it. We have noted that the better class of insurance offices find themselves unable to check or abandon a practice which competition compels them to adopt. Many brokers bitterly inveigh against the system, but competition from below is again too powerful. True it is that the duties of servants and agents are clearly defined both at Common Law and in Equity. Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, in the case of *Hamson v. Thompson*,* laid it down that "the profits acquired by the servant or agent in the course of or in connection with his service or agency belong to the master or principal," and decisions in Equity are to the same effect, "that the profits directly or indirectly made in the course of or in connection with his employment by a servant or agent, without the sanction of the master or principal, belong absolutely to the principal." The illegality, therefore, of every kind of secret commission is unquestionable, and such commissions may be recovered at law. A remedy of one kind is thus already available; but, as Sir Edmund Beckett remarks in his letter to the "*Times*" dated 2d January last, "The illegality is only civil, and not criminal, and the risk of failure is the worst that can happen; and even that, at

* See L. R. Q. B., vol. ix.

the cost of a lawsuit, is infinitesimal compared with the certain and immediate gain of the bribe." As a matter of fact, an action for recovery is not a remedy which has been found available to stop the abuse, as is shown by the rarity of its adoption. The process is too cumbersome and too uncertain to give any real relief to the sufferers, while to the defendant the worst is the loss of his commission and the expense of the suit, which, after all, there is a considerable chance of his successfully resisting. A civil suit, moreover, if established, conveys little or no moral stigma with it. A point of casuistry is raised, which counsel for the defence takes care to make the most of; evidence is given to prove general custom and implied consent on the part of the principal. In short, every device of special pleading is resorted to, until the morality of the case is lost in a cloud of ingenious sophistry. Defeat is thus visited by little or no social censure, and the fact that so much can be said in its defence tends still further to weaken the moral judgment upon the practice, which already is too indistinct to assert itself with decision. Were the practice, however, made criminal, with a penalty attached, not so heavy as to interfere with its application, a conviction would carry with it a social disability and stigma, which would be of practical effect in checking the practice; while we should hear no more moral arguments in defence of what the law had pronounced to be a misdemeanour. Something, no doubt, might be effected by the action of the Incorporated Law Society, the Royal Institute of British Architects, the Estate Exchange, and other associations formed for the regulation of professional practice; but the powers of such societies are limited to their members, who in many cases are a small minority of the entire class; and they do not touch the numerous delinquents to be found among servants, clerks, managers, secretaries, and other salaried employés. However honestly these societies threw their weight into the scale, the result could therefore only be partial and insignificant. The practice, moreover, is so widely spread, that those who wield the powers of these bodies are not sufficiently free from its influence to act with independence and effect. Sir Edmund Beckett, who from the first has taken a very prominent part in the discussion of the question, has argued with great weight upon this part of it, and, we think, has conclusively shown the inadequacy, not only of such measures, but of existing legislation. But, as we have already said, a mere Act of Parliament is not sufficient. Like too many of its predecessors, it will remain a dead letter unless society itself condemns the practice, and is determined to put it down. The true remedy must come from within, aided, let us hope, by punishment under the law. •

ART. III.—HARRIET MARTINEAU.

Harriet Martineau's Autobiography. With Memorials. By MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN. Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

ONE of the most extraordinary women of the present century, recently deceased, has left us an autobiography which all are agreed in allowing to be the most remarkable book of the season; and certainly, whether regarded as the portrayal of the innermost life of one who has stood in the forefront of the army of literature, doing vigorous battle in the cause of liberty and light, or as a panoramic picture of men and manners long passed away, it cannot fail to create an absorbing interest in the mind of every thoughtful reader. In most autobiographies we feel that there is a tendency to smooth over or ignore the faults and failings of the writer and of personal friends, and to exaggerate difficulties; but in the work before us we see at a glance the strict honesty and impartiality of the writer in every line—an honesty which has given umbrage to many, because Miss Martineau has not scrupled to record her own private opinion of many men and women whose names have become almost canonised by posterity, and has dared to raise that veil, somewhat rudely at times, which by common consent is cast over the failings of the dead, so much so that, except in rare historical cases, men who in their lifetime have been regarded as ruffians or villains, become translated by death into angels of light; and so universal has become this fashion of whitewashing the departed, that we are tempted to believe that all the evils recorded in history must have been the work of demons, and in no case to be ascribed to the cruelty, greed, or ambition of those whom cotemporaries looked upon as the authors of them, but whom death has proved to have been mortal, and therefore immaculate. The writer, then, who dares to speak the truth about living and dead alike has need of much courage, for everything which jars upon a preconceived idea will be set down to malevolence; and this is the charge which has been freely made against Miss Martineau by some of those who have commented upon the “Autobiography,” and have found their political and social idols fearlessly criticised and reduced to their true proportions therein. Nevertheless a careful perusal of her “Biographical Sketches,” in which friend and foe alike are carefully, honestly, and impartially sketched according to their merits, will suffice to prove that no such mean and unworthy feeling can truthfully be ascribed to Harriet Martineau. Blunt

candour with regard to her own faults and those of others is indeed the chief characteristic of the "Autobiography;" and although we may occasionally regret that a little more reticence has not been observed in treating of some well-known names, we yet feel constrained to admire the intrepidity with which the writer faces the consequences which she knows will follow her unvarnished tale.

The "Autobiography," which, we are told, she had long felt it a duty to write, was not undertaken in earnest until 1855, when, after a serious illness, several doctors had assured her that she had a disease which might at any moment terminate fatally, although she might survive for some years. In the introduction she gives us her reasons for undertaking this work herself, and for interdicting the publication of her letters—a prohibition which is doubtless in some cases necessary, since private letters have frequently been employed unjustifiably, to the great annoyance of surviving relations and friends, but which we cannot help regretting in the present instance, because we feel that a judicious selection from a correspondence so varied as that of Miss Martineau, which included such names as Sydney Smith and Jeffrey, could not fail to be of infinite value. Nevertheless in principle Miss Martineau was certainly right, for epistolary correspondence loses its value the moment it is undertaken with a view to publication, or even when that is looked forward to as a possible contingency. At the same time much may be culled from letters not necessarily private, and which may, therefore, be published without breach of confidence, conveying more of the innermost mind of the writer than whole pages of autobiography; and we are therefore glad to find that Mrs. Chapman in her supplementary volume has indulged us with a few of Miss Martineau's letters, notwithstanding the prohibition; although we cannot justify this breach of trust in a literary executor and friend, who, we feel, was bound to respect the wishes of the departed so strongly expressed, however much might be lost to the world by this compliance.

The "Autobiography" is divided into periods of varying length, the first occupying her life to the age of eight; and this portion of the work, we think, might have been advantageously curtailed. We cannot believe in the trustworthiness of the memory of one whose life had been so loaded with work and with recollections of vast importance, to recall trivial circumstances relating to that period of infancy which in most minds is a perfect blank, excepting when some great calamity burns itself into the plastic brain in characters never afterwards to be effaced. Mrs. Chapman has compared Harriet Martineau to Hans Andersen's "Ugly Duckling," and if we are to accept un-

reservedly the account of the early years of this gifted woman as given in the "Autobiography," the comparison is apt; but we cannot fail to see that the over-sensitive nature of the child saw slights and insults where none were intended, and that these things have been magnified into real and substantial grievances by a distorted recollection in after-life, aided by the memory of friends and dependants, not always to be relied upon as being entirely free from exaggeration. The picture given by Mrs. Chapman of the mother, as sketched by a friend of the daughter somewhat older than herself, shows her to have been one of those severe, dignified, but not intentionally unkind mothers, so common in England up almost to the middle of the present century.

"She frightened me," says this friend. "She appeared to me to order everything and everybody right and left; and though by no means an indulgent mother, she was yet a proud one, and had confidence in the results of her own management and system of education. I was so much impressed by her cleverness, and felt that she had such a contempt for myself and the way in which I was brought up, that never, to the day of her death, did I fail to be taken by surprise by any expression on her part of confidence in my judgment, pleasure in my company, or approbation of my household. It was the *setting-down way* she had which was so terrible to sensitive young people, and which her own children felt, though I do not know that the two eldest ever experienced it to the same degree. Perhaps her young-mother pride and instinct suppressed it. When she was at the age of thirteen I saw much of Harriet. I remember no tenderness towards her, but the same severity and sharpness of manner, cleverness of management, and sarcastic observation of other people's management." *

This is a type rare among us at present, but it is one which must be familiar to all who have passed the meridian of life. It is only of late years that the training of children has become a study. Formerly, implicit obedience was the one thing needful; much of the patriarchal character remained; the parent was regarded not as a guide and counsellor, but as a lawgiver and judge, from whose sentence there was no appeal. The young wife assumed, with her wedding-ring, the cap which conferred "*power upon her head*," and henceforth her position was one of dignity, which forbade her to condescend to the infirmities of childhood. Her heart might yearn towards her babes, but too great a show of affection would have been *undignified* and *weak*. Hence arose a system of repression; children, when admitted to their parents' presence, were taught to behave like automata; the maxim that "children should be seen and not heard" was

* Autobiography, vol. iii. p. 12.

constantly repeated, until the daily visit to the dining-room or drawing-room became a penance, the return to the freedom of the nursery was eagerly longed for, and the future of the man or woman depended far more upon the nurse and the tutor than upon the parents. Perhaps in the higher walks of life this is far too much the case now, but in the middle and lower classes a system of over-indulgence has succeeded as a reaction to the strictness of our forefathers. We need not point out the dangers of extremes in either direction, but we feel that even the strict discipline of a former generation is preferable to the undue levity and familiarity so prevalent at present. We hold that it is incumbent upon parents to watch diligently for those shades of character which betoken the natural bent of the infant mind, and to treat the child accordingly. Where there is undue self-esteem, a little wholesome repression is necessary and valuable; where, on the contrary, the child is timid, depressed, and sensitive, encouragement becomes life. The error of Mrs. Martineau was that she treated all her children alike, irrespective of their several characters; and Harriet, whose nerves were far too finely strung, saw partiality where the very reverse was intended. Nervousness produced in her awkwardness and deceit, to be met with anger, reproof, and punishment, instead of by that loving remonstrance and correction which would have brought the penitent child to her mother's knee, and closer still to her mother's heart. It is hard to be misunderstood by those we love, and none feel this more acutely than children. Their utter inability to express their feelings subjects them to the suspicion of sullenness and ill-humour often undeserved. Hence Harriet Martineau says—

“I had a devouring passion for justice—justice, first to my own precious self, and then to other oppressed people. Justice was precisely what was least understood in our house in regard to servants and children. Now and then I desperately poured out my complaints, but in general I brooded over my injuries, and those of others who dared not speak; and then the temptation of suicide was very strong.” *

Strange to say, this suicidal impulse was coeval with the birth of religion in the heart of the child. She says—

“While I was afraid of everybody I saw; I was not in the least afraid of God. Being usually very unhappy, I was constantly longing for heaven, and seriously and very frequently planning suicide in order to get there. . . . No doubt there was much vindictiveness in it. I gloated over the thought that I would make somebody care about me in some sort of way at last; and as to my reception in the other world, I felt sure that God could not be very angry with me for making haste to Him when nobody else cared for me, and so many people plagued me.” †

* Autobiography, vol. i. p. 18.

† Ibid.

The passion for justice, so early conceived, continued to be the mainspring of Harriet Martineau's life even to the end. She believed herself to have a mission to point out the evils which afflicted the human race in consequence of the injustice of rulers, and to suggest a remedy; and whether the cry of oppression came from the British workman, the expatriated Pole, the suffering slave, or the unjustly persecuted English Rajah Brooke, her ready sympathy was roused to espouse the cause of the weak; whilst, as might have been predicted, the religion wherein she found her first consolation lasted only until the mature reason of the woman sufficed to correct the erroneous impressions of the child. Nevertheless, whilst it did last it was strong, fervent, and engrossing. The religion in which she had been brought up was Unitarianism, and she gives an amusing account of the way in which Mr. Madge, the Unitarian minister, endeavoured to convict "of error (and what he called idiotcy) an orthodox schoolmaster. 'Look here,' said Mr. Madge, seizing three wine-glasses and placing them in a row; 'here is the Father, here's the Son, and here's the Holy Ghost. Do you mean to tell me that those three glasses can be in any case one? 'Tis mere nonsense.' And so were we children," she adds, "taught that it was 'mere nonsense.' I certainly wondered exceedingly that so vast a majority of the people of Norwich could accept such nonsense, and so very few see through it as the Unitarians of the city; but there was no one to suggest to me that there might be more in the matter than we saw, or than even our minister was aware of."* That the child should have readily accepted this convincing proof of the truth of Unitarianism and of the erroneous belief of Trinitarians is not surprising, and doubtless she was full of vain-glorious joy at belonging to the one true faith; yet we are told that the teachings of this proselytising Mr. Madge and other Unitarian ministers did not satisfy her craving for justice, because their sermons dealt with the duties of inferiors to superiors, "while the *per contra* was not insisted upon with any equality of treatment at all."† This discriminating judgment is assigned to the first childish period before the age of eight; but we can hardly imagine such thoughts running in the mind of so young a child, who, as she tells us, was always regarded as "a dull, unobservant, slow, awkward child."‡ She adds, "Parents were to bring up their children 'in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,' and to pay servants due wages; but not a word was ever preached about the justice due from the stronger to the weaker. I used to thirst to hear some notice of

* Vol. i. p. 39.

† Ibid., p. 21.

‡ Ibid., p. 23.

the oppression which servants and children had (as I supposed universally) to endure in regard to their feelings, while duly clothed, fed, and taught; but nothing of the sort ever came, but instead a doctrine of passive obedience which only made me remorseful and miserable." * That she felt acutely the want of sympathetic kindness in her parents and elder brothers and sisters there can be no doubt, but no blame can attach to her parents for neglect of duty as regards *education*. She says—

"The fortunes of manufacturers like my father were placed in jeopardy by the war, and there was barely a chance for my father ever being able to provide fortunes for his daughters. He and my mother exercised every kind of self-denial to bring us up qualified to take care of ourselves. They pinched themselves in luxuries to provide their girls as well as their boys with masters and schooling; and they brought us up to an industry like their own;—the boys in study and business, and the girls in study and household cares. Thus was I saved from being a literary lady who could not sew; and when, in after years, I have been insulted by admiration at not being helpless in regard to household employments, I have been wont to explain, for my mother's sake, that I could make shirts and puddings, and iron and mend, and get my bread by my needle if necessary, as it once was necessary for a few months, before I won a better place and occupation with my pen." †

But Harriet Martineau owed more to her parents than an education which would have fitted her for a sempstress, for in truth she received an education which many girls at the present day might envy, including not only all the modern accomplishments, but a sound knowledge of Latin and of those classical authors in that tongue which the wisdom of a past generation deemed suitable only for boys. Her own taste led her to study the works of Shakespeare and Milton. Indeed, if we can trust to the memory of the writer, she became enamoured of Milton at the early age of seven, so that she sent herself to sleep repeating "*Paradise Lost*," and when she awoke in the morning, "descriptions of heavenly light rushed into my memory." ‡ And at the age of fourteen she was already a student of that commonly reputed dry subject, political economy, not knowing it, however, under that name. She says—

"I remember, when at Mr. Perry's, fastening upon the part of our geography book (I forget what it was) which treated of the national debt and the various departments of the funds.' This was fixed in my memory by the unintelligible raillery of my brothers and other companions, who would ask me with mock deference to inform them of the state of the debt, or would set me, as a forfeit at Christmas games, to

* Vol. i. p. 22.

† Ibid., p. 27.

‡ Ibid., p. 42.

make every person present understand the operation of the sinking fund." *

This is interesting, as showing the natural bent of the youthful mind towards subjects which most children would eschew. And there was another study also in which she delighted, and which stood her in good stead later as a writer; it was composition, which she says was her favourite exercise, whilst arithmetic ranked next in favour.

The deafness from which Miss Martineau had suffered from infancy became worse as she grew older, and she relates a circumstance which shows very strongly the firmness of her character. Her eldest brother related an instance of a deaf lady who made herself very disagreeable by constantly asking to be told everything that was said, adding, that he hoped, should his sister ever become as deaf, she would never make herself so irksome and absurd. "This," she says, "helped me to a resolution which I made and never broke—never to ask what was said." In addition to deafness, Harriet Martineau appears early to have lost, or never to have possessed, the senses of smell and taste; and she gives two remarkable instances of a deficiency of sight—one when she was taken within a few feet of the sea and could not see it, and the other when, after nights of anxious watching, she failed to see the great comet of 1811, so plainly visible to all. Yet she says her eyes were remarkably good, so that we must suppose these peculiar failures to have resulted from some unaccountable mental perturbation, perhaps over-anxiety, rather than from want of vision.

It may be readily imagined that, with the superior education afforded her, and the peculiar fondness which we have recorded for abstruse and somewhat unattractive subjects, with an intense love of reading and composition, the attention of Harriet Martineau must have been early turned to literature as a congenial occupation; but as it was the fashion of the day to sneer at anything like literary ambition in women, even the studies in which she delighted had to be carried on, as it were, by stealth.

"When I was young," she says, "it was not thought proper for young ladies to study very conspicuously, and especially with pen in hand. Young ladies (at least in provincial towns) were expected to sit down in the parlour to sew—during which reading aloud was permitted—or to practise their music; but so as to be fit to receive callers, without any signs of blue-stockings which could be reported abroad. Jane Austen, herself the queen of novelists, the immortal creator of Anne Elliott, Mr. Knightley, and a score or two more of unrivalled intimate friends of the whole public, was compelled by the feelings of

her family to cover up her manuscripts with a large piece of muslin work, kept on the table for the purpose, whenever any genteel people came in.* So it was with other young ladies for some time after Jane Austen was in her grave; and thus my first studies in philosophy were carried on with great care and reserve. I was at the work-table regularly after breakfast, making my own clothes or the shirts of the household, or about some fancy work. I went out walking with the rest; and if ever I shut myself into my own room for an hour of solitude, I knew it was at the risk of being sent for to join the sewing circle or to read aloud, I being the reader on account of my growing deafness. But I won time for what my heart was set upon nevertheless, either in the early morning or late at night."†

At this time she translated from the Latin with her favourite brother, James, and it was by his wish and advice, in order to solace herself during his absence at college, that her first attempt at original composition was undertaken. This was in the year 1821; and, as may be supposed from what has been said above of the unpopularity of literary pursuits for ladies, and of the want of sympathy existing between this poor deaf girl and her nearest relatives, the attempt was made in secret.‡ The subject of this first essay was "Female Writers on Practical Divinity," and the periodical chosen for its appearance was "The Monthly Repository," the organ of the Unitarians. Her account of the success of this first literary venture is worth transcribing. She says—

"I wrote away, in my abominable scrawl of those days, on foolscap paper, feeling mightily like a fool all the time. I told no one, and carried my expensive packet to the post-office myself to pay the postage. I took the letter V. for my signature—I cannot at all remember why. The time was very near the end of the month. I had no definite expectation that I should ever hear anything of my paper, and certainly did not suppose it could be in the forthcoming number. That number was sent in before service-time on a Sunday morning. My heart may have been beating when I laid hands on it, but it thumped prodigiously when I saw my article there, and in the Notices to Correspondents a request to hear more from V. of Norwich. There is certainly something entirely peculiar in the sensation of seeing one's self in print for the first time. The lines burn themselves in upon the brain in a way of which black ink is incapable in any other mode. So I felt that day when I went about with my secret. I have said what my eldest brother was to us—in what reverence we held him. He was just married, and he and his bride asked me to return from chapel with them to tea. After tea he said, 'Come now, we have had plenty of

* Mrs. Somerville tells the same of her literary work.

† Vol. i. p. 101.

‡ In this instance the mother seemed pleased with the daughter's aspirations, but it was the elder sister who twitted her with her conceit at fancying she could be an authoress.

talk, I will read you something;' and he held out his hand for the new 'Repository.' After glancing at it, he exclaimed, 'They have got a new hand here. Listen.' After a paragraph, he repeated, 'Ah! this is a new hand; they have had nothing so good as this for a long while.' (It would be impossible to convey to any who do not know the 'Monthly Repository' of that day how very small a compliment this was.) I was silent, of course. At the end of the first column he exclaimed about the style, looking at me in some wonder at my being as still as a mouse. Next (and well I remember his tone, and thrill to it still) his words were, 'What a fine sentence that is! Why, do you not think so?' I murmured out, sillily enough, that it did not seem anything particular. 'Then,' said he, 'you were not listening. I will read it again. There now!' As he still got nothing out of me, he turned round upon me, as we sat side by side on the sofa, with 'Harriet, what is the matter with you? I never knew you so slow to praise anything before.' I replied, in utter confusion, 'I never could baffle anybody. The truth is, that paper is mine.' He made no reply; read on in silence, and spoke no more till I was on my feet to come away. He then laid his hand on my shoulder, and said gravely (calling me 'dear' for the first time), 'Now, dear, leave it to other women to make shirts and darn stockings; and do you devote yourself to this.' I went home in a sort of dream, so that the squares of the pavement seemed to float before my eyes. That evening made me an authoress." *

We can well understand the impetus given to literary work by this unexpected appreciation from one so highly esteemed, but we find that the same praise was not so readily accorded to the second attempt, "Devotional Exercises;" whereupon she began to write "a sort of theological-metaphysical novel," but, she says, "at the end of half a volume, I became aware that it was excessively dull, and I stopped. Many years afterwards I burned it, and this is the only piece of my work but two (and a review) in my whole career that never was published." † We think there are few authors who can say this; and if we look through the long catalogue of her works, and note not only the voluminousness, but the varied character of her writings, we can but marvel both at her versatility and her unexampled success, and admire the courage which caused her to commit to the flames that which she felt to be *dull*, at a time when probably anything from her pen would have been eagerly accepted by any publisher, and we cannot fail to wish that more authors would have such care for their own reputation, and such respect for the taste of the public, as would prevent them from publishing when at the height of their popularity the crude efforts of their youthful inexperience.

* Vol. i. p. 119.

† Ibid., p. 121.

Up to the year 1831 all Miss Martineau's writings were of a directly religious character. She continued to contribute to the "Monthly Repository," and became the chosen champion of Unitarianism, having obtained three prizes offered by the Central Unitarian Association for essays "by which Unitarianism was to be presented to the notice of Catholics, Jews, and Mohammedans." Of these three essays, written with much thought and care, copied by three different hands, and the authorship studiously concealed until the prizes had been adjudged, she says—

"Of course, I had no conception at that time of the thorough weakness and falseness of the views I had been conveying with so much pains and so much complacency. This last act in connection with the Unitarian body was a *bond fide* one, but all was prepared for that which ensued—a withdrawal from the body through those regions of metaphysical fog in which most deserters from Unitarianism abide for the rest of their time. The Catholic essay was ignorant and metaphysical, if my recollection of it is at all correct, and the other two mere fancy pieces; and I can only say, that if either Mohammedans or Jews have ever been converted by them, such converts can hardly be rational enough to be worth having." *

It is probable that the very studies necessary for the completion of these essays led her to consider more deeply than she would otherwise have done the groundwork of that faith of which she had hitherto been the bigoted and unreasoning upholder. At all events, this was the turning-point in her religious life.

"I cannot wonder," she writes, "that it did not occur to the Unitarians that I was really not of them at the time that I had picked up their gauntlet and assumed their championship. If it did not occur to me, no wonder it did not to them. But the clear-sighted among them might and should have seen, by the evidence of those essays themselves, that I was one of those merely nominal Christians who refuse whatever they see to be impossible, absurd, or immoral in the scheme or the records of Christianity, and pick out and appropriate what they like, or interpolate it with views, desires, and imaginations of their own. I had already ceased to be Unitarian in the technical sense; I was now one in the dreamy way of metaphysical accommodation, and on the ground of dissent from every other form of Christianity: the time was approaching when, if I called myself so at all, it was only in the free-thinking sense." †

The truth seems to be, that with individuals, as with nations, there are certain stages of development through which each must pass before attaining to the perfection of liberty grounded upon philosophic reason. To this stage very few attain, their

* Vol. i. p. 156. c

† Ibid., p. 158.

mental development being usually arrested either in that early infantile state of blissful ignorance wherein the faith of the taught is simply the reflection of the faith of the teacher, or in that somewhat more advanced stage wherein reason is indeed called in, but suffered only to move in a certain groove, the conscience being given in charge to some guide whose superior self-assertion is looked upon as superior knowledge, and whose dogmatism usurps the prerogative of infallibility. If the inquirer sees mountains of difficulty on the right hand and on the left, the guide tells of faith which can remove mountains, and persuades the disciple that they are but delusions, unreal and visionary, vanishing upon a nearer approach, and the neophyte is content to walk in the path pointed out to him, shutting his eyes to the fact which reason points out, that that path is mazy and intricate, and leads not to the promised goal. But should the inquirer determine to follow his own bent, and to scale the mountains which he knows to be real, he must journey alone, followed by the anathemas of the would-be guide, to find liberty and light beyond. Hence, when Miss Martineau determined to shake off the trammels of that narrow sect to which by birth she belonged, she found no one to guide her in a new path, but was immediately given up as lost past recall, even by her own best-beloved brother, James. The change, however, in her religious views produced a change in the character and scope of her literary work—work which, in consequence of the death of her father, and the subsequent failure of the mercantile house to which he had belonged, had become necessary as a means of subsistence. Of her pecuniary loss, Miss Martineau writes thus:—

“I call it a misfortune, because, in common parlance, it would be so treated; but I believe that my mother and all her other daughters would have joined heartily, if asked, in my conviction, that it was one of the best things that ever happened to us. . . . I, for one, was left destitute; that is to say, with precisely one shilling in my purse. The effect upon me of this new ‘calamity,’ as people called it, was like that of a blister upon a dull weary pain or series of ‘pains.’ I rather enjoyed it, even at the time, for there was scope for action; whereas, in the long, dreary series of preceding trials, there was nothing possible but endurance. In a very short time, my two sisters at home and I began to feel the blessing of a wholly new freedom. I, who had been obliged to write before breakfast or in some private way, had henceforth liberty to do my own work in my own way; for we had lost our gentility. Many and many a time since have we said that, but for the loss of money, we might have lived on in the ordinary provincial method of ladies with small means, sewing and economising, and growing narrower every year; whereas, by being thrown, while it was yet time, on our own resources, we have worked hard and usefully,

won friends, reputation, and independence, seen the world abundantly, abroad and at home, and, in short, have truly lived, instead of vegetated." *

Many besides Miss Martineau have felt that misfortunes have been blessings in disguise, but few have been enabled to face them with equal courage, and to raise themselves, as she did, by her own unaided exertions, to such a height of fame and fortune. The first steps were not easy. How to make money in order to live was the first consideration. Her deafness rendered her unfit for teaching, but she proposed to carry on a system of education by correspondence. Many approved the plan, but no pupils presented themselves, and nothing seemed left for her but literature, in which she had already won some laurels; but every one who has tried that thorny road to fortune knows full well how many difficulties bar the way to success. The "Monthly Repository," to which she had contributed so many gratuitous articles, came forward with a promise of £15 a year, for which she was to do as much reviewing as she thought proper. She wrote many short stories for Houlston, and some Hebrew tales, which afterwards formed the little volume entitled "Traditions of Palestine;" and some idea may be formed of her wonderful facility in writing by the fact that all these stories, excepting the first, were written in a fortnight.

"By this little volume," she says, "was my name first known in literature. . . . With Mr. Fox I always succeeded, but I failed in all other directions during that laborious winter and spring. I had no literary acquaintance or connection whatever, and I could not get anything that I wrote even looked at, so that everything went into the 'Repository' at last. . . . My own heart was often sinking, as were my bodily forces; and with reason. During the daylight hours of that winter I was poring over fine fancy work, by which alone I earned any money; and after tea I went upstairs to my room for my day's literary labour. The quantity I wrote, at prodigious expenditure of nerve, surprises me now, after my long breaking-in to hard work. Every night that winter, I believe, I was writing till two, or even three o'clock in the morning, obeying always the rule of the house—of being present at the breakfast-table as the clock struck eight. Many a time I was in such a state of nervous exhaustion and distress that I was obliged to walk to and fro in the room before I could put on paper the last line of a page, or the last half-sentence of an essay or review. Yet was I very happy. The deep-felt sense of progress and expansion was delightful, and so was the exertion of all my faculties, and, not least, that of will to overcome my obstructions, and force my way to that power of public speech of which I believed myself more or less worthy." †

* Vol. i. p. 141.

* Ibid., p. 147.

This excessive and unproductive literary labour was undertaken at the house of an uncle in London, and at last an offer was made to her "to remain in town, and undertake proof-correcting and other literary drudgery, at a salary which would, with my frugal habits, have supported me, while leaving time for literary effort on my own account." * This engagement, however, she was obliged to decline on account of a peremptory recall from her mother, prompted by a letter from her hostess, who doubtless believed she was killing herself by unprofitable work, and advised that she should return home, "to pursue, not literature, but needlework, by which, she wrote, I had proved that I could earn money." But this exile from the metropolis was not of long duration. The prize essays before mentioned, written with the advice and sanction of her mother and brother, must have proved to both that literature was her true vocation; and her success, with the money it brought, enabled her to spend some time in London, and also to visit her brother James in Dublin; and it was there she planned and commenced that series of tales on political economy which were destined to raise her to the height of popularity. In these "days of social science congresses and school-boards, there is no lack of writers and speakers, of both sexes, on subjects which must ever be of paramount importance to the well-being of the human race, but at the time when Miss Martineau projected her series, "Political Economy" was thought to be a subject for lawgivers only; and we can hardly be surprised that her ambitious design of writing a tale monthly to illustrate the principles which should guide the several classes of society in their relations to each other, and the evils likely to result from an abuse of those principles, and to instruct the ignorant upon such subjects as taxation, monopolies, over-population, and other kindred subjects, should have been looked upon coldly by publishers. In truth, when the prospectus of the proposed work appeared, many of her old friends, and many old authors of repute, were aghast at the boldness of the proposed scheme. Miss Aikin, to whom she was known, wrote a letter, "informing me," says Miss Martineau, "that I could have no idea how far beyond any powers of mine was such a scheme; that large information, an extensive acquaintance with learned persons and with affairs, &c., &c., were indispensable; and that she counselled me to burn my prospectus and programme, and confine myself to humbler tasks, such as a young woman might be competent to."† This letter, happily, was never sent, or it might have been the last straw to weigh down the already overlaid mind. All who have read the "Autobiography," or any of the numerous reviews of it, will remem-

* Vol. i. p. 148.

† Ibid., p. 305.

ber the touching description of her unavailing efforts to find a publisher, the innumerable refusals to undertake the work, generally attributed to the agitation of the public mind on the great topics of the day—the Reform Bill and the cholera; how at last she was driven to accept such hard terms from Mr. Charles Fox, the brother of her early friend of the “*Repository*,” as to render the publication a burden rather than an assistance to her; and how, in the very moment of almost utter despair, she leant for support on some palings in Shoreditch, pretending to look at some cabbages, but repeating to herself with closed eyes, “My book will do yet.” It was a noble example of indomitable courage and perseverance, the outcome of resolutions made before she commenced her task—of which one was that she would keep up a mood of steady determination and unfaltering hope, and would never lose her temper in the whole course of the business.* The result proved that the author was wiser than the publishers with regard to the popularity which awaited her project. Within ten days of the issue of the first number of the series, a second edition was called for, the number of which the publisher, in three successive postscripts to the same letter, raised from two to five thousand. She writes, “I remember walking up and down the garden, feeling that my cares were over; and so they were. From that hour I have never had any other anxiety about employment than what to choose, nor any real care about money.”† Truly she had made one of those lucky hits which raise an author to immediate fame, and was henceforth a notability. The Diffusion Society—

“Wanted to have the series now; and Mr. Hume offered, on behalf of a new society of which he was the head, any price I would name for the purchase of the whole. . . . There was, from the middle of February onwards, no remission of such applications, the meanest of which I should have clutched at a few weeks before. Members of Parliament sent down blue-books through the post-office, to the astonishment of the postmaster. . . . Half the hobbies of the House of Commons, and numberless notions of individuals, anonymous and other, were commended to me for treatment in my series, with which some of them had no more to do than geometry or the atomic theory.‡”

From this time dates her reception into the literary society of the day, and her acquaintance with most of the eminent men and women of the century, whether statesmen, artists, men of science, of literature, or philosophers. Courtied and flattered, she yet adhered steadily to her purpose, never swerving from her word in hope of greater gain, which doubtless she might have obtained by cancelling her agreement. Even when ill in bed she

* Vol. i. p. 161.

† Ibid., p. 178.

‡ Ibid., p. 179.

wrote propped up by pillows, to save her publisher from possible loss. Actuated by the belief that her series was really wanted, and would do the good she intended, she continued for two years to issue a number monthly, and then supplemented the series by "Illustrations of Taxation;" and during the whole of this time greatness was as it were "thrust upon her," a curious instance of which is given by Mrs. Chapman, taken from a letter to her mother. "Here is a curious arrival, come just in time for you, my dear mother—an honorary diploma from the Royal Jennerian Society, 'who, the Duke of Wellington in the chair, have done themselves the honour of unanimously voting to Miss Harriet Martineau the diploma which constitutes her a member of their body.' They are right if they think I can help the spread of vaccination, and I think I can." * Thus did she endeavour in every way to promote by her pen the cause of social and scientific progress, and her series, under the four divisions into which she classified her several tales, Production, Distribution, Exchange, and Consumption, included almost every subject which can fall under the head of "Political Economy." That her tales were widely read and highly appreciated there can be no doubt; whether they really did the *good* she had fondly imagined may be questioned. Many read the tales skipping the moral; and her own estimate of her work, as given in the "Autobiographic Memoir" published in the "Daily News" immediately after her decease, is probably the most just which could be given.

"Her own unalterable view of what it could and what it could not effect prevented her expecting too much from it, either in regard to its social operation or its influence on her own fame. The original idea of exhibiting the great natural laws of society by a series of pictures of selected social action was a fortunate one, and her tales initiated a multitude of minds into the conception of what political economy is, and of how it concerns everybody living in society. Beyond this, there is no merit of a high order in the work. It did not pretend to offer discoveries, or new applications, or elucidations of prior discoveries. It popularised in a fresh form some doctrines and many truths long before made public by others."

If she gained many influential friends by this publication, she also made some enemies, and was savagely attacked by Croker and Lockhart in the "Quarterly Review," on the ground of some Malthusian doctrines expressed in her tale "Weal and Woe in Garveloch," which deals with the subject of population. She says, that being a little in doubt as to her power of treating it in a manner to disarm criticism, she read it aloud to her mother and aunt.

"If there had been any opening whatever for doubt or dread, I was sure that these two ladies would have given me abundant warning and exhortation, both from their very keen sense of propriety and their anxious affection for me. But they were as complacent and easy as they had been interested and attentive. I saw that all ought to be safe."* It was, however, this tale which Croker cut up so ruthlessly that the printers sent to tell her through a friend, "that the filthiest thing that had passed through the press for a quarter of a century was coming out against me in the 'Quarterly.'" Croker had boasted that he was about to tomahawk Miss Martineau. Nevertheless, she survived the blow, which, however, can hardly be said to have fallen harmlessly; for although she treated the attack with the silent contempt it deserved, she was long after regarded with suspicion as a female Malthusian, holding improper notions on subjects upon which women ought to be ignorant; and the accusations of the English reviewer were reproduced in the "American Quarterly Review," in an exaggerated form of violent abuse, after her visit to that country, undertaken at the suggestion of Lord Henley, who, on being told that she purposed going to Italy and Switzerland, protested against her following the beaten track, and advised America, because, he said, "Whatever else may or may not be true about the Americans, it is certain that they have got at principles of justice and mercy in their treatment of the least happy classes of society which we should do well to understand. Will you not go and tell us what they are?"† At the time of her arrival in the States (1834), she appears to have been quite unaware of the position of parties there, and of the violent agitation then commencing upon the subject of the abolition of slavery. Miss Martineau's views on the subject of slavery had been long before expressed in her tale entitled, "Demerara," and it was reasonable to suppose that she would espouse the cause of the abolitionists, then in a minority; but the pro-slavery party made a bid for her favour, and, as she allows, succeeded in prejudicing her against the abolitionists. She had been warned not to attempt to visit the slave-holding States, as her views with regard to slavery being known there, she might be subjected to insult, or even violence; but, with her usual courage, she went, determining to judge for herself, and to the honour of the Southern States she records, "It was not in the South that I saw or heard anything to remind me of personal danger, nor yet in the West, though the worst inflictions of Lynch law were beginning there about that time. My friend and I were, in fact, handed on by the families of senators to

* Vol. i. p. 200.

† Ibid., p. 270.

the care and kindness of a long succession of them, from the day we reached Washington till we emerged from the slave States at Cincinnati." They all, she says, expressed themselves to the same effect, that it was because she had written against slavery that they wished her to see it in its best and its worst aspects, knowing full well that all she saw would be published. Nevertheless, when she cast in her lot with the abolitionists, and ventured to speak openly against slavery at one of their meetings, she was not only assailed with gross abuse in the newspapers, but was even compelled to give up a projected journey on the Ohio for fear of being lynched. It was during this visit to the United States that she formed the acquaintance of Mrs. Chapman, who was a prominent member of the abolitionist party—this acquaintance ripening into a friendship which caused Miss Martineau to intrust to her the publication of the "Autobiography," and who records in the third volume, not only her own highly favourable opinion of Miss Martineau during her American tour, but also the impression she made upon Americans generally, introducing specimens of the correspondence between Miss Martineau and several well-known names, such as J. C. Phillips, Ephraim Peabody, Dr. Follen, and others, and giving long extracts, which might have been spared, of the abusive article in the "American Quarterly" which followed the appearance of her book entitled "Society in America," the competition for which among the publishers immediately upon her return home forms a curious contrast to the coldness with which her first attempts were received. She was greeted on her arrival in Liverpool by letters from Mr. Bentley and Messrs. Saunders & Otley; and as soon as her arrival in London was announced, Mr. Bentley, Mr. Colbourn, and Mr. Saunders all called upon her the same day, and the account of the several interviews is very amusing. She decided to accept Mr. Saunders's offer of £900 for the first edition, although Mr. Colbourn offered £2000. There is an old saying that "Nothing succeeds like success;" but it seems a pity that publishers should not more frequently help towards the success of a novice than simply content themselves with profiting by it; but from Milton to Miss Martineau, the practice of snubbing the youthful aspirant has been the rule among publishers. The reviewer of Miss Martineau's "Autobiography" in "Macmillan's Magazine" says, "One of the most distinguished editors in London, who had charge of a periodical for many years, told us that in no single case during all these years did a volunteer contributor of real quality, or with any promise of eminence, present himself or herself." He goes on, however, to say, that "in Miss Martineau's case the trade made

a mistake."* And we certainly cannot help believing that the editor referred to may also have made a mistake, and that among the rejected of editors and publishers may frequently be found those who, with the courage and perseverance of Miss Martineau, may rise, and have risen, to eminence in the literary world, although in all probability there are many equally gifted, but lacking in self-confidence, who have drooped under discouragement, and have never been heard of more.

The success of any work by Miss Martineau had become assured before the issue of "*Society in America*," and the later American book, "*Retrospect of Western Travel*;" and these works were followed by so many, and in such quick succession, that it would be impossible to name them all. Indeed, she gives an amusing anecdote of forgetfulness on her own part, when, finding a little parable very popular in America, and inquiring the name of the author, she found to her surprise that it was one of her own early contributions to the "*Monthly Repository*." But we must not omit to mention two of her novels of about this date, which had a wide popularity at the time, and are still favourably regarded by the reading public. They are "*The Hour and the Man*," founded upon the life of Toussaint d'Ouverture, and "*Deerbrook*," of which she says—

"My own judgment of '*Deerbrook*' was for some years more favourable than it is now. The work was faithful in principle and sentiment to the then state of my mind, and that satisfied me for a time. I should now require more of myself if I were to attempt a novel (which I should not do if I were sure of living another quarter of a century). I should require more simplicity, and a far more objective character—not of delineation, but of scheme. The laborious portions of meditation obtruded at intervals are wholly objectionable in my eyes. Neither morally nor artistically can they be justified. I know the book to have been true to the state of thought and feeling I was then in, which I now regard as imperfect, and very far from lofty."†

We venture to think there are few authors who would thus criticise their favourite works; but Miss Martineau possessed that true mark of genius, dissatisfaction with her best efforts, and constant aspirations for the highest and worthiest. Thus her aims became nobler and her style more perfect with years, instead of retrograding, as is too often the case with authors who have achieved a certain reputation, and consider that they have thereby earned a right to treat criticism with contempt. In the autumn of 1838 Miss Martineau took a trip to Scotland, returning by way of the English lakes, when she saw for the first time

the spot which was afterwards to be her home for many years. When "Deerbrook" was finished she joined some friends in a trip to the Continent, and at Venice the internal malady which had long threatened her became so unmistakably severe that she had to be conveyed home immediately, and placed under the care of her brother-in-law at Tynemouth, which she herself chose as a residence, having, as she says, "an unspeakable longing for stillness and solitude." She in fact attributes her illness in a great measure to overwork and mental anxiety on her mother's account, who, during her residence with her gifted daughter in Fludyer Street, seems to have thought it necessary to maintain as far as possible the discipline of the schoolroom or the nursery, so that her daughter at the age of thirty-seven writes, "I was not allowed to have a maid at my own expense, or even to employ a workwoman; and thus many were the hours after midnight, when I ought to have been asleep, when I was sitting up mending my clothes."* At this time, also, the mother was becoming blind, and caused her daughter great uneasiness and anxiety by daily getting out into the crowded streets by herself, when she could not see a yard before her; besides which, she appears to have conceived an unreasonable but not unnatural jealousy of her daughter's superior social position, whilst at the same time proud of her fame, and anxious, against that daughter's better judgment, to launch into expenses which she considered necessary to maintain that standing in society attained without any of these extraneous aids. Friends, therefore, deemed it advisable that the London establishment should be given up, and the illness which was destined to last for nearly five years, and the death of the aunt who had long shared their home, were convenient pretexts for the necessary change. Mrs. Martineau was removed to Liverpool near to three of her children, and her daughter resigned herself to her solitary life at Tynemouth with a sense of relief from mental anxiety to which she had long been a stranger, although not free from pecuniary care until some generous friends sent her a bank-note for £100 to defray the expenses of her illness—a sum thankfully appropriated to the use intended, and as gratefully returned when recovered health and capacity for work enabled her so to do. It was from this illness, pronounced by many medical men to be incurable, that she believed herself to have been cured by mesmerism, and indeed, if we are to credit her testimony, the relief she experienced therefrom was marvellous. The post-mortem examination proved that the cure was never complete, and the testimony of the doctor who was attending her at the time shows that, prior to

* Vol. ii. p. 151.

the mesmeric experiment, an amelioration of the worst symptoms had taken place. Into the vexed question of the reality of mesmeric influence we need not here enter; suffice it that experience seemed to Miss Martineau to warrant implicit belief in it as a curative agent, and her courageous expression of that belief became the signal for an outburst of reproach and ridicule which would appear to us both uncharitable and uncalled for, since we have attained to the conception that every individual is at liberty to hold his or her own peculiar belief, provided such belief does not militate against public safety, decency, or established law. But Miss Martineau was at that time so much a public character that her every word and act became immediately public property, and her conversion to mesmerism became an occasion for bitter controversy, rendered still more acrimonious when, after her recovery, she published, in conjunction with Mr. Atkinson, the "Letters on Man's Nature and Development," wherein she first boldly expressed her disbelief in those common articles of faith which, notwithstanding many equivocal passages in previous writings set down to her well-known Unitarian views, she had been supposed to hold in common with all Christians. Of Mr. Atkinson the world knew little or nothing before his introduction by Miss Martineau, and he had again (although still living) passed away from men's minds until the publication of the "Autobiography" recalled him for a time from oblivion; but he has been so commonly connected with the mesmeric phase of Miss Martineau's life, that she has exercised a wise discretion in devoting some pages to the real facts of her friendship with him. She records the following dates:—"I was first mesmerised on the 22d of June 1844; I was well in the following November. I went forth on my travels in January 1845, and first saw Mr. Atkinson on the 24th of May of that year." Nevertheless it was by the instructions of Mr. Atkinson, given through a friend, that the mesmeric cure was tried, and from the time of this first interview she seems to have felt for him that sort of reverence a disciple feels for an honoured master. She says that before her acquaintance with him she had not "got out of the atmosphere of selfishness which is the very life of Christian doctrine and of every theological scheme, and was amazed by his question what it could signify whether we, with our individual consciousness, lived again? I asked what could possibly signify so much—being in a fluctuating state then as to the natural grounds of expectation of a future life (I had long given up the scriptural), but being still totally blind to the selfish instincts involved in such anxiety as I felt about the matter. I was, however, struck by the nobleness of his larger view, and by the good sense of the doctrine that our

present health of mind is all the personal concern that we have with our state and destiny ; that our duties lie before our eyes and close to our hands ; and that our business is with what we know, and have it in our charge to do, and not at all with a future which is, of its own nature, impenetrable."* It was whilst still wavering between a quasi-Unitarianism and the philosophy of Mr. Atkinson that she finally decided to fix her abode among the lovely scenery of our English lakes, having purchased a plot of ground at Ambleside, and built thereupon the house called "The Knoll," afterwards so well known as her residence ; and during the time it was building she employed herself on various literary works, and in performing cures by mesmerism. "Sometimes," she writes, "I had seven patients asleep at one time in my sitting-room, and all on whom I tried my hand were either cured or sensibly benefited." In April 1846 she entered upon her new life in her own house, with her servant Jane, so well known by her descriptions in various letters relating to mesmerism as a *clairvoyante* and mesmeric patient, and as having, according to Miss Martineau, suffered much persecution on that account, but who is always spoken of in the highest terms by her mistress, with whom she lived seven years, when, with her consent and approbation, she went to Australia.

Notwithstanding Miss Martineau's delight in her new abode, she was persuaded to leave it almost immediately, in order to join a party in a tour to Egypt and the East, the result of which journey was a book upon "Eastern Life," the MS. of which was returned by Mr. Murray after he had agreed to publish it, because, as Miss Martineau says, "he was alarmed by being told that the book was a conspiracy against Moses." By this time philosophy had fairly vanquished theology in Miss Martineau's mind, and henceforth she was content to be looked on by the world as a confirmed atheist, although it is still doubtful whether she ever altogether denied the existence of a First Cause. One of the first fruits of her devotion to philosophy was the translation of Comte's great work, "*Philosophie Positive*," of which arduous undertaking she writes, "I find in my diary some very strong expressions of rapture about my task, and I often said to myself and others in the course of it that I should never enjoy anything so much again. And I believe that if I were now to live and work for twenty years, I could never enjoy anything more. The vast range of knowledge, through which one is carried so easily, is a prodigious treat ; and yet more the clear enunciation and incessant application of principles."† So much, indeed, did she appreciate the great

work of the French philosopher,¹ and so greatly did she desire to popularise that work in England, and to clear away the innumerable misapprehensions which existed respecting it, that she undertook to condense the book, and succeeded so well in expressing the thoughts and opinions of the philosopher in an epitomised form, that M. Comte caused it to be translated into French. The publication of the larger work had been greatly facilitated by an unlooked-for act of generosity from a perfect stranger—a Mr. Lombe, who being himself a disciple of Comte, and desirous of translating the “Positive Philosophy,” but prevented by ill-health, sent Miss Martineau, through Mr. Chapman, the publisher, a cheque for £500 towards the cost of publication. It was in 1852 that Miss Martineau first undertook to write for the “Daily News,” promising a leader a week; but so much did the capacity for this work grow upon her, that she frequently supplied six articles a week to that paper, in addition to other work of a heavier kind, and continued this arduous task almost to the close of her life. She also contributed many articles to the “Westminster Review,” of some of which we hope to treat later, and wrote various papers for “Household Words,” but ceased to do so because she believed Dickens to be unjust and bigoted in his dislike of Catholics; and in the midst of all this excessive literary labour she gave lectures to working-men, devoted herself to model-farming on a small scale by cultivating her land at Ambleside, issued pamphlets on the best mode of tillage, and wrote letters as to the possibility of getting “workhouses supplied with milk and-vegetables by the labour of the inmates on the land.” But in the midst of all this useful work alarming symptoms caused her to consult physicians in London, who told her plainly that she was suffering from heart disease, which might cause death at any time; and she returned to her home at Ambleside impressed with the necessity of setting her house in order, but looking to the future with the calmness of a philosopher. Of this period she writes, “I had no previous conception of the singular interest of watching human affairs, and one’s own among the rest, and acting in them, when on the verge of leaving them. It is an interest which is full even of amusement. It has been my chief amusement, this spring to set my house and field in order for my beloved successor; to put up a handsome new garden fence, and paint the farming-man’s cottage, and restore the ceilings of the house, and plan the crops which I do not expect to see gathered.”* This was in 1855; but, notwithstanding the gravity of her symptoms, she lived on for more than twenty years, wait-

* Vol. ii. p. 440.

ing for death, in daily expectation of sudden decease, yet never anxious about the future, never yielding to despondency, never ceasing to labour for the good of others. She had accepted of her own free choice philosophy instead of Christianity, and could look forward without a shudder to that state of annihilation in which her philosophy taught her to believe. She says—

“ I neither wish to live longer here nor to find life again elsewhere. It seems to me simply absurd to expect it, and a mere act of restricted human imagination and morality to conceive of it. It seems to me that there is not only a total absence of evidence of a renewed life for human beings, but so clear a way of accounting for the conception in the immaturity of the human mind, that I myself utterly disbelieve in a future life. If I should find myself mistaken, it will certainly not be in discovering any existing faith in that doctrine to be true. If I am mistaken in supposing that I am now vacating my place in the universe, which is to be filled by another—if I find myself conscious after the lapse of life—it will be all right of course ; but, as I said, the supposition appears to me absurd.” *

This she reiterates in almost the last of her letters to Mrs. Chapman, dated January 25, 1876 :—“ I cannot see or feel what people mean by their imperative desire to live, or in death by their horror of annihilation, their pity for Mr. Atkinson and me in the absence of the ‘ Christian hope.’ Mr. Atkinson says ‘ we have not the *fear* ;’ and judging by what we hear of that, we may well be content.” † And in her last letter to Mr. Atkinson, May 19, 1876—

“ I cannot think of any future as at all probable except the ‘ annihilation ’ from which some people recoil with so much horror. I find myself here in the universe—I know not how, whence, or why. I see everything in the universe go out and disappear, and I see no reason for supposing that it is not an actual and entire death. . . . Now that the event draws near, and that I see how fully my household expect my death pretty soon, the universe opens so widely before my view, and I see the old notions of death and scenes to follow to be so merely human—so impossible to be true, when one glances through the range of science—that I see nothing to be done but to wait, without fear or hope or ignorant prejudice, for the expiration of life. Under the weariness of illness I long to be asleep ; but I have not set my mind on any state.” ‡

We cannot but admire the consistency with which, in holding to a belief so unpopular for more than twenty years, she had thus the moral courage to enunciate her unalterable adhesion to it even on the brink of the grave ; but in truth, moral courage was one of Harriet Martineau’s strongest characteristics. She formed an

* Vol. ii. p. 432.

† Vol. iii. p. 450.

‡ Ibid., p. 454.

opinion which she believed to be just, and she upheld it in the face of hostile criticism even from those she most highly esteemed. Even when the brother to whom she was so fondly attached turned against her, and held her up to public scorn as an atheist, she did not attempt by any subterfuge to escape from an imputation which she knew full well was more calculated than anything else whatever to injure her with that public upon whom she depended not alone for fame but for support, and to cause the severance of ties which had bound her to friends from infancy. The sturdy independence of Harriet Martineau's character was indeed shown in many ways. Next to the bitter blow dealt her by her favourite brother, doubtless the obnoxious articles in the "Quarterly" classing her among the disciples of Malthus, and accusing her of teaching doctrines the meaning of which she avows she did not at that time understand, gave her the greatest amount of pain mingled with indignation; yet she never omits an opportunity of speaking highly of Mr. Malthus, who she afterwards numbered among her friends, and of his doctrines, declaring that she never could understand the popular outcry against either. The same independence led her twice to refuse the offer of a pension, offered at a time when, in consequence of her illness at Tynemouth and the previous locking up of a considerable sum in a deferred annuity, the money would have been most valuable to her; but she looked upon pensions as a species of political bribery, and although far from judging those who accepted them, she firmly but respectfully declined to receive one herself, and renewed her refusal later when Lord Palmerston again urged her to accept one. Again, when in America, a little subserviency to prevalent opinion would have raised her to the highest pitch of popularity, but she preferred to throw in her lot with the handful of abolitionists, whom she believed to be right, thereby incurring the hatred and persecution of the dominant faction. In curious contrast with these exhibitions of strong moral courage is the constant fear she felt for her own mother, of whom she says, "To one person I was habitually untruthful from fear,—to my mother I would in my childhood assert or deny anything that would bring me through most easily;" and this fear, the remnant of the strict discipline of childhood, continues in force even when the woman of twenty-seven, feeling her own strength, wonders at the promptitude with which she hastens to obey her mother's peremptory recall from London, in opposition to her own better judgment as to the expediency of remaining there to do work for which she felt herself suited. The mind of Miss Martineau was undoubtedly of the masculine type; there are very few traces either in her works or her life of those feminine weaknesses and suscepti-

bilities which make men sneer at the writings of female novelists as a mixture of gushing sentimentalism and ill-directed enthusiasm, lacking alike in common sense and utility. The remark attributed to Lord Brougham, that he said testily before many hearers, when her name was mentioned, "Harriet Martineau! I hate her! I hate a woman who has opinions,"* represents pretty faithfully the general feeling entertained towards her on account of her independence in upholding the cause which she believed to be just, without reference to the claims of party. Flattered and deferred to by Ministers who desired to employ her talents in furtherance of their own particular party schemes, she yet held aloof from party, and that at a time when party feeling ran to extremes hardly understood at the present day, dividing households and separating chief friends. She belonged decidedly to the party of progress, and employed her pen in advocating every scheme of reform which her common sense approved; yet she records in a remarkable letter to her mother her determination to attach herself to no political clique, but to be guided solely by principles of justice. The letter runs thus—

"Now the plot of my extraordinary life thickens, dearest mother! I can give you no idea of the scramble which is going on for me among parties. . . . The poor-law information on which I proceed is ten times what is published, and the publication was not contemplated when I undertook the work. The Chancellor tried in vain to persuade Lord Melbourne to delay it till mine was out. I am glad it was published, as it corroborates me, and leaves me plenty of material which cannot be published except in my tales. . . . However, it may take away my breath to see my early guides and friends taking away my supports from under me, and leaving me to stand or fall by my principles alone. I will not allow my weakness to overcome me, while I see clearly what those principles are, and feel that they are trustworthy. . . . But what strength they must suppose in me while they bring these conflicting principles to bear upon me! It would not be politic in the Radicals thus to prove me if they did not believe I could stand it; and they shall end in respecting me for my independence, as the Tories do under all their sarcasms, and as the Whigs do amidst all their regrets for my 'exaltation of sentiment,' and what not. Mr. Fox's mission is to lead a party, and nobly he discharges it. Mine is to keep aloof from party, to take my stand upon science and declare its truths, leaving others to decide whether this be Tory, Whig, or Radical. One by one I shall surmount hindrances if I live. Ridicule has been tried, has failed, and is done with. I trust to disprove Whig prognostications by completing my work regularly, rationally, and consistently; and the Radicals will presently find I am not under their control. Here I am, placed in an unparalleled position, left to maintain it by

myself, and (believe me) *able* to maintain it; and, by God's grace, I will come out as the free servant of His truth. This language is not too high for the occasion. The more my connections enlarge, the more I see the eagerness of speculation as to what I am to turn out; and (for your sake I add) the more affectionate is the respect, and the more cordial is the confidence of my reception wherever I have once appeared. There is no misinterpretation of me by any who have seen me. They see and admit that the ground of my confidence is *principles* and not my own powers; and they therefore trust me, and eagerly acquit me of presumption." *

If there should seem to be a little self-glorification in this letter, and an overweening sense of her own importance, it must be remembered that her position at this period of her life was, indeed, as she had expressed it, "*unparalleled*." We suppose that never before had it fallen to the lot of a woman (not a court favourite) to be consulted by Cabinet Ministers, and entreated to lend the weight of her advocacy to schemes of reform. The story she gives of Lord Althorp, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Chairman of the Excise Commission, is altogether extraordinary. It would seem that Lieutenant Drummond, private secretary to Lord Althorp, was a friend of Miss Martineau's, and she asked him, when writing her series on Political Economy, whether there was any proposed measure she could aid by illustration in her series, whereupon Lords Grey and Althorp sent to ask her whether she could treat of tithes at once instead of later, as "a tithe measure was prepared by the Cabinet which Ministers would like to have introduced to the people by my number on that subject before they themselves introduced it to Parliament."

"Mr. Drummond said he would bring the document, on my promising that no eye but my own should see it. . . . It was a thing unheard of, Mr. Drummond said, to commit any Cabinet measure to the knowledge of anybody out of the Cabinet before it was offered to Parliament. Finally, the secretary intimated that Lord Althorp would be obliged by any suggestion in regard to principles and methods of taxation. Mr. Drummond had not been gone five minutes before the Chairman of the Excise Commission called to ask, in the name of the Commissioners, whether it would suit my purpose to write immediately on the subject of Excise, offering, on the part of Lord Congleton and others, to supply me with the most extraordinary materials, by the exhibition of which the people might be enlightened and prepared on the subject before it should be brought forward in Parliament. The Chairman, Mr. Henry Wickham, required a promise that no eye but my own should see the evidence, and that the secret should be kept with especial care from the Chancellor of the

Exchequer and his secretary, as it was a thing unheard of that any party unconcerned should be made acquainted with this evidence before it reached the Chancellor of the Exchequer." *

If, after this, Miss Martineau should have exhibited a little vanity, and felt a little too much confidence in her own powers, we can scarcely be surprised. A mere list of the well-known names, both male and female, with whom Harriet Martineau became associated in England and America would fill a page, and many of the anecdotes she relates of them are very amusing; but they have been much discussed in various periodicals since the publication of the autobiography, and we have not space to repeat them here; it is, however, interesting to remark, that in her general classification of men she has known, she looks upon politicians as the most vain, and "far inferior in dignity" to the scientists, adding, to the credit of the latter, that she believes "the pursuit of knowledge for its own sake yields them more pleasure than any gain of fame or money." "Some of them, like Professor Nichol, may not be acquitted of vanity, while uniting with it, as he does, a simplicity, a kindliness, and a genial temper, which make them delightful companions. Others, like Buckland and Murchison, have a love of fun mingling with their genuine worship of science, which makes them highly agreeable, in spite of eccentricities of manner."† Her genuine admiration of Mrs. Somerville is worth recording, because it proves how superior she was to the petty jealousies to which her sex are often too prone. She says—

"There were Dr. Dalton and Mrs. Somerville, sitting with their heads close together on the sofa, talking their own glorious talk without a thought of what anybody in the world was saying about either of them." Dr. Dalton was simple in every way, Mrs. Somerville in all that was essential. . . . It was delightful to see her always well dressed and thoroughly womanly in her conversation and manners, while unconscious of any peculiarity in her pursuits. It was delightful to go to tea at her house at Chelsea, and find everything in order and beauty—the walls hung with her fine drawings, her music in the corner, and her tea-table spread with good things."‡

Of the wives of Lyell and Darwin her praise is equally sincere, and of Mrs. Barbauld, Miss Berry, Miss Aikin, the Sedgwicks, and many others, she also speaks in high terms, whilst the picture she gives of these female writers and scientists, and the example she herself set in the management of her household and farm at Ambleside, prove how false is the commonly received notion that literature and scientific pursuits in women are incompatible with domestic comfort. As may be readily imagined,

* Vol. i, p. 261.

† Ibid., p. 361.

‡ Ibid., p. 357.

she entered warmly into that which is called "The Woman Question," but she viewed it with that eye of reason and common sense which over-enthusiastic advocates are too apt to shut.

"It seemed to me," she says, "from the earliest time when I could think on the subject of woman's rights and condition, that the first requisite to advancement is the self-reliance which results from self-discipline. Women who would improve the condition and chances of their sex must, I am certain, be not only affectionate and devoted, but rational and dispassionate, with the devotedness of benevolence, and not merely of personal love. . . . The best friends of the cause are women who are morally as well as intellectually competent to the most serious business of life, and who must be clearly seen to speak from conviction of the truth, and not from personal unhappiness. The best friends of the cause are the happy wives, and the busy, cheerful, satisfied single women, who have no injuries of their own to avenge, and no painful vacuity or mortification to relieve. The best advocates are yet to come,—in the persons of women who are obtaining access to real social business, the female physicians and other professors in America, the women of business, and the female artists of France, and the hospital administrators, the nurses, the educators, and substantially successful authors of our own country. Often as I am appealed to to speak or otherwise assist in the promotion of the cause of women, my answer is always the same,—that women, like men, can obtain whatever they show themselves fit for. Let them be educated, let their powers be cultivated to the extent for which the means are already provided, and all that is wanted or ought to be desired will follow of course. Whatever a woman proves herself able to do, society will be thankful to see her do, just as if she were a man. If she is scientific, science will welcome her, as it has welcomed every woman so qualified. I believe no scientific woman complains of wrongs. If capable of political thought and action, woman will obtain even that. I judge by my own case. The time has not come, which certainly will come, when women, who are practically concerned in political life, will have a voice in making the laws which they have to obey; but every woman who can think and speak wisely, and bring up her children soundly, in regard to the rights and duties of society, is advancing the time when the interests of women will be represented as well as those of men. I have no vote at elections, though I am a tax-paying housekeeper and responsible citizen; and I regard the disability as an absurdity, seeing that I have for a long course of years influenced public affairs to an extent not professed or attempted by many men. But I do not see that I could do much good by personal complaints, which always have some suspicion or reality of passion in them. I think the better way is for us all to learn, and to try to the utmost what we can do, and thus win for ourselves the consideration which alone can secure us rational treatment." *

The same sound common sense enabled Miss Martineau to

discriminate between mesmerism, in which experience had taught her to be an ardent believer, and the pretensions of modern spiritualism. In a letter to Miss Mary Carpenter dated 1866 she says—

“What your friend has heard of my belief in spiritualism (so called) is not true. As far as direct personal knowledge goes, I am in a state of blank ignorance of the whole matter . . . Of course, one has some *impression* or other from what one hears; and mine is this:—From what I learnt in my experience and observation of mesmerism, I am so far aware of the existence of rarely used and undeveloped powers and capacities in the brain, as to disapprove very strongly the gratuitous supposition, in the spirit-rapping case, of pure imposture on the one hand, and of the presence of departed spirits on the other.”*

And in a note on the same subject she says—

“An eminent literary man said lately that he never was afraid of dying before, but that he now could not endure the idea of being summoned by students of spirit-rapping to talk such nonsense as their ghosts are made to do. This suggests to me the expediency of declaring my conviction, that if any such students should think fit to summon me when I am gone hence, they will get a visit from—not me, but the ghosts of their own thoughts; and I beg beforehand not to be considered answerable for anything that may be revealed under such circumstances. I do not attempt to offer any explanation of that curious class of phenomena, but I do confidently deny that we can be justified in believing that Bacon, Washington, and other wise men are the speakers of the trash that the ‘spiritual circles’ report as their revelations.”†

In this also Miss Martineau was eminently consistent. Having given up belief in a future state as an idea contrary to philosophic reason, she could not admit the existence of disembodied spirits, but looked upon the phenomena of spiritualism (so called) as the result of mesmeric power upon patients in “a state of exaltation almost amounting to delusion when imaginative patients are concerned;” and she more than once repeats her thanks to Mr. Atkinson for rescuing her from the danger of falling into this state herself whilst under mesmeric influence, when she relates—

“I was subject to a set of impressions so strong that—having seen instances of the *clairvoyant* and prophetic faculty in others—it was scarcely possible to avoid the belief that my constant and highly detailed impressions were of the same character. It is impossible to be absolutely certain at this moment that they were not, but the strongest probability is that they were of the same nature with the preachments and oracular statements of a host of mesmeric patients who give forth their notions about ‘the spiritual world’ and its inhabitants.”

* Vol. iii. p. 426.

† Vol. ii. p. 250, note.

In describing the first effects of mesmerism, and the phosphoric light which appeared to illuminate every object at the approach of the mesmeric sleep, she says, "Had I been a pious and very ignorant Catholic, I could not have escaped the persuasion that I had seen heavenly visions. Every glorified object before my open eyes would have been a revelation, and my mesmerist, with the white halo round her head and the illuminated profile, would have been a saint or an angel." *

To attempt to analyse the voluminous writings of Miss Martineau, ranging as they do through all the fields of religion, philosophy, history, political economy, and biography, would be impossible. As a novelist perhaps she was not great, nevertheless "Deerbrook," and "The Hour and the Man," will always be read with pleasure. Mrs. Chapman gives us in her supplementary volume two or three specimens of her poetry; but it must be confessed that poetry was not her *forte*. Her religious works, representing as they do the period of immature reason, were repudiated in her later years, but they seem to have been accepted by the sect for which they were written as powerful and faithful expositions of the doctrines of Unitarianism. Of the Political Economy series, by which she first became famous, we have given her own opinion. Important as they were considered at the time, they are now little read, and will probably soon be forgotten. Her historical works are perhaps most truly characterised in a review of her "History of England during the Thirty Years' Peace," which appeared in the "Quarterly Review." "Her style has some resemblance to that of the French Memoirists, being rapid and glancing rather than steady and methodical. She does not so much relate as indicate events, but this is done with so much animation, and such felicity of language and allusion, that the mind is kept continually attentive, even when the subjects themselves are far from inviting." †

There is certainly an unusual amount of vigour and sound sense in all her writings, and even when we are constrained to differ from her conclusions, we feel that she has not arrived hastily and without due reason at her beliefs. The imaginative powers were in her subservient to her love of truth; in her descriptions of scenery she took the best topographical works for her guide, and her characters and incidents were generally real; but she had that rare gift of identifying herself so much with her subject, that whatever she wrote was always supposed to be of personal knowledge. Hence her story of the "Maid of all Work" gave rise to the fiction that she had herself occupied

* Letters on Mesmerism, p. 15.

† Quarterly Review, vol. xci. 1852.

that position. Her "Milliner and Dressmaker" was pronounced the work of one familiar with the details of the craft, whilst her work upon Holland was supposed to be conclusive proof of her intimate knowledge of a country she had never visited, and the same was affirmed of her delightful little tale, "Feats on the Fiord," which will for many years to come create a lively interest in Norwegian scenery and traditions in the minds of children, and be read with pleasure and profit by all of whatever age. But it is doubtless by her biographical sketches, her translation of Comte's Philosophy, and her various political and social essays, that Harriet Martineau will be remembered by posterity. Several of the latter, contributed from time to time to the "Westminster Review," have a peculiar interest at the present moment. Of the "Westminster" she was ever an earnest and zealous friend and supporter, regarding it as that organ of independent religious and political thought which she had long looked for in vain, a something which should stand between "the scoffing of the 'Quarterly' and the scepticism of the 'Edinburgh,'" and she aided it in the hour of need, not only with her pen, but with her purse. She always regarded her article "The Martyr Age of the United States," the first of many touching upon slavery and abolition in America, as one of the most important of her contributions; and doubtless her writings gave a considerable impetus to that movement which terminated in the emancipation of the negro in America, for which she worked so hard with her needle as well as with her pen. Speaking of her life at Ambleside, she says, "I have always had some piece of fancy work on hand—usually for the benefit of the abolition fund in America;" and it must indeed have been a source of gratification to her to have lived to see the fulfilment of her ardent desires in this matter. Her spirited and faithful history of "Rajah Brooke" will be read with redoubled interest, since Mr. Gladstone's cruel aspersion of a man who, above all colonial governors, has deserved well of his country, and whose character, on the special point of Mr. Gladstone's attack, was vindicated, as Miss Martineau shows, by an overwhelming majority in Parliament. Respecting the accusation then brought against Brooke, Miss Martineau says—

"But it was the misfortune of Mr. Cobden and the Peace party, and of Mr. Hume and a small faction in his train, to be ignorant of the facts of the case. Taking up the extraordinary notion that Brooke was killing off the opponents of his rule under the pretext of their being pirates, that he was wilfully confounding native wars with piratical expeditions, and paying his crew, if not enriching himself, by means of the head-money appropriated for the capture or destruction of pirates. These gentlemen held humanity meetings for

the reprobation of the most philanthropic man of the age, and repeatedly applied to Government, both immediately and through Parliament, for what they called inquiries, but intended to be condemnation. . . . When Captain Aaron Smith stood up to stop the deluge of peace sentiment that was flowing forth, our readers will remember what efforts were made to overthrow the testimony of this merchant captain by asserting that he had been a pirate himself. He brought an action for defamation. The charge against Brooke broke down. In the session of 1850 Parliament voted against an inquiry by the largest majority of the session, and Lord Palmerston wrote to Brooke in terms of cordial approbation." *.

The article upon "England's Foreign Policy," written just before the Crimean War, will also be read with peculiar interest at the present time, many passages reading almost like prophecies. She says—

"To sustain a genuine national vitality, the principle of action must be of a sound moral quality, with a broad intellectual basis."

And after showing that the policy of Russia is not of this character, she adds—

"How long Russia will go on conquering and to conquer in virtue of the singleness of her aim, no one will venture to say; but everybody knows that, having missed the reformation of three centuries ago, she will fall to pieces unless some other reformation comes to unite her people in some sort of moral agreement and pervading emotion. When, with the battle of Waterloo, our enmity to France expired by exhaustion, we were aware that Russia was the next object of dread and aversion; and certainly if the ground of hostility really was the proneness to conquest of the rival power, there has been no state so worthy of our jealousy as Russia, for, except Napoleon, no power has made such conquests as Russia in modern times. The conquests of all other powers together are not to be compared to the acquisitions of Russia. So little has our methods succeeded in securing the independence of Turkey thus far, that in 1830 she applied to Russia to defend her against her own vassal the Pasha of Egypt. . . . All the historical and political material possessed by anybody concerned shows that Russia fully intends to annex territory east, west, and south to her empire, to extend the area of the Greek Church till it extinguishes all heresies and annihilates all political liberties; that, after a long course of successful annexations, she is repulsed steadily and successfully by Circassia, and on the Danube thus far by Turkey; that having really weakened Austria while appearing to aid her by the suppression of Hungary, the Czar fully reckons on the infirmity if not the friendship of Austria, and the fears and fickleness of Prussia; that it is probably his intention to set France against England, and win over the former in order to alarm England with the prospect of having to go to war alone; and that he is probably only too well justified in believing that England will sacrifice everything rather than

* *Rajah Brooke, Westminster Review, vol. vi.*

agree through Lord Aberdeen, to fight; that while the insane pride natural to all autocrats makes him imagine himself a match for all foes, his resources are found to be less respectable the more they are looked into; that he has practically an unlimited command of men as to number, but not very much more; that his men are in great measure untrained, ill-conditioned, and either ignorant or reluctant; that his nobles are ill-disposed, his exchequer very bare, his administration so vitiated as to make his demonstrations hollow and his schemes precarious. . . . As for Turkey, it may be doubted whether any nation ever suffered such indignity and injury as she has borne from Russia in a finer spirit than she now manifests. * Some retribution she deserved for her former treatment of the Christians—though her conduct to them was scarcely worse than that of Russia is to the Jews at this hour. And Russia does not seem to be improving in toleration, while Turkey is rising above her old prejudices from day to day. . . . The state of Europe just now defies all detailed forecast. Everybody knows that the existing state of things cannot last, and that a tremendous conflict is inevitable, whether it arrives one year or another.” *

History repeats itself, and these words might have been written last year. “Ah! how true it is,” as Miss Martineau says in a letter to Mr. Atkinson, “that Christianity has not Christianised the world.”

The letters on “Man’s Nature and Development” mark a distinct epoch in the life of Harriet Martineau; she undertook them, as she did every publication, deliberately, weighing well the cost, which she knew would be great.

“‘I am not afraid of censure,’ I wrote in February 1848, ‘from individuals or from the world.’ I don’t feel at present any fear of the most thorough pulling to pieces that I suppose can ever befall me. The book once out, I am in for it, and must and will bear everything. . . . The fact is, however, this book is, I believe, the greatest effort of courage I ever made. I only hope I may not fail in the proof. Some people would think the Population number of my Political Economy, and the Women and Marriage and Property chapters in my American books, and the Mesmerism affair, bolder feats; but I know that they were not. I was younger and more ardent then; and now the forecast and love of ease belonging to age are coming upon me. Then I believed in a Protector who ordered me to do that work, and would sustain me under it; and however I may now despise that sort of support, I had it then, and have none of that sort now. . . . I would not exchange my present views, imperfect and doubtful as they are—I had better say I would not exchange my freedom from old superstition—if I were to be burned at the stake next month, for all the peace and quiet of orthodoxy, if I must take the orthodoxy with the peace and quiet. Nor would I for any exemption give up the blessing of the power of appeal to thoughtful minds!” †

* England’s Foreign Policy, Westminster Review, vol. v. 1854.

† Autobiography, vol. ii. p. 346.

And after the storm she anticipated had come, including among her chief adversaries her own favourite brother, she writes:—

“When, in the evening of that spring, I went out (as I always do when in health) to meet the midnight on my terracc, or, in bad weather, in the porch, and saw and felt what I always do see and feel there at that hour, what did it matter whether people who were nothing to me had smiled or frowned as I passed them in the village in the morning? When I experienced the still new joy of feeling myself to be a portion of the universe, resting on the security of its everlasting laws, certain that its cause was wholly out of the sphere of human attributes, and that the special destination of my race is infinitely nobler than the highest proposed under a scheme of divine moral government, how could it matter to me that the adherents of a decaying mythology (the Christian following the heathen, as the heathen followed the barbaric fetish) were fiercely clinging to their man-god, their scheme of salvation, their reward and punishment, their arrogance, their selfishness, their essential pay system, as ordered by their mythology?” *

The chief offence of Miss Martineau in the publication of these letters was the enunciation of a belief in universal law as omnipotent over matter, working through death and destruction to regeneration and everlasting progress. As may be observed, this doctrine did not exclude the possibility of a Lawgiver, but it made Him subservient to His own laws, and therefore precluded the possibility of miracles, and of the whole Hebrew and Christian cosmogony according to the Bible. One of Miss Martineau's chief opponents, Dr. Bushnan, thus gives the substance of Mr. Atkinson's philosophy:—

“In the universe there is no power; there is nothing which should be called purpose; there is nothing else but eternal, immutable law. By ‘eternal law’ the universe is what it is; by law suns, planets, and secondaries have arisen; by law the mineral crust of our earth, in all its varieties of character, has been formed; by law portions of it have passed into plants, other portions into animals; by law in both the phenomena of life pursue their course, the material elements of organic structure secreting, nourishing, excreting, and performing the offices of instinct and reason; by law the matter of the brain commits acts of cruelty and injustice, or engages in acts of benevolence and utility; but, luckily, there is no sin; man has no free-will; by law he dies, and the material structure of which he is wholly formed is scattered to the four winds of heaven, till called by the same immutable law to enter into some new combination organic or inorganic. . . . But really the hypothesis is too poetical to be dealt with by the rules of inductive science; it ranks with the meta-

morphoses of Ovid. It implies that when the parentage of the human race became vertebrate, man was a fish, and an odd fish he must have been. The next character in which man appears is in that of the frog tribe," &c., &c.*

According to this gentleman, the philosophy of Mr. Atkinson, as accepted by Miss Martineau, is but an elaboration of the crude and premature theories of Lamarck and the author of the "Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation," very much mixed up and embarrassed by mesmerism and phrenology. The essential ideas of those theories have been worked out and established on a firm basis by Laplace, Darwin, and Tyndall, but the ultimate goal to which Materialism tends has rarely been openly avowed and advocated except by Miss Martineau, who professed to find in the doctrines of individual extinction and of the ultimate perfection of the human race through development, more hope and joy than Christians find in "the sure and certain hope of the resurrection to eternal life." Her preface to her condensed edition of Comte's "Positive Philosophy" and the last pages of the "Autobiography" are full of her belief in the extinction of Christianity, which she looked upon as the last of the mythologies, and the perfection of the human race through philosophy. "The law of progress," she says, "is conspicuously at work throughout human history. The only field of progress is now that of positive philosophy, under whatever name it may be known to the real students of every sect;"† and she thus treats of the ultimate fruit of that philosophy: "When our race is trained in the morality which belongs to ascertained truth, all 'fear and trembling' will be left to children; and men will have risen to a capacity for higher work than saving themselves—to that of working out the welfare of their race, not in 'fear and trembling,' but with serene hope and assurance."‡

We fear that we have done but scant justice to the earnest, useful life of this remarkable woman. That her undeviating pursuit of truth, and her allegiance to that which her reason approved as such, should have led to scoffs and jeers from the multitude who find truth in a totally opposite direction, is not surprising; but the simple record of her life is sufficient to confute the confident assertions of theologians that Materialism tends to immorality, recklessness, and selfishness, and that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to a life of real morality and charity. When we read of her patience under severe afflictions, of her charity towards her neighbours,

Miss Martineau and her Master. J. Stevenson Bushman, M.D. 1851:

† Comte's "Positive Philosophy," Preface, p. 11.

‡ Autobiography, vol. ii. p. 461.

evinced by her care for their moral welfare by lectures on temperance and kindred subjects, as well as by the general tenor of her writings, her kindness and consideration towards her servants as well as towards her own immediate relatives and friends, we can but repeat the words of the large-hearted Florence Nightingale, "She served the Right, that is, God, all her life. How few of those who cry, 'Lord, Lord,' served the Lord *so well* and so wisely! Joy to thee, happy soul! She served the truth and the good, and worshipped them!—now they bear her on to higher and better fields. So, above all petty calculations, all paltry wranglings, now she is gone on her way to infinite purity."* Those who have judged her from her writings alone have looked upon her as one of those masculine blue-stockings so much disliked and shunned by men and by the softer portion of their own sex, but those who knew her best speak constantly of her domestic virtues. James Payn writes: "No more gentle, kindly, and, if I may say so, 'motherly' nature ever existed than that of Harriet Martineau. She delighted in children, and in the friendship of good wives and mothers. One of her chief virtues, indeed, was a simple domesticity that 'gave her a wonderful charm.'"† Yet one brief and tragical love affair, terminated by the insanity and death of her betrothed, is all she records of the inner life of the affections which commonly make so large a portion of a woman's life, but in recording it she adds: "The veneration in which I hold domestic life has always shown me that that life was not for those whose self-respect had been early broken down or had never grown. . . . When I see what conjugal love is, in the extremely rare cases in which it is seen in its perfection, I feel that there is a power of attachment in me that has never been touched. When I am among little children, it frightens me to think what my idolatry of my own children would have been."‡ Of her faults none were more conscious than herself. If she deals hardly with her contemporaries, she never spares herself, but relates her faults of temper, her distrust, her literary shortcomings, as dispassionately as though she were criticising the life and works of a stranger. Her genuine kindness of heart is shown in her generous vindication of her servant Jane; whilst her love of home and of feminine work endured to the end of her life, and her last work was a cot quilt for a neighbour's child.

Of Mrs. Chapman's supplementary volume, written in the spirit of an enthusiastic friend and panegyrist, we have not space to say much. It dwells chiefly upon the American episode in Miss Martineau's life; but in publishing some extracts from

* Vol. iii. p. 475.

† Ibid., p. 483.

‡ Vol. i. p. 133.

her private diary, and letters from notable individuals to and of Miss Martineau, she gives us a valuable insight into the feelings of her friends towards her, and her own truly humble opinion of herself and tenderness of conscience in giving pain to others. She says: "My having hurt C. Sedgwick is more pain to me than all the rest can compensate. I really thought I was right, and am not sure now but I was, but I will look into it. I must be brave about the consequences of my own mistakes as well as about undeserved blame." And again, at the close of the year: "I have had a good deal of discipline this year about opinion. . . . Praise seems to have lost its power of giving me pleasure, which is well. I sadly fear growing selfish—fond, not of money, nor even of fame, but of ease and my own favourite pursuits. May I keep before me the single desire to do what is right without longing or repining!"* The few letters given in whole or in part do credit to Miss Martineau's heart, but we fear Mrs. Chapman erred in publishing even these. She evidently desired that all should share the admiration she felt for Miss Martineau, and felt that this object would be best promoted by giving the public an opportunity of reading the private thoughts and feelings of this gifted woman in her own words.

ART. IV.—THE PRESENT EDUCATION OF SOLICITORS.

IT is well known that Lord Selborne is endeavouring to establish a General School of Law, open alike to barristers and solicitors, but in considering the question indicated by the title of our paper, although we shall have occasion for reference to the proposed School, we have no intention either of discussing legal education in general and advocating at any length Lord Selborne's scheme, or of dwelling upon the relations existing between the higher and lower branches of the profession. The former subject has already received no inconsiderable amount of attention, and there is no paramount necessity for re-stating arguments in support of a proposal already so well championed,—one to which the ablest jurists and practising lawyers in England have signified their adherence. The relations between the two branches of the Profession have been assailed and defended so frequently, that the ground may here well be avoided, except when incidental incursions appear to serve our present purpose.

* Vol. iii. pp. 188-209.

It is hardly necessary to remark that public attention is now attracted to home affairs chiefly with reference to their bearing on foreign politics, but the education and training of solicitors being at this moment directly or indirectly before Parliament, the time appears opportune for a fuller consideration of the question than it will probably receive in the course of an evening's debate.

We well know that law is essentially of a fixed character, that it is always in the rear of the growing needs of society; and, remembering this, we might be prepared to find in those who are closely connected with its study and administration some indication of similar qualities. However this may be, there is, in fact, a strong tendency amongst members of any profession threatened with reform to maintain the *status quo*, and if every effort to change this condition is met by opposition, veiled or avowed, or by half-hearted support at the hands of members of any such profession, it is clearly desirable that some amount of public interest be excited. We have recently been reminded that it was "not by the action of the judges as a body that the abuses of capital punishment were remedied in this country, and it was not by the heads of manufactories that the Factory Acts were passed." Lately, Mr. Norwood proposed a sweeping measure of legal reform, and it would be well for solicitors if some other non-professional member, "greatly daring," and of equal ability, would also enter the lists, bringing to the question we are now considering the vigour and broad business-like views that are too often absent in stereotyped, professional, methods of treating professional matters. No especial assistance can, of course, be expected from without, as the interest of the public in lawyers is chiefly of a negative character; but, at the same time, the interest of necessity, if we may so term it, cannot be ignored in dealing with any projects for increasing the efficiency of men in whose hands are placed matters of supreme importance. Such matters are placed in the hands of solicitors.

In consequence, possibly, of this, exception will certainly be taken in some legal circles to our previous use of the term, "the lower branch of the profession." We lately read of "what was formerly called" the lower branch, and more than once have we seen a solicitor referred to as "the learned gentleman," and so on—expressions which, if found in the "lay" press, may be mere terms of courtesy, but, when repeated and prominently thrust forward in other quarters, are mere attempts to ignore actual circumstances. It is well known that, among other professional reforms, the style of "Solicitor of the Supreme Court" has recently been invented, and the familiar "Attorney-at-law" virtually abolished, by legislative enactment. To the extinct

term there was, undoubtedly, a certain amount of invidious meaning attached. The experiences of past generations might be said to have become the intuitions of the present in a sense, perhaps, never contemplated by Dr. Carpenter, and with the mere utterance of the name undefined but uncomplimentary ideas instantly intruded themselves. Let us hope that other ideas of a new order will be as intimately associated with the new title—a title which has been received with some definite signs of approval. Certain Solicitors of the Supreme Court are decidedly pleased with it, and, their tastes being academic, the initials “S.S.C.” appear after their names. In legal columns we have seen comparisons instituted between “a clergyman’s M.A.,” and the severe examinations qualifying for the degree of solicitor—comparisons not entirely to the advantage of the former. Indeed, at one time—the joke not being such a bad one—we thought the “movement” would become popular. If we might offer any suggestions, we would recommend these gentlemen not to stop at this point, but, if they are not already members of the “Incorporated Law Society,” to subscribe to that institution, and thus be entitled to supplement their present distinctions with further initials that would bear a certain resemblance to the M.R.C.S., and by a few other ingenious and judicious contrivances they might, in time, have a very respectable array of mysterious symbols following their usual cognomens. We will not venture to predict the striking effect this practice would have on the minds of clients, though we have some notion of the manner in which it would be regarded by the veritable, if inferior, graduates in Arts. However, we are fain to remember, as Mr. Freeman so truthfully remarked a few months since, that “*Honores non mutant mores*,” and, notwithstanding the various phrases now in vogue, we do not see any occasion for insisting at length on the correctness of the objectionable term we have used. The educated public, if not intensely interested in the question, have no doubt as to the relative rank of the two branches. The ideas of barristers are clear and definite on the subject,—we wish every “counsel’s opinion” were on other matters equally clear and definite,—and solicitors themselves, being perfectly alive to the facts, we prefer to admit them, simply. At the same time there may be some advantage in casting aside baseless assumptions before proceeding to consider changes other than an alteration of name.

We are not alone in our opinion that such changes are needed. The efficiency of practising solicitors is too often open to question. The luxuriant growth of “counsel’s opinions” may well warrant the idea that the one branch is too frequently a mere vehicle for transmission to the other of work that clients

might reasonably expect should be done at first-hand. This reproach attaches more especially to the practice in London, and we will not now trust ourselves to speak of it in fitting terms. With respect to the early course of preparation, the opinion of the profession may be gathered both from petitions supporting the establishment of Lord Selborne's School of Law, and from the reports of meetings held at Oxford last autumn. The esteem in which articled clerks are held in legal circles is, of itself, a sufficient ground for carefully reviewing the entire system of their legal training.

Formerly the programme was eminently simple. No examinations were required, but any gentleman desiring to become an attorney was articled for five years to a lawyer practising in that branch of the profession. If this service took place in the country, he occasionally passed the last twelvemonth of his articles in town and, while there, he no doubt was as diligently employed in "seeing practice" as his successors now are under similar circumstances. At the end of his apprenticeship he proceeded to obtain "admission," and with that object made an affidavit that he had faithfully served his master during the past five years. A certificate by the attorney to the same effect accompanied this affidavit, and the two documents were duly filed. The applicant then went before a judge in chambers, who looked him up and down, and usually asked his name. Occasionally further questions were put respecting his wish "to be a lawyer," and as to the weather. He was then told that "that would do." This was the usual course, but we have heard of a judge who passed these limits. With a view, we presume, of testing the results of past tuition, he said to the candidate, "Now, supposing I were to employ you, young man, to bring an action or institute a suit for me, what would be the first thing you would do?" His Lordship was an impecunious person, and the pupil at once intimated that, in such a contingency, the preliminary step would be to require cash on account. We need hardly add that the judge at once directed his admission. After the interview at chambers, a "fiat" was signed, and with this, and the amount of the fees, in his pocket, the future attorney attended with a crowd of others before the Master of the Rolls and was then duly sworn in. The number of oaths required to be taken we will not pledge ourselves to state, but they appear to have diminished as the number of examinations has increased, one only being now necessary.

During the present reign the first step was made in reform, and under the statute 6 & 7 Vict., c. 73, certain rules were promulgated by which no one could be admitted on the Rolls without a certificate of having passed an examina-

tion touching "his fitness and capacity to act as an attorney." This examination was concerned purely with law, although a Select Committee on legal education had (we think at about this period) resolved (Rep. 50):—"That in providing for the special legal education of the solicitors, a stringent examination should be required in proof of a sound general education having been gone through previous to admission to apprenticeship. That this examination should embrace, in addition to the ordinary requirements of a so-called commercial education, a competent knowledge of at least Latin, geography, history, and ethics, and of one or more modern languages."

This recommendation was disregarded; but in a standard "Articled Clerk's Manual," written by a barrister, we find, as a headnote to one of the chapters, that "the proficiency of articled clerks in classics, general knowledge, moral and religious principles," is "taken for granted." This book, in fact, casts such a roseate hue over the position of future solicitors, and generally contains such an exceptional wealth of rhetoric, moral observation and advice, that we are tempted to reproduce an expansion of the headnote. It runs thus:—"I take for granted that a youth before he becomes an articled clerk has received that proper and sterling kind of instruction which enables him to establish and dignify his position in society. No suggestions, therefore, upon the subjects of classical, mathematical, and general knowledge, logic and arithmetic, the French and German languages, politeness, self-respect, virtuous or religious duty, will here be offered." This was written in 1858, and we may remark, that in subsequent editions the above assumption has been omitted, though the headnote appears to be retained—we presume by way of irony:

In fact, it was discovered in 1860 that the possession of these acquirements should not in their entirety be assumed, and fresh regulations were promulgated, which are substantially the same as those now in force.

The first step at the present time is to pass a "Preliminary examination," the subjects of which allow certain factors in the above quotation still to remain matters of faith. We lay considerable stress upon this examination. After the report and the literary confession it is a rather abrupt descent to find that the Incorporated Law Society, even if willing to pass by the questions of logic, ethics, and politeness, yet do not feel justified in assuming that candidates can read and write correctly. The syllabus is as follows:—

1. Reading aloud a passage from some English author.
2. Writing from dictation.
3. Writing a short English composition.

4. Arithmetic.—The first four Rules, simple and compound; the Rule of Three, and Decimal and Vulgar Fractions.

5. History of England, and Geography of Europe and of the British Isles.

6. Latin.—Elementary.

7. (1) Latin. (2) Greek, Ancient. (3) French. (4) German. (5) Spanish. (6) Italian.

With reference to the subjects numbered 7, each Candidate will be examined in two languages, according to his selection.

The examiners specify works in each of these six languages for translation. We will not give the whole list, but taking those, two of which are usually selected, we may add that the following authors have been chosen for the examination held during the present month:—

In Latin, Cicero, *De Senectute*; or Virgil, *Æneid*, Book ii.

In Greek, Homer, *Iliad*, Book viii.

In French, Chateaubriand, *Voyage en Amérique*, from page 267 to page 342; or Racine, *Athalie*.

Where an option is given, the candidate of course selects his author.

Having passed the Preliminary, the playground is exchanged for the office. As far as we have been able to ascertain, the average age of a youth at the commencement of his articles is sixteen or seventeen years. At this age he enters the office of a gentleman, who, by the usual terms of the deed, covenants to “teach and instruct” him in the practice and profession of a solicitor. Like many other similar covenants, this is usually a mere form. We never heard or read of any solicitor who directed a systematic course of reading for the student, or who even once explained to him the various provisions of an ordinary marriage settlement. In the earlier stages of his tuition the pupil performs the work of an office boy or copying clerk, and if he is fairly diligent, he may eventually be able to engross a deed, or he may virtually do nothing. This kind of thing lasts for an indefinite period. The first year is tolerably certain to be more or less wasted, and for the two succeeding years the pupil will, as a rule, be expected to do quite a sufficient proportion of this species of labour, unless he is especially precocious or rebellious. When about half the term of service has expired, the first legal examination—the “Intermediate”—takes place.

The manner in which the training progresses at the office has already been shown. The student is generally expected to “read law” after office hours if at all; but the free and easy life of an articled clerk, when not engaged in such duties as those we have referred to, is well known, and no one for a moment supposes

that the midnight oil is burnt to any alarming extent. There are various ways of passing the Intermediate; a few months' work is usually necessary, but the *modus operandi* differs according to the student's taste. He may study the works named by the examiners, which treat upon Equity, Real Property law, and the Law of Contracts. As regards the two former, a couple of elementary text-books have been chosen, and the selection of authors is, in these two cases, unimpeachable, the volumes being clearly written and of the kind suitable for a beginner. But, from some strange reason, the gentlemen superintending the Intermediate examination have taken as the text-book in the last-named subject one of the heaviest works of its class known to the profession, viz., "Chitty on Contracts." Candidates are not, of course, examined upon the whole book, but only upon the earlier portions of it.

We have said that the student may study these works, but we are far from pledging ourselves that this course is universally adopted. The candidate may simply, or chiefly, rely upon the knowledge obtained from having "got up" a book of questions and answers. This species of cramming is employed more particularly, perhaps, with respect to the "Final"—of which we shall hereafter speak—and it appears decidedly popular, if conjectures may be based upon the numerous volumes of this kind of literature which are published. We well remember having seen a statement, perfectly credible, by the editor of one of these works, that all the questions set in a previous examination had been anticipated in his collection—the examiners, we presume, considering that the knowledge necessary in the past was still desirable. Questions are constantly repeated.

Before leaving the Intermediate, we must notice one other subject at that legal examination, viz., Mercantile Book-keeping; but it is only necessary to add that, unless an elementary knowledge is already possessed, the candidate will do well to devote forty-eight hours' study to a limited number of questions previously set in this department, together with the published answers, and if he is fairly intelligent, the subject will require little further attention.

Leaving the Intermediate, the tuition at the offices is resumed; and with the advantage derived from the slight knowledge of law he has necessarily gained, coupled with the fact of his now being about nineteen or twenty years of age, the articled clerk may have more important work confided to him, but not until the fourth or fifth year of his service does he become in any degree intimately concerned with responsible and professional duties. All things being favourable, he should, during those years, advance in arithmetical progression. This might naturally be expected.

At the expiration of his service the student goes up for the "Final." He must supplement his previous knowledge with another six or nine months' good reading, or by coaching up in a book of questions and answers, as in the case of the previous examination; and we have no hesitation in asserting that this plan is extensively adopted, and with no slight success.

For a "Pass," Conveyancing, Equity, and Common Law only need be taken in, these subjects being supplemented by some questions on the practice of the courts; but it will be seen that in a very considerable degree the knowledge requisite is simply an amplification of that required for the Intermediate. The aspirant for "Honours," as they are termed, must read up other additional subjects (*e.g.*, Criminal law and Bankruptcy), and we are free to confess that to obtain this distinction some amount of honest work is necessary. Unfortunately, however, the "Honours" are of such a modest character, or articulated clerks are of such an unambitious temperament, that the attraction does not appear to act very powerfully. At any rate, the number of candidates who attain this grade is, comparatively, so very small that we need not dwell longer on the subject.

A far different state of things prevails with reference to the proportion who pass. Five years ago a letter on the subject of "cramming" appeared in the "Law Times," and the prominence of a leading article was accorded to it. The writer observed that there could be "no good reason why at the law examinations of the London University" only about "fifty per cent. of those who entered obtained pass certificates, . . . while at the Incorporated Law Society the proportion" rose to "ninety per cent." If this was correct—and there is little reason for questioning its accuracy—we are glad to observe that there has been a slight improvement. An examination is held every term, and from a careful comparison of the figures, we find that the average percentage of successful candidates in the past three years has been reduced to eighty-three; and although two or three of the published returns have escaped our notice, it is not thought that they will materially affect the correctness of our calculations. Doubtless an improvement will still continue to be made, but in considering the present standard of examinations, at which some eighty per cent. of the candidates are allowed to pass, it is a sufficient commentary merely to indicate this proportion. Such an indication points with sufficient directness to the necessity of a change.

Having gone through the Final, our student is admitted, and the young solicitor is let loose on the public. The number of such solicitors at large is not, however, by any means at once coextensive with the number admitted. The wiser portion of

the unwise prudently enter an office of good practice at a moderate salary with a view to gain "experience."

Those who oppose any diminution in the period of service on the ground that the term of five years is necessary in order that the articled clerk may gain business aptitude, and who oppose all attempts to raise the standard of the examinations, alleging that they are sufficient to ensure on the part of the candidates a practical knowledge of the law, "which is all that is necessary" (and so on), may be regarded as curiosities. If, however, these persons extol the present system as peculiarly conferring these advantages, they must not be treated as trustworthy guides. Such men may add that solicitors are not intended to be Senior Wranglers. We have seen a similar assertion in print; but as no solicitor who ever breathed has at any time, as far as we are aware, even for a moment harboured such an intention, the assertion may be admitted. In truth, the "practical knowledge" possessed by a young gentleman at twenty-two, who has just emerged from his five years' service, is not valued at a very high figure. His business experience commences too often at the termination rather than at the commencement of his articles, and to this fact many a *paterfamilias* will bear testimony. We need not insist on the correctness of these statements at any length. Such of the public as are in the confidence of articled pupils will generally acknowledge the accuracy of our views, and, in the profession, the estimate formed of newly-fledged solicitors, founded rather on what they do not know rather than on such knowledge as they have acquired, is well known, and, generally speaking, a just one. Any solicitor publicly avowing his faith in the general practical efficiency of articled clerks at the end of their service would be regarded by his professional brethren as a marvel of ignorance or credulity.

In the preceding sketch we have attempted to give an account of the average articled clerk, and of the course he will wisely pursue when his term has expired. We have not dealt with cases where, with favourable opportunities and fair intelligence, both thoroughly cultivated, the student has developed into a reliable lawyer, and may well take a first-class position; nor have we considered those men who succeed in passing the examinations after repeated failures, and then only by dint of violent "coaching"—a fit sequel to their prior apprenticeship. It has rather been our endeavour to indicate the average net result of a heavy premium, five years' unremunerated service, and three examinations; all taking place during one of the most important periods of life, at a time when it is eminently foolish to act on false principles.

Before quitting this part of our subject, we may as well

remark that the above is merely the usual curriculum. There are a few exceptions, which should be noticed. If a lad has passed the junior Oxford or Cambridge local examinations, or certain other examinations, he is absolved from the Preliminary. By matriculating in the first division at the London University, or by passing one of some other examinations, a year is allowed to be deducted from his term of apprenticeship. For graduates in Arts or Law at certain Universities, the period of service is three years; and the same rule holds with respect to men who have left the Bar, and to those who have already been clerks to solicitors for ten years. In the case of this latter class, an order can, at the discretion of the judge, be obtained, dispensing with the preliminary examination—a very reasonable proceeding,—but we think the applicant should always appear personally before the judge when seeking this dispensation. In order to claim any such abatement in the term of service as we have referred to, the examinations must be passed prior to entering on articles of clerkship. We have not adverted to the expense attendant upon the production of solicitors, the question not being within the limits of our subject, although—considered with reference to the return—the financial enquiry might possess some interest.

All the defects patent in the present system may, we think, in a greater or less degree, be traced to the early age at which lads are articled, the utter absence of any real tuition during service at the hands of their principal, and, also, to the important fact that when entering his office they know absolutely nothing of English law beyond such information as they may have gleaned from legal anecdotes and the reports of sensational trials, supplemented, possibly, by those singular ideas respecting our jurisprudence which are current in domestic forums.

Before indicating any remedies, it may be as well to glance at the course pursued in other countries. From the study of their institutions some conception may be formed of the more conspicuous advantages or defects of our own.

In France, as in England, a division exists between the two branches of the profession, the members being called respectively *avocats* and *avoués*; but all persons, in whichever branch intending to practise, are obliged to go through a stated course in one of the six Faculties of Law established in that country, and of these Faculties one is found at Paris, and the remaining five in various parts of the provinces. We may at once state that all *avoués* are attached to particular tribunals, and, a more important item, the number attached to each tribunal is limited. In the case of the "*Tribunal Civil*" at Paris, the number of *avoués* is limited to 150 or 180—we are not at this moment sure which are the

correct figures,—and in other towns the limitation is even more stringent. The qualifications necessary in order to be admitted as an *avoué* in Paris are of a decidedly higher order than those required in the provinces, and we shall, therefore, chiefly notice the course followed in the metropolis. In every town, however, there appear to be certain corporate professional bodies (*Chambres de Discipline*) who regulate admission in that particular district, but each corporation acts, we presume, with reference to the course adopted by its fellows. These “Chambers” have done good service,—service similar to that effected for solicitors by our English Incorporated Law Society.

As previously stated, a Faculty of Law is found at Paris. Before any one can be admitted as a candidate for its distinctions he must have attained the age of sixteen years, and, unless the student merely seeks a *certificat de capacité*, he must have taken his degree as a Bachelor of Arts (Bachelier ès Lettres)—a degree, to obtain which, some acquaintance with Greek and Latin and certain other subjects is, of course, necessary, but no very profound knowledge is demanded. Every one intending to practise as an *avoué* in Paris is required to take his *licence de droit*; and this being one of the degrees granted by the Faculty, he is necessarily obliged to have graduated in Arts. In order to obtain the diploma of Licentiate, a course of study (extending over three years) must be pursued at the *Ecole de Droit*, and two examinations passed—the first being concerned purely with Roman law, the second with French law. We will not give details of the syllabus, but, judging from it alone, the degree of Licentiate does not appear to be one beyond the reach of any student of fair ability. The candidate also engages in a public debate on some given point of law, and we may remark that this *vivâ voce* system of examination appears in decided favour on the Continent, if we may draw such a conclusion from the practice in France and Germany.

The above will complete the student's academic career, but in addition to it he must serve a species of apprenticeship in the office of a practising *avoué* for the term of five years, during two of which he must have occupied the position of chief clerk. His attendance at the *Ecole de Droit* and his service at the chambers of his principal may be contemporaneous, as, provided the Professors' fees are duly paid every quarter, and the examinations regularly passed, no further proof of attendance at the *Ecole* is required. On the other hand, he may enter an office before or after becoming a student at the *Ecole*, as no examination is prescribed prior to this former step. In one important respect, however, these “articled clerks” differ from those of whom we have previously spoken. They receive an

honorarium or salary. This is not large; it varies from 150 to 200 francs a month; but we can easily understand that, receiving even this moderate sum, their principal would endeavour to supply them with work; they would have no occasion assiduously to seek for it. In this respect the chances of efficiency, the chances of gaining real business experience, are apparently in no slight degree better across the Channel than they are here. We are not sure whether a premium is usually paid to the master, but we are informed that such is not the case. The fees paid at the *Ecole de Droit* appear decidedly moderate.

Having complied with these requirements, and given security for future good conduct—security varying in value from 2000 to 3000 francs—he is admitted.

In the provinces, we will merely remark that generally three years' service is required, and the only examination necessary to be passed is that for the *brevet* or *certificat de capacité en droit*, the subjects of which are concerned solely with the French law.

We have referred to the service rendered by the *Chambres de Discipline* to the cause of legal education. Originally the only conditions to be complied with were the following:—The candidate for admission must have attained his twenty-first year, taken his *brevet de capacité*, and served an apprenticeship of undefined duration. He had then to be "presented" by a certain functionary, and lodge the security to which we have already adverted. These professional bodies have not apparently effected much for the provincial lawyers, except in determining upon a definite period of service; but with regard to the Parisians it will readily be seen that great results have been accomplished. Two years' experience as a managing or chief clerk, together with the academic and other advantages incident to the French course, should form no contemptible preparation for real business life.

In Germany, it requires some amount of attention even to know the curriculum, saying nothing of the toil necessary successfully to pass through it. We shall not attempt anything like an exhaustive account of the system, but will briefly remark that each state has its own rules; that the course adopted in the Prussian part of the German Empire differs from that in the free cities of Bremen, Hamburg, and Lübeck; in Mecklenburg another system prevails. One cardinal rule, however, is common to all. A university career is a *sine quâ non* for every man who intends to become a lawyer. We use the term "lawyer" to cover all practising members of the legal profession, as the English distinction between barrister and solicitor does not exist in the Empire, save in the Rhenish provinces and any other districts where the French law prevails. We will

not, however, enter on the rules obtaining in the smaller states, but will confine ourselves to the course in Prussia, though the principles adopted in all the states are very much alike, and such differences as exist are shortly to be terminated by the Legislature. A bill is now, or will soon be, before the Reichstag to establish a universal rule for the whole country, and the new system will, we understand, be assimilated to the Prussian. Briefly, that course is as follows:—All law students have to spend some years at the GYMNASIUM, and on leaving pass a stiff examination in general knowledge (ARBITURIENTEN-EXAMEN). The student, being at this time about eighteen or nineteen years of age, then enters a university, and reads law. His choice rests with himself, the only condition being that the university must be one where the German language is spoken, that is, we presume, where it is *the* language spoken. He can, therefore, if he wishes, pass his three years at a Swiss university. While there, the student is bound to attend certain law lectures, the number being left largely to his own judgment, and he has to pass one or more examinations in Civil law.

On leaving college, the first "State's Examination" is held. This is of a "theoretical" nature, and is conducted by the judges of the Appeal Court, aided, generally, by a Professor of some university. The candidate is required to write a treatise on a certain legal subject. He is allowed from six to eight weeks for the preparation of his essay, and can, of course, gain such information and assistance as he feels inclined to seek, the examiners merely demanding his assurance that he has himself composed the essay. A few weeks afterwards a *viva voce* examination takes place, the subjects being confined to German law. Having passed, the President of the District Court of Appeal determines upon a lawyer's office in which the student can prepare for his future professional duties, but such preparation consists not only in chamber work, but also in attendance at the courts. He receives no salary, but there are two points of especial note in this course of preparation. One, that by the rules now in force he is not liable to be employed for any length of time in simple routine work, but the reasonable wishes of the "Referendar," as the student is called, must be consulted. The employer has no right to compel the performance of duties which are of no corresponding advantage to the employed. The other, that on presenting himself at the end of his service for the second and last "State's Examination," he has to produce a journal showing the manner in which his time has been spent. This second examination is "practical" rather than "theoretical." It is held before the members of the highest legal tribunal in Prussia and one or more Professors. Another essay has to be

written, and a case is also submitted for "counsel's opinion." It is certainly singular that candidates are allowed to go through this portion of the examination in the way we have already mentioned; but, as before, a time is given in which to write the essay, and a somewhat similar period in which to prepare the "opinion." The student's assurance is, we presume, again required. Finally, another *visà voce* examination is held; the candidate delivers a law lecture or address, and the course is complete.

It is, however, noticeable that only two, or, by special leave, three attempts are allowed at this examination, and if the student does not then pass, he is precluded from further trials—a system which must, we should fancy, remove some weeds. The period of service before mentioned is now four years, but by the bill previously adverted to the period will be from two to four years. Law students are not required to take any degrees.

In the new Prussian provinces and in South Germany it is curious to notice that men practising in the higher courts are called attorneys (*anwâlts*), those practising in the courts of first instance, advocates (*advokaten*); but these distinctions are merely nominal, every *advokat* and every *anwalt* being competent to practise in every court,—all belong to the "higher service."

There is a certain nondescript kind of men who never go to the universities or pass any examinations, but, having picked up some knowledge of law, they render persons legal assistance in various matters, and in any district where there is happily, or unhappily, a paucity of "recognised" men, these "corner lawyers," as they have been called, are allowed to appear in court "as representatives of the public." They, however, form an exceptional and peculiar class, and the only body corresponding to them in England would seem to be such men as are liable to prosecution on the ground that they are practising in medicine or law without being thereunto lawfully authorised. With the exception mentioned—an exception the existence of which must require some ingenuity to prove—these gentlemen are strictly prohibited from appearing in any court in Germany.

In both of these Continental systems there is a large field for objection. The German plan especially appears far too paternal, but in its general outlines it is eminently scientific. It is not part of our purpose to attack or defend either of these methods, but from each we are clearly of opinion that some ideas of practical good may be derived—ideas, however, that naturally suggest themselves as being feasible and beneficial, and which do not require the authority of precedent. They are each found in countries that possess a code; when a similar scientific training is adopted in England, England may possess a code.

As Lord Selborne's Bill does not touch some of the evils previously referred to, we will, before considering its provisions, indicate alterations that we think might beneficially be wrought. To enable us to effect any real good, it is well at once to examine radical and primary defects—" *melius est petere fontes*," as Lord Coke has said, though in another context.

The first step to be taken is the establishment of an actual "Preliminary law examination." This we would divide into two branches, General and Legal. For the first branch, the examination now in use, with two or three extensions, both in severity and in subject, might suffice. The English History paper should deal more fully with the English Constitution; it should, in fact, be avowedly a paper on Constitutional Law or History. Book-keeping and Arithmetic could be bracketed. The Mathematics might include the first four books of "Euclid." In Scotland, a "General knowledge examination" is appointed for those who intend to be solicitors, and the candidates are allowed, at their option, to take in either Mathematics—comprising the first three books of "Euclid,"—or Logic, the text-book being Jevons's "Elementary Lessons." We think that a similar plan should at once be adopted in England. The elements of Roman and Grecian History ought to be incorporated with the Latin and Greek papers respectively. There should also be a distinct "Honours" class; and for this, in addition to the subjects named, elementary papers on Chemistry and Natural Philosophy should be given. We presume that it is hardly necessary to point out the desirability of a solicitor's possessing such an acquaintance with these two sciences as may enable him to understand, more readily than at present, something of the language and meaning of scientific men in cases where these two practical sciences play so prominent a part; and we should be glad to see one of them, at least, added to the ordinary syllabus and so rendered compulsory. The second branch should be concerned with legal subjects and comprise the elements of Roman Law and Jurisprudence, and the primary principles of our own Real Property and Common Law. Here, also, there should be a distinct "Honours" division, at least in Jurisprudence. All candidates taking Honours in both branches of the examination should be entitled to a reduction in their future term of service. For ourselves, we may frankly confess that we are not so impressed with the advantages of a thorough acquaintance with Roman law as to insist on its presence in the Honours syllabus, but we would willingly leave this point to be determined elsewhere, and, therefore, will not now state reasons in support of or against our views—views that are slightly heterodox. These two examinations would be compulsory, except where

certain university tests could be accepted in lieu of one or both, and we should still, in proper cases, grant to "ten years' men" an order dispensing with the first branch of the examination. It is clear that to compel a man of twenty-six or thirty to go back to his school-days before admitting him to practise as a solicitor, when he is otherwise qualified to do so, is hardly fair. We prefer leaving such cases to Judicial discretion. At the present day a large amount of complaint and virtuous indignation has been vented on the subject of these dispensing orders. The profession, it is urged, should be free from intrusions by men who do not possess the classical acquirements following in the train of the Preliminary. Our own opinion is, that the examination in question hardly calls for so much consideration. We fail to see any marked distinction between those gentlemen who have, and those who have not, succeeded in obtaining the exemption; and we therefore do not consider it advisable to throw needless obstacles in the path of men who have risen by their own efforts. We should be glad, however, if judges only granted these orders after a careful consideration of each case, aided by an interview with the applicant.

Having passed both branches of the Preliminary, articles could then be entered upon. No one should be articled until he had attained his eighteenth year. We are not quite sure whether the term ought not to be absolutely reduced to three years. It should clearly be so in the case of students who have taken Honours at the Preliminary, or who have been articled after attaining the age of twenty years, and, of course, in cases where only three years are already required. In other cases, the period should not exceed four years; but there are good reasons for limiting it to three when a man has duly passed such an examination as we have already sketched; and we submit this, not as a very original idea, but yet for the careful consideration of the Incorporated Law Society and of solicitors generally. Students of the Inns of Court are only liable to three years' probation before being called; and, if our suggestions on other points were adopted, the same term might surely be deemed sufficient for articled clerks. The reasons for such an abatement will sufficiently appear from a consideration of the chief advantages that would accrue from the adoption of such a system as we have advocated. Those advantages are twofold—(1.) No one could be articled at the present early age; (2.) Some amount of scientific legal knowledge would be possessed prior to entering an office. To these two points we attach the greatest importance. All reforms that ignore them are imperfect, and will probably fail in their highest purpose. We are, of course, referring to the education of solicitors, and it is clear

that this education would be revolutionised if our proposals were accepted. At a time when the faculties should be in most active play, when they are ready for real education, we have seen that the student's energies are directed towards the copying of a draft and to the correct way of folding an abstract. At an immature age he finds himself to some extent his own master, that he is a kind of "gentleman" among the workers; and one of the earliest lessons inculcated is that an articulated pupil need not work unless he pleases so to do. When young thoughts are breaking forth, new ideas opening, these thoughts are likely to be cramped and these ideas warped by the undue value at which he is liable to estimate petty matters of small routine. His own ignorance is, from the nature of the case, thrust upon him every day, and we well know that it takes a considerable period of time for a youth entirely to shake himself free of these first impressions, and for his principals to forget the early condition of their pupil. In this state of things, it is idle to set forth the only theory upon which such a system can be defended. Such a theory would, we presume, be that it is desirable that law and practice should be studied together, the one throwing light upon the other. Without insisting upon the circumstance that the theory appears to succeed rather than precede the state of things now existent, and that its weight in candid argument is thereby somewhat weakened, it is perfectly clear that such "practice" as the student sees and participates in during the earlier portion of his service is of no appreciable and material assistance in understanding the elements of English law; and yet these are all he attempts to master during the first half of his apprenticeship. We may admit that to see practice in the light of previous knowledge of theory is beneficial, and the safe course to adopt, but to speak of a boy at a solicitor's desk studying or seeing practice to such an extent as materially to assist his legal studies is contrary to the experience of too many articulated clerks to require any lengthened comment. The theory, considered merely as a theory, may not be indefensible, but, applied to the present generation of articulated pupils, it is illusory,—under the existing conditions of life, it is antecedently improbable that it would be otherwise.

By the adoption of such principles as we have sketched, the pupil would enter an office at an age when he would be able in a greater degree to take care of himself, when he could put a silent but effectual veto on frequent attempts to use him as a machine; his mind would already have been sufficiently tutored to enable him readily to comprehend and apply rules of practice without attaching undue importance to the various niceties of office

routine—niceties that we do not care to mention at length, but which occupy no mean place in the minds of not a few. It is hardly necessary to point out how quickly the articled clerk would become of practical use to his principal, and we have no hesitation in saying that a far greater proportion of his reduced period of service would be spent in actual professional work than is now so spent. Entering on articles with a sure basis of legal principles, employing a large amount of his time in really useful efforts, he would be admitted at twenty-three, or within a year or so before or after that age—an age by no means too mature. No slight advantage would accrue by reason of any deliverance from the little thralldom we have referred to, apart from the more thorough mental training the student would have received; and the chances of his superiority to mere narrow-mindedness—a quality so often conspicuous in legal gentlemen—would be greatly increased. For the sake of those who set small store by such a talisman, we would add that, at the age of twenty-three, an admitted man would be a sounder and more experienced lawyer than he now usually is. We are not advocating an exemption from participation in the practical details, small or great, of a solicitor's office. We would have the articled clerk go through every stage; but with respect to the lower grades, we would pass those stages as quickly, not as slowly, as possible. As in Germany, we would place the interests of the employed as high as the interests of the employer. If that is not the proper level of those interests, we are rather at a loss to understand the object of gratuitous service and heavy fees.

The School of Law Bill apparently leaves these evils untouched, and many of them do not fall within its scope. The preamble recites that "it is expedient to establish in London a General School of Law," wherein the "examinations" of students of law (whether intending to practise in the profession or not), and the benefits thereof, may be extended to all persons "equally." It proceeds to enact that, in order to test the proficiency of all persons seeking to practise as barristers or solicitors, and of any other persons who may desire to be examined, "there shall be established in London a body politic and corporate," to be styled "The Queen's General School of Law." It is to consist of a president and thirty-eight other persons, who, together with the president, constitute the senate or governing body, and of such other members as are thereafter mentioned, viz., all barristers and solicitors of five years' standing, who, being barristers, are members of one of the Inns of Court, or, being solicitors, are members of the Incorporated Law Society.

The president is the Lord Chancellor for the time being; and of the thirty-eight members, eight are *ex-officio*, consisting of

the Lord Chief-Justice and other judges, the Attorney-General and Solicitor-General, and the President and Vice-President for the time being of the Incorporated Law Society. Of the remainder, sixteen are elected in equal numbers from barristers and solicitors of seven years' standing. The elections are to be held every other year, except as regards casual vacancies, and the mode of election and of filling such casual vacancies is fully indicated. The term of office of the elected members is four years, but a half of these are directed to retire at the first biennial election. The continuing and the newly-elected members will hold office for the full term of four years. New members may therefore be introduced every two years, but all those going out of office from time to time are eligible for re-election. The remaining eight are to consist of such persons, "other than practising barristers or practising solicitors," as the Sovereign shall think fit to nominate, and provision is made for their retirement as in the case of elected members.

By sects, 14 and 15 no person shall be called to the bar or admitted to practise as a conveyancer or special pleader under the bar, or be admitted as a solicitor, "without receiving from the said General School of Law a certificate or certificates of proficiency in legal knowledge in such subjects as shall be required for that purpose under the provisions of this Act; which proficiency shall be ascertained by his having passed, to the satisfaction of the examiners, such examinations or examination as shall be appointed." Such certificate is to be conclusive and sufficient proof, as regards proficiency in legal acquirements, of his qualification to act in such of the above-named capacities as he intends to fill. But this certificate is to have reference to no test of any kind other than "legal knowledge," and an express proviso is added, "that such certificate or certificates shall not dispense with or render unnecessary any other qualification (save as aforesaid) which may lawfully be required" for a call to the bar, or for admission to practise as a conveyancer or special pleader, or as a solicitor of the Supreme Court. There is a saving clause respecting men who are already members of an Inn, or who are now articulated. All examinations are to be open to all Her Majesty's subjects.

In determining the subjects necessary for qualification as a barrister or solicitor, the views of those members of the Senate who belong to those branches respectively are to predominate, as set forth in sect. 19. Provision is also made by which legal examinations at universities may be substituted in lieu of those prescribed for the certificate of proficiency. If passed, the Act would come into operation on the 1st of February 1878.

It will at once be seen that the compulsory provisions of this

Bill only deal with examinational tests; that these are to be solely of a legal character, and the attendance at lectures is purely optional; that the Bill leaves untouched the question of general knowledge. It would enact that all examinations should be open "to all students of law or other persons, whether they shall or shall not have submitted themselves to any prior or other examination in the said General School of Law or elsewhere." We must confess that this clause appears to be a slight blot upon the face of the measure, and the dignity of the School and of its certificates will probably be thereby affected. Lord Selborne (then Sir Roundell Palmer), when introducing his celebrated "Resolutions" to the House of Commons five years ago, said that his system was intended to be comprehensive—that "nothing exclusive," "nothing narrow," should form any element in it. It appears to us, however, that there is something "narrow" and professional about the measure as it stands. Lord Selborne used the words we have quoted with reference to the express exclusion of persons. We employ them with reference to the tacit exclusion of subjects. At present it is deemed advisable by all our universities, and by professional examining boards, to require some amount of proficiency in general knowledge as a preliminary qualification for the receipt of their diplomas or certificates, and we consider that strong grounds should be shown before the General School of Law departed from this rule. The rejoinder will of course be that, as barristers and solicitors have already to pass a Preliminary examination, the objection is a merely technical one. But, apart from the circumstance that this would not meet the case of those who intend to be neither barristers nor solicitors, there still remains the fact that, as we submit, the present Preliminary examination for solicitors stands in need of revision, and the present time might well serve as an occasion favourable for any such step. Moreover, the Preliminary examinations for the bar and for solicitors are different, and of varying degrees of difficulty. It certainly seems a question whether, especially at the period of entering the profession, the same preliminary examinations should not be required of all candidates. We were under the impression that it was desired, up to a certain point, to assimilate the instruction of students intending to practise in either branch of the profession, but that when the choice had been made, the subjects of future examinations were then to be determined upon. This may have been contemplated only with reference to legal education, but if the object is to engender greater mutual respect, and to give students of each branch an equally good start, it is clear, though we are not disposed to press this unduly, that the compulsory bases of general culture should be the same in each case.

It may be thought that we are regarding the bill as exclusively designed for solicitors. It must be remembered, however, that we are necessarily and avowedly regarding the measure from one particular point of view. The especial needs of one class is the subject of our article, but we are not unmindful of other interests affected by the bill, and the wider benefits which it confers. On the other hand, it must not be supposed that Lord Selborne had not the necessities of solicitors very present to his mind when he brought out his projected reforms, and he counts more supporters in their branch of the profession than in his own. Our remarks, therefore, will in all probability not be misunderstood by those fully acquainted with the circumstances. It is well known, however, that one strong objection to the scheme is, that it will interfere with the functions of the universities, as it clearly will interfere in some degree with those of the Inns of Court,—who are opposed to it, and of the Incorporated Law Society,—who approve of it. If a further encroachment be made upon academic ground, more determined opposition may be excited. Yet, if only as a matter of form and apparent completeness, we think that the Senate should be empowered to require, by means of byelaws, that certain “prior examinations” should have been passed, at least “elsewhere,” before admitting any student to the School as a candidate for its distinctions. It is certainly strange that a man may possibly receive the style of “Queen’s Law Scholar,” or some similar title (the Senate having power to grant by examination “honorary and other distinctions”), and yet be slightly unorthodox in his use of the Queen’s English. Such a catastrophe may never happen, but he would be bold, who, knowing the eccentricities of great lawyers, would deny its practical impossibility. Other corporations have guarded against such a contingency. We consider that the Queen’s School of Law should form no exception to the general rule.

Although five years have elapsed since Sir Roundell Palmer introduced his propositions to the House of Commons, the novelty of the proposal does not appear to have worn off. It should, however, hardly be necessary to mention that in Scotland advocates and solicitors and Writers to the Signet pass through the same course of legal study up to a certain point,—the same attendance on classes in Scots Law and Conveyancing being compulsory upon all. The present existence of this fact is too often utterly ignored. Apparently, in some quarters, a mere statement of the relations and functions of the two branches of the profession is in itself deemed a sufficient answer to the adherents of Lord Selborne. It would appear futile to direct their attention to Edinburgh and to other Scotch universities, where

the counterpart of Lord Selborne's plan,—as regards the principle of a common curriculum, optional as to the whole, compulsory as to certain portions,—is in active and beneficial operation. The idea is not untried and crude, but is based on the evidence of experience. It reflects discredit upon the Bar thus long to close its eyes to such evidence. We have never heard alarms sounded from over the Border respecting the peril of the Bar. We are not aware of any strange internecine strife across the Channel between *avocats* and *avoués*.

On the other hand, we think it would be well if junior members of the Inns of Court devoted increased attention to the prosaic fact, that many solid advantages might accrue from a closer intimacy than now exists between articled clerks and law students in the earlier stages of their professional career.

The opposition is, however, strong and sustained. The effectiveness of compromise as a weapon of defence is only too bitterly known. The disastrous results of half-reforms constitute part of a man's political education. A few years ago the Inns of Court made the passing of an examination imperative on all candidates for the Bar, and this is not the only alteration they have effected in their ancient rules as Lord Selborne's proposals have appeared and reappeared.

They now propose to substitute a scheme of their own. On the second reading of the General School of Law Bill, Lord Cairns introduced this antidote to the attention of the Peers, giving it an undefined amount of support, and it was eventually understood that he would bring in a Bill based upon the new propositions. The Lord Chancellor expressed a doubt as to the attitude of solicitors with respect to united education. He questioned their general approval of such a system. This was not the only doubt expressed in his speech, but it was the most groundless. If the sanction of the Incorporated Law Society,—if the opinions of solicitors, as appearing from the legal press, from petitions bearing thousands of signatures, and as conveyed through other channels,—furnish any indicia of their views, we think they are entitled to some explicit intimation of the premisses from which such a conclusion is drawn. As a body, they are the most ardent supporters of Lord Selborne. Later in the evening, the Lord Chancellor stated that his own views on the subject of the bill under discussion were such as "he had entertained for a long time;" that "he had many years ago carried, by a majority of one, a resolution to the effect that it was desirable the different Inns should be affiliated to a legal University, and that steps should be taken with that object. He had always been very much surprised that the Inns of Court had not favoured a scheme

which would give the country a great corporate School of Law.* He observed that the proposal of the Inns of Court "was not the proposal he would himself have made," but that, if properly expressed, it might yet enable them to attain the end they had in view. Lord Cairns also stated that he "attached the greatest possible importance" to a provision of legal education "which would not only answer the purpose of gentlemen who wished to practise at the Bar, but also be suitable for those who desired to act as magistrates, as members of the Legislature, or in other similar capacities."

This language might have been used by Lord Selborne. Its net results are before us in the "Bar Education and Discipline Bill."

The title represents its scope. It is a measure concerned purely with the Bar. The system of united education is, of course, ignored, and we fail, utterly, to perceive that any better provision is made than such as already exists for the education of country gentlemen. The Bill is very simple. It provides for a council of thirty,—twenty-four members to be chosen by the Inns of Court, and six by the Government. This council, which may consist of judges, privy councillors, and barristers of ten years' standing, is to superintend the education, and from time to time hold examinations "of all members of the Inns of Court desiring to be called to the Bar, or to practise under the Bar." Nothing in the proposed Act is in any way to interfere with the "internal regulation of any of the Inns" respecting the discipline of their members, or "the exercise of any right or privilege connected with the Inn"—a sufficiently comprehensive phrase. With the exception of a transference of certain powers from four different Inns to a council mainly composed of members of those Inns, we cannot discover any important alterations. It does not appear to give "the country" a great School of Law.

Co-operating heartily with Lord Selborne, acting more thoroughly upon the views shadowed forth in the sentences previously quoted, we might have received from Lord Cairns a comprehensive Act of Parliament. We regret that he should deem it consistent with the broadest public interests to neutralise the force of, and for the time defeat, a Bill commanding wide sympathies, and the entirely "practical" nature of which is attested by the late Mr. Bagehot's support.

We presume Lord Selborne will not be satisfied with any such "Council" as that now tendered in lieu of a School that might, let us hope, be to England what Bologna was to Europe. The enthusiasm born of numbers is well known, and it would

* The Times, April 18, 1877.

surely have given no slight impetus to legal studies if the Queen's School had been established five years ago. For reasons previously stated, it is not, however, our intention to advocate its foundation at any length. We are now concerned, rather, with what appear to us the more pressing or immediate wants of a single class, but a class greatly interested in the legislative attempts we have noticed.

Insufficient and unsatisfactory as the present rules are, no one, however, denies that we have amongst us solicitors of first-rate ability, acknowledged business capacity, and perception of the keenest order—men who are worthy of the trust reposed in them by a legion of clients. Those claiming for the existing order of things the credit of having produced such men are at liberty to make such use as they think fit of our admission. No one disputes the fact that in the past we possessed lawyers whose deeds, or, to use a less professional term, whose names may deliberately be placed beside those of any living. We presume, also, that no one capable of reasonable argument would assign this fact as a valid ground for preserving intact the old methods of obtaining a "call," though the change is still occasionally bemoaned for reasons that might have some weight if the Bar were merely a "caste." Six or seven years only have elapsed since the date when time-honoured customs were put aside—customs linked with the renown of Hardwicke and Eldon and St. Leonards. In truth, we well know that "a brilliant past" is now no safeguard against the onward strides of Reform. Institutions must be prepared to stand or fall by their present, not their former achievements. The practical question awaiting a reply is, whether any existing system is the most efficient that can reasonably be demanded? Whether such a system involves or is conducive to the wasting of years, or is justly chargeable with an insufficient response to the requirements of active life? To speak directly, is the present the best mode, practicable, for producing the best practical solicitors? It is of little service to cite cases of exceptional merit. We know too well that a man may rise in spite of a particular *régime* as well as with its assistance.

We have been considering the efficiency of solicitors as such. We have no desire to discover a method of unmaking solicitors; but, before closing, it may be as well to touch on the future of the profession. The "clamour" for equal rights of audience with the Bar in the superior courts has, from time to time, attracted an indefinite amount of attention. The results of the struggle, if it can be so called, are not likely to be very successful at present, and it is exceedingly doubtful if such rights will ever be granted. For ourselves, we are not in favour of a

"fusion"—reasons for which opinion need not here be stated ; but the question of transit still remains. Considered with reference to the general good and public utility, it is clear that the road should be freed from all petty hindrances. At present, obstacles are thrown in the path of any solicitor wishing to join the Bar, and these obstacles are of a protectionist character. He must cease practising as a solicitor for three years before being "called." To abstract three years from a man's life, when he is perfectly ready at once to comply with all the examinational and pecuniary requirements of the Inns of Court, appears hardly defensible. The reason is clear. It is simply to protect the Bar—to prevent a man having, or supposed to have, a connection among old *confrères* from entering his new sphere until that connection has grown "beautifully less." This method of crippling a man, though worthy, doubtless, of Sheffield unionists, appears to be a public and an individual wrong, and should be brought under the notice of those who do not confound social with professional interests.

It has already been seen that, as the law now stands, a similar impediment lies in the path of any barrister desiring to become a solicitor ; he must be disbarred, and then serve under articles for three years. It will readily be understood that few counsel ever so desert their own branch of the profession, but solicitors are willing to render the transit less troublesome. Provision is made in the Solicitors' Examination Bill, now before the House, for the admission on the Rolls of barristers of not less than five years' standing, on their passing the Final examination only, service under articles being dispensed with. This measure is supported by, or entirely due to, the action of the Incorporated Law Society. The natural counterpart has never been tendered by the four Inns. The Bill in question contains a few miscellaneous clauses, but its chief end is merely to transfer from the Judges to the Society certain powers in connection with Examinations, and we need not refer to it at greater length, although a more careful wording of two or three clauses would be desirable. We have referred to the reduced term of apprenticeship in the case of graduates, but, at first sight, the 13th clause of this Bill certainly appears to confer a power of altering the present rules, and extending the period of service to four years—a consummation probably not desired by the framers of the provision.

We should not omit mentioning that the course hitherto adopted by the Incorporated Law Society has evidently been one of steady and ever progressing reform,—reform which, if tardy, has yet been felt in all the examinations prescribed, each now embracing subjects formerly not treated as essential. We

trust their work will not be allowed to remain a torso. In view of the immediate, if temporary, fate of Lord Selborne's Bill, it may yet prove necessary to rely upon their efforts. A paragraph could be inserted in their own Parliamentary measure giving them power to make byelaws or regulations relative to the holding of such examinations prior to entering upon articles, as we have ventured to suggest; and clause 13 might then be amended by giving the judges power to reduce the term of four years' service, there mentioned, to three. Such a course should not even appear to hamper Lord Selborne. Although there is a *prima facie* similarity in function between the measure introduced by Lord Cairns and that brought in at the instance of the Society, yet we do not suppose that the latter is dictated as the result of any hostile spirit. We have, therefore, less hesitation in proposing amendments that we should otherwise prefer seeing embodied in the greater Bill. Whichever is deemed the preferable mode for attainment of the end, we think it has been shown that the education of students, and the entire system of their legal training prior to admission on the Rolls, merit careful consideration. That the Incorporated Law Society is less keenly alive than ourselves to the defects indicated we will not presume. It is to be hoped that some wisely directed measures will shortly be taken towards effectively dealing with the subject, and dealing with it in no "parochial" spirit.

It has not been thought necessary to meet in advance all the orthodox "arguments" against any proposed reform. These should now be well known. We may assume that they have previously been employed in obstructing past improvements. They were futile then. The profession has improved. Will they be less fallacious now? Has the highest stage been reached? Every one admits that Jurisprudence is of no supreme importance in Replevin, and that a man may recover judgment in Trover without having read a line of Gaius. Arguments of this character may have had weight in some Palæozoic age—they certainly influenced our grandfathers; but to-day all such fossil remains should be swept aside without any renewed study of their formation.

ART. V.—OLD GAELIC CULTURE.

The Early Origin of Institutions: The Brehon Law of Ireland.

By Sir H. SUMNER MAINE. London. 1875.

On the Study of Celtic Literature. By MATTHEW ARNOLD. London. 1867.

The Aryan Origin of the Gaelic Race and Language. By the Very Rev. ULICK BOURKE, Canon of Tuam, &c. Second Edition. London: Longmans. 1876.

DR. BLACKIE is getting on famously with his Edinburgh "Chair of Celtic," but this good work need and ought not to interfere with a better—viz., the founding a Chair of Celtic at one of the two great English Universities. There are reasons, into which we must not now enter, why no Scotch professorship, however successfully established, could supersede one connected with Oxford or Cambridge; and in the present temper of our Universities the question of funds need cause no difficulty. For Oxford and Cambridge are going to turn over yet another new leaf. There will be no more idle Fellowships. Never again, while the world standeth, will the Honourable Smylie Smylie, *bene natus, bene vestitus, mediocriter doctus* (as the traditional statutes had it), be able to draw his pay as Fellow of All Souls', and to keep his rooms empty so long as it pleases him to be at the pains to live unmarried. Did not one All Souls' Fellow die the other day who was elected somewhere about the date of the battle of Waterloo? But all this is to be a thing of the past. Some quarter of a century ago, old-school Oxford men thought the world was coming to an end when a Bible-clerk of Pembroke was made Fellow of Archbishop Chichele's College. It was a grand triumph for the reformers; but it was only the beginning of an end which is to be fully accomplished, not by putting in a plebeian now and then, to lessen envy against the *καλοὶ κάγαθοι*, but by either making the Fellows work or diverting their incomes to University purposes. Yes; professorships and readerships are to be founded with the money which has hitherto furnished cigars and other *menüs plaisirs* to rising young barristers or scions of the aristocracy. Even later Latin and ecclesiastical Latin are not forgotten. Now, therefore, if ever, is the time to put in a plea for an Oxford or Cambridge Chair of Celtic.

"But nobody wants to learn Celtic, while a good many people want to learn Tamil or even Pali; and ecclesiastical Latin may be useful in controversies with the Vatican. Celtic, happily dying out, at least in its Gaelic branches, was always the barbarous

tongue of a set of barbarous tribes." To such an objector we reply: "Softly, my friend; you have been led astray. You have, perhaps, been reading 'The Roman and the Teuton,' by dear, impetuous Canon Kingsley. One always thinks, because of his impetuosity, and his delightful way of swinging his shillelagh round his head and challenging all comers, that something Celtic was disguised under that very English name. In his wonderful 'Roman and Teuton' he speaks of 'hypogorillaceous Celts,' although he might have learnt from Zeuss's *Grammatica Celtica* that these Celts were true Aryans in speech." "Ah! but," it may be retorted, "language is no test of race; Jamaica negroes are not Aryans because they speak English. How do you know 'the Celt' did not learn his Aryan speech from a little knot of conquerors? Race is a matter of skulls; and the Celt is brachycephalic, while Teuton and even Basque are dolicocephalic." Well, well; we do not profess to be skull-measurers. We fancy men of the same nation are to be seen nowadays wearing heads of every conceivable shape. We read that Thersites (we appeal to Mr. Gladstone whether he was not a pure-blood Hellene) was $\phi\omicron\chi\delta\varsigma$, with a head like a sugar-loaf. Above all, Mr. Huxley is on our side. He, seven years and more ago, asserted the original identity of Celt and Teuton; and since then Sir. H. Maine has come to the rescue in another way, in that admirable book, "The Early Origin of Institutions," and proves that Celtic (at least old Gaelic) law is Aryan; that it has a strange unsuspected resemblance to the vaunted common law of England, besides offering wonderful coincidences with the old Hindoo laws; that it is, in fact, just the primitive Aryan custom developed in the extreme West, even as the same custom was developed (equally apart from Roman influence) in the far East.

The epithet "barbarous tribes" must be flung back, therefore, in the objector's teeth, if by "barbarous" he means barbarian, Allophylian as the phrase is. Yet his style of thought and language is very excusable, being, doubtless, the fault of his early training. If you have a nursery library, please to take down from your children's shelves "The Child's Companion for 1870." There, among "Pictures of *foreign* nations," stands the Irishman, in brimless hat and swallow-tailed coat, appropriately placed along with his bare-footed, short-kilted wife, between the Maori and the Cingalese, with Patagonians and such like to complete the series; and verily Pat and Biddy look as "barbarous" a couple as any in the book. Now, "The Child's Companion" is, like too many children's books, quasi-controversial; it winds up its account of the Irish with a prayer for the deliverance of Ireland from Roman darkness. We can say "Amen" to that prayer, unless, indeed, Roman darkness is to be superseded by bibliolatrous hardness; and can smile at the amusing (but somewhat unbrotherly) descrip-

tion of Paddy's barbarism, just as we smile at the veracious statement of some travellers that you can tell the difference in Switzerland between a Protestant and a Catholic canton by the smell. And if he who speaks of the old Irish Celts as barbarous tribes has not got his ideas out of "The Child's Companion," he has got them out of one or other of the thousand slanderers of the Celt, from Singleton Copley, Lord Lyndhurst, who denounced the native Irish as "aliens in blood, religion, and language," up to St. Bernard, who called them "a bestial nation" because they declined to pay Peter's Pence, and to recognise his friend St. Malachy as Archbishop of Armagh; ay, even up to St. Jerome, who, because he once had to live on porridge, and found them disagree with him, revenged himself by stigmatising the Attacotti as cannibals.

Whatever the old "Celts" were in their habits, it is clear enough they were not Allophylians in race; and if any one who calls them "barbarous" means thereby that they had no literature, we would ask him to read a little of Mr. Matthew Arnold "On the Study of Celtic Literature," or, better still, O'Curry's Lectures, edited by Professor Sullivan of Queen's College, Cork; or, failing these, Canon Bourke's book named at the head of this article. He will then see that they were, if quantity counts for anything, the most literary of all Western peoples. Of the quality a few samples will be given by and by; but it is much better that the ordinary English reader should take on that matter the opinion of the apostle of sweetness and light. To hear him talk of "Celtic magic" will make the most prejudiced Englishman understand why the Scotch are proud of their undoubted mixture of Celtic blood—why (however Mr. Freeman may preach), they would not lose that spice of the *perfervidum ingenium*, which is just what makes Edinburgh, for instance, what it is—no, not to be as saturated with German blood as the London high finance soon will be.

No; there is plenty of Celtic, plenty of Gaelic literature to occupy an Oxford professor so long as the Chierwell runs into the Isis; and, if the reader had ever heard (as he well may have done) learned Germans scoff at us for letting them do our work herein, he would think it was high time we had a "Chair of Celtic" filled by a man who would be the Max Müller of that branch of literature.

And we are not without good hope that this will soon come to pass, now that Mr. Matthew Arnold, Mr. Huxley, and Sir H. S. Maine have come forward, like "three broad-backed, resolute, host-defying champions" (as the old *Sgeulachdan* phrase it), to stand up for the Celt, and to prove him to be intellectually, physically, morally of the royal Aryan stock. Sir H. S. Maine above all deserves the thanks of all Irishmen, Highlanders, Manxmen, not to speak of the Welsh, both of the Principality and the

Duchy. His "Early History of Institutions" must have introduced the Brehon law to a great many people who would certainly never have heard of it otherwise. He is not first in the field. Ten years ago, not long after the publication of the first instalment of the Ancient Irish Laws (a sort of Irish Rolls' series) had been begun under a Royal Commission, Dr. Samuel Ferguson read a very telling paper before the Irish Academy "On the Rudiments of the Common Law discoverable in the Published Portion of the 'Senchus Mor.'" But an Oxford professor, with an Indian reputation behind his Oxford fame, comes before the reading world very differently from a Dublin Q.C., chiefly known in England as author of "The Forging of the Anchor," and other ballads. An Irishman writing seriously about Ireland, except on politics, is in English eyes a "monster." "Give us something racy of the soil," was an editor's reply, years ago, to a desire on the part of a certain writer to treat of Ossianic literature; "my public knows nothing, and cares less, about Ossian and all his tribe." It is too true; and if books like Campbell's "Tales of the Western Highlands" and Kennedy's "Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celt" cannot make the subject popular, there is little use in trying to do so. But, if we cannot make Celtic literature popular, we can, with Sir H. S. Maine's help, prove that the Celts never were more "hypogorillaceous" than our neighbours. Bad food, continued through centuries, will make any race degenerate; and it is unfair, as well as un-Aristotelian, to pick out, as "Punch" does,* the worst instead of the best as a sample of a breed. We will not quote the old *Opus Scoticum* as a proof of culture, though it is the best of its kind that perhaps the world has yet seen. Does the reader know it, this Scotie work? Has he ever looked over one of the illuminated Irish Gospels or Psalters? Last autumn, at the Cologne Art Treasures Exhibition, the gem of the book-collection was an Irish MS.; one saw without any catalogue that it was something wholly different from the often more pretentious volumes around it.† Does the reader know the old relic cases, the croziers, the brooches, the shafts of Irish and Manx and Argyleshire crosses? There is nothing like the style elsewhere; and the masters of ornamentation, Professor Westwood and Digby Wyatt and Owen Jones, have given it the highest praise which such work can receive. We may call it finical; and yet, while the smiths and scribes and stone-carvers

* Used to do; for "Punch," we are glad to find, has improved vastly. This last winter he has been really friendly. He actually discovered an inn at Glengariff with which an Englishman could find no fault. Won't somebody tell him that no Irishman ever talked of *Oireland*?

† Even Giraldus, so unfriendly to the Irish, is compelled to praise the Book of Kells: "Notare poteris intricaturas ut vero hæc omnia angelica potius quam humana diligentia jam asseveraveris esse composita" (quoted by Canon Bourke, p. 334).

were making such things, the masons were building serious works like Cormac's Chapel and the round towers, and St. Columb's house at Kells, and even in outlying places such fine instances of ashlar as Girth House in Orphir parish, Orkney. Yet we will not quote all this as proof of high culture, for Mr. Hill Burton is quite right in noting that "Scotic genius ran more towards ornament than large design;" or, as Mr. M. Arnold puts it—"The Celt has done just enough in the comparatively petty art of ornamentation to show his delicacy of taste, his happy temperament; but the grand difficulties of painting and sculpture, the prolonged dealings of spirit with matter, he has never had patience for." Partly true, though "never" is not the right word;—and true, too, that this enamelling and illuminating has a dash of savagery in it. Your squaw will turn out a pair of mocassins embroidered as no London or Paris shoemaker could finish them. Your South Sea Islander will carve you a club or a paddle as only a genius could carve it here in Europe. But even this small work thousands of educated English people never heard that the old Scots excelled in. Besides, as we have said, the men who excelled in this could build, and did build, something far better than wigwams. "Ah! but all their architecture came from Rome." So perhaps it did in one sense,* and so possibly did all the architecture of Western Europe. Do you suppose that the old Batavi and Belgæ built town-halls, or the old Normans cathedrals, out of their own heads? No; but each nation formed a national style by modifying the work of Roman masons. And so in Ireland, the style is Irish and nothing else. True enough it is a form of Romanesque, but then so is every post-Christian style in Europe. It is a form of Romanesque, but a form quite different from any other—*opus Scoticum*, in fact, as unmistakably as the most typical Irish MS. or Tara brooch.

But the Irish laws talk of many things besides building, and illuminating, and enamelling. They talk of silk dresses, and lap-dogs, and chessboards,† and the clothing of foster-children graduated according to their rank. "Satin and scarlet are for the son of the King of Erin, and silver upon his scabbard, and brass rings on his hurling-sticks, and brooches of gold with crystal inserted." They tell of armour, though—more's the pity—it wasn't so good as what the Danes used; of dripping-cups like Sir Walter Scott's Dunvegan mether; of bells ornamented, doubtless, like the bell of Guthrie (Wilson's "Prehistoric Annals of

* Yet, see Miss Stokes in her admirable introduction to Lord Dunraven's "Early Irish Architecture."

† In "Leabhar na h' Uidri," a twelfth century MS., Midir, coming to play *fith cheall* with Cochaidh, brings a board of silver and pure gold, every angle illuminated with precious stones, and the man-bag of woven brass-wire.

Scotland); of bridges and weirs, and mills, and kilns, and pounds (there was a whole system of them to meet the elaborate requirements of their "law of distress"); of trenching and walling in land (these Gael were no mere nomads, though they mostly had winter as well as summer quarters). Some of the enactments about lunatics, about hospitals (they are to have four doors, and there is to be a stream of water running through them), about the property of married women, show a degree of progress to which English law has only lately attained. Most elaborate, too, are the class distinctions, from the *ard righ* or over-king, to the *bo-aire*, "cow-gentleman," who becomes ennobled by possessing for seven years twice the property of the lowest rank of noble; and so on down to the *fuidihr*, "broken man" from another tribe, who is allowed to settle on the chief's domain. Then there are orders, too, of bards and poets and satirisers, and their writings are classified most minutely, just as they are in "the Laws of Howel the Good." The question is, How much of all this classification and culture had its basis in fact? Can we imagine that there is nothing behind all this apparatus of technical terms, all this elaborate organisation, save what Sir H. S. Maine calls "the fancy of the teacher inventing hypothetical cases"? But if the Brehon law has its basis in fact, the question is: In what fact—mediæval, or Patrician, or pre-Christian? Was all Irish culture due to the Danes, as Dr. Ledwich said? Was it all due to the early missionaries? or had the golden age of *Scotia Major* begun before Patrick and his predecessors, if he had any? and did it continue (enhanced, of course, by the imported civilisation of the clerics) till the savagery engendered during the Danish wars, and fostered by the English system, destroyed almost every trace of it? No one can read either the "Senchus Mor" (the published part of the old Brehon), or O'Curry's "Lectures on Irish Manners and Institutions," without feeling morally certain that these Scots had a culture of their own when Christianity first reached them. They may or may not have known writing, though there is no reasonable doubt that many Ogham inscriptions are pre-Christian,* and that the *abecedarium* brought in by St. Patrick means only the Roman alphabet. But culture they certainly had; the introduction to the "Senchus" speaks of the Cosmogony, for instance, in language which has about it that unmistakable savour of antiquity which Mr. Matthew Arnold finds (in spite of Mr. Nash) in some of the Welsh stories. It is certainly not what a Christian missionary

* Most of them imperfect; for to stamp an ogham-dallan with a cross, and to obliterate the older markings, was a favourite work of the missionaries. See the whole question fully discussed in Canon Bourke's eleventh chapter. Why, if the Roman missionaries brought in writing, has the old Gaelic (like the oldest Greek) only seventeen letters?

would have taught. This "Senchus" (holy code) claims to be pre-Patrician. The Irish, its preface tells us, were just about codifying when the Saint came; and he accepted their law in all things, except in what concerned the faith. The seers, of course, had foretold that "the bright word of blessing would come—i.e., the law of the letter," just as the Druids of the Carnutes foresaw the Nativity, and, though usually hating images, shaped one and inscribed it, *Virgini pariturse*, which same is now the Black Virgin in the crypt of Chartres; and so, when "the Men of the Book" did come, they repaid the Irish seers in kind, confessing that "it was the Holy Ghost that had spoken and prophesied through the mouths of the just men who were formerly in Erin, as He had prophesied through the mouths of the chief prophets and noble fathers in the patriarchal law." Wherever St. Patrick came from, he showed an amount of tact which the modern missionary might advantageously imitate. Here is the account of how he ratified the Brehon law—"The judgments of true nature which the Holy Ghost had spoken through the mouths of the Brehons and just poets of the men of Erin were all shown by Dubhthach (Duffy, chief poet of Erin) to Patrick. What did not clash with the Word was confirmed in the law of the Brehons by Patrick and by the clerics and chieftains of Erin; for the law of nature had been quite right, except the faith and its obligations, and this is the 'Senchus.'"

Now of this "Senchus" even the text must be of very various dates. The MSS. of course are not old, though distinctly earlier, some of them, than the Welsh "Red Book of Hergest."* We believe Mr. Whitley Stokes says it was probably put together in its present form in the tenth century (it is several times quoted in Cormac's "Glossary," which is at least of that age); but its present form is a little square of text, with glosses and comments and notes upon comments, interparagraphing and sometimes interlining it, as though writing material was more precious than eyesight. Tennyson, one would think, must have been looking at a page of the "Senchus" when he wrote—

"Every margin scribbled crost and crammed
With comment, densest condensation, hard
To mind and eye."

And Eugene O'Curry, Matthew Arnold's "Scaliger of a despised literature," might almost have added—

"The long sleepless nights
Of my long life have made it easy to me.
And none can read the text, not even I;
And few can read the comment but myself."

* MacEgan wrote his name in his father's book in the "second year of the plague, A.D. 1350." This copy is now in Trin. Coll. Library, Dublin (H, 2, 15).

Indeed, O'Curry and O'Donovan, Dr. Henthorn Todd, and several more, were engaged on the "Senchus" for some thirteen years before the first volume was deemed fit for publication. Even then there were words and phrases, ay, and whole sentences, which could only be guessed at (see preface to vol. i.); and this proves (apart from other evidence) that there are pre-Christian fragments (mostly, of course, in verse) imbedded in the text much as the portions of the Book of Jasher, &c., are imbedded in the post-Babylonish compilation ascribed to Moses. It is the same evidence on which we pronounce the description of Achilles' shield to be post-Homeric; for, we must remember, just as there was old, middle, and new Attic, so there is old, middle, and new Irish ("hard Gaelic and fair Gaelic"); and taking that in which St. Patrick's hymns and suchlike are written to be the "old," it is as clear as such necessarily doubtful matter can be that these archaic bits of the Brehon are still older; they contain (what the hymns do not) words which had gone out of use at the time of the very earliest glossaries. Part, therefore, of the "Senchus" is pre-Christian. As to the comments and glosses, they are of most unequal value, and of very different dates. Now and then, we have a bit of etymology run mad (not much worse than the attempts in the Greek and Latin dictionaries of forty years ago), as when *senchus* is derived from "*sen chai fis*, 'the old road of knowledge,' or *tech fis na sen*, 'the house of knowledge of the ancients;'" for as a house protects against cold and bad weather, so the knowledge of the law protects against injustice and ignorance of contracts." Then follows a scrap of mystical logic: "Place comes first in order of the elements, for place is corporeal; time comes second, because it is incorporeal; and person in the third place, because it consists of body and non-body." And then a bit of cosmogony: "He formed the colours of the winds so that they all differ from one another. From the east wind blows the purple, from the south the white (Horace's '*albus notus*'), the red and yellow are between the white wind and the purple," &c. Here and there are the wildest legends, evidently pre-Christian, accounting for the enactment of certain laws.* From this medley Sir H. S. Maine establishes the fact that the original Irish land-tenure was the same as that of Hindoos (still seen in their joint-families), of old Romans with their *ager publicus*, of Gauls and early Germans, and of Slavonians, with their *mir*, up to the present day. He shows that, so far from joint-possession of land being a concomitant of savagery, traces of it exist in Great Britain (*rundale* and *lammas land*) to the present day; and peasant communities (those *cumpani*, having common loaf, pot, and fire, about whom M. de Laveleye gives

* See Dr. Ferguson's "Congal" (notes, p. 192).

some curious facts) were numerous in mediæval France. He further shows that the Irish "law of distress" was singularly like the action by distraint at the English common law. He traces the resemblance between the Irish and the old Roman marriage laws—these Gael had their distinctions of *connubium*, *confarreatio*, *contubernium*; strange, that it was for unwillingness to give up their own usages and conform at once herein to canon law that St. Bernard calls them "beastly Irish," and heaps on them other epithets as choice as if he had been writing a Papal allocution. He shows, moreover, how the law which made it necessary "to fast upon" a creditor of higher rank before distraining finds its exact parallel in the Hindoo *sitting dharna*, and must date back to a time when the Druids were able to give a supernatural sanction to their decrees.

Whether all this proves incontrovertibly or not that the old Gael were Aryans, we are not concerned to show. The language proves it, as far as language can; but we suspect that the existing descendants from the old Gael do not so very much care about being Aryans, congeners of "the man of blood and iron." What we contend for is, that these Gael or Scots had at the beginning at least as much culture as, probably a good deal more than, the tribes who broke up the Roman Empire. As to tribal possession and periodical redistribution being marks of Allophylian savagery, it may be that, as M. de Laveleye says, they are the law in native Java and among several African nations—undoubtedly they were among the Maories; the reason why such customs are found among many Allophylians, doubtless, is that, like some nursery tales, they come naturally to man, and not to Aryan man only. But be this as it may, we protest against calling the old Gael "hypogorillaceous," simply because their land laws were the very opposite to those which special circumstances have developed in modern England, when Sir H. Maine, proves that those laws of theirs were in every particular as advanced as the laws of "those other young giants among the nations who sallied forth as conquerors from the Central Asian cradle."

Of course, we are all in a sense "hypogorillaceous;" but that is no reason why an Irishman should be placed one single rank nearer "the divine primitive ape" than the most Teutonic Teuton of them all. Thanks, then, to Sir H. Maine, in the name of the Gaeldom. How neatly he sets forth the contrast between "the Roman law, put together in the fifth century B.C., and deeply respected everywhere, and the Brehon law, put together in the fifth century A.D., and everywhere treated with contumely." "Wicked and damnable," said the Statute of Kilkenny in 1367—that statute which, within the Pale, abolished native dress, and "glibbs" or long-flowing locks and moustaches, and ordered the Irish to drop their O's and

Mac's, and call themselves Duck, or Brown, or Baker, or such like. "Lewd and unreasonable," says Sir J. Davis, "and causing such barbarism as the like was never seen in any country that professed the name of Christ." "A rule of right unwritten," says Spenser—neither he nor Davis knew of any *corpus* of Irish law—"in which there oft appeareth a great show of equity, but in many things repugning quite both to God's law and man's." And now the whirligig of time (which brought its revenges when Spenser's great-grandchild was ousted as a Popish recusant from his pleasant castle of Killycolman by one of Cromwell's "adventurers") brings proof that these "lewd" institutions are virtually the same as those out of which grew that "just and honourable law of England" which Tudor and Stuart jurists are never weary of contrasting with the "wicked and damnable" Brehon. Presumably one reason why the Brehon fared so differently from the law of the twelve tables was what Mr. Matthew Arnold calls the Celt's "want of patience and strenuousness," as compared with the Latin's "talent for dealing with the fact and making himself master of it." Even so, though hindered by the temperament of those who made and used it, and flung aside by the English in a way in which no other conquerors ever treated the laws of any subject people, the Brehon law held its ground till well into James I.'s time. Spenser describes a hillside gathering to administer justice, much as a missionary nowadays might describe a South African *palaver*. But because, in Spenser's day, the Irish had nearly returned to the nomad state, and had lost almost every mark of culture except this old law of theirs, we are not, therefore, entitled to say that they never had any culture at all. It would have been as impossible to find an Irishman of Elizabeth's time who could have illuminated the "Book of Kells" or the "Gospels of Durrow," or who could have wrought in metal as Conla and St. Dagaëus did in the fifth century, or in stone as Goban Saer did some century later, as it would have been fifty years ago to find a Greek who could paint like Zeuxis or work marble like Phidias. The old Irish were savage enough in some things. Nobody says they were cannibals; indeed, we do not quite believe St. Jerome, aforesaid, when he tells us that he, being then a very little boy, saw some Attacotti (friends of the Picts) eating human flesh. The Saint was a Celt-hater; porridge, as we remarked above, did not agree with him. When Pelagius becomes unanswerable in argument he abuses him for being *pultibus prægravatus Scotiis*. No doubt he thought men condemned to such diet would even take to man's flesh by way of relief. But it is true (see O'Curry's Lectures) that the old Scotch way of making unerring sling-balls (the *gleba* with which the defenders of Avaricum galled Cæsar's men) was to mix with lime the brains of a slain champion. Women, too,

regularly went into battle* till Adamnan (St. Columbkille's biographer) made a law against their doing so. The Fianna of Fion and Diarmuid and Oisín cooked their meat, Polynesian fashion, with red-hot stones in what are to this day called "Fenians' ovens." (These Fianna, remember, were at the same time all bound to be well versed in "the twelve books of poetry.") In arms and armour the Irish were behindhand; they had no battle-axes till they got them from the Danes; bows and arrows, too, were very rare among them. O'Curry says they are not spoken of in any of the oldest documents; and in the legends, *Fir na Saghaidh* ("the man of the arrows," who clearly borrows his name from the Latin) is as important a personage as "Tied-foot," who can outrun the wind, or "Swell-face," who can blow a tempest from his puffed cheeks. Spears and swords (those beautiful leaf-shaped bronze swords, and, we suppose, the claymore as well),† and "little missive shields" were their chief weapons; large shields, too, they had for protection, and also helmets; but breastplates, we believe, "came in with the Danes." But even so, putting things at the worst, they were far better equipped for battle A.D. 500, or even A.D. 1, than when, in Elizabeth's time, the Wicklow clans (as the local tale says) cut off Harington and his little army at the Red Ditch near the modern tourists' house of Wooden Bridge. Get an old Wicklow peasant to describe the battle (they never forget, those fellows; that's why they're so unimprovable). He will tell you how O'Byrnes, O'Tooles, O'Cavanaghs (he's pretty safe to belong to one of the three clans himself) came rushing down both sides of the glen, skene in hand, their frieze mantles wrapped round their left arms. Nothing more; none of the glittering pomp of war for which O'Curry gives us chapter and verse out of the oldest MSS. They had been reduced almost to the condition of the Jews in Saul's time—"was there a spear or shield seen among ten thousand in Israel?" But though they had not got them then, we know for certain that they had had them before. And therefore we maintain that, though the Brehon session which Spenser describes was a poor affair, grand only in the obedience of all those wild folk to a law which had absolutely no sanctions, and which there was every temptation for them to fling aside, there is no reason to suppose that the gatherings at Temhair (Tara), or at the Fair of Carman, where the laws were read every three years as at a Gaelic Olympia, were not what they are

* Only, however, as messengers, the *preachers* of Psalm lxxviii. 11.

† Keltar, in the "*Tain bo Cúailgne*" (a wonderful epic cow lifting), has "a death-dealing sword of seven plates of iron with thirty rivets in it, inlaid over its side and back."

described in the oldest documents. And some of these must be very old. In one, O'Curry tells us, there is no mention of Connaught among the divisions of the country. This work, therefore, must be older than A.D. 187, at which date, if there be any truth in old Irish history, the name Connaught began to be used as it is now. Another note of culture is the survival of the Gaelic as a literary language. The case is different from that of Gaul, where Roman soon became the only language, because in Ireland, unlike Gaul, the Latin-speaking clerics were but few; but it is just parallel with that of Fiji, and Fijian literature is confined to the translations of the missionaries. Nothing new is written in it, whereas the Irish lived *as a literary language*, in which men thought and wrote the matter of their thoughts, till less than two centuries ago. Talking about language, we cannot help reflecting how little we outsiders know, in spite of Zeuss, of the exact relation in which Gaelic stands to its kindred Latin and Teutonic. How many tolerable scholars are always exercised in mind, when they meet *caballus*, as to whether the Romans lent it to Gaul and Gael, or borrowed it from the former, or whether it belongs to the Celtic part of Latin. *Chlaidhm* and *gladius* we may assume to be sister words, and so *fir* and *vir*; while *saggarth* (*sacerdos*) and *saghaidh* (*sagitta*), and a host more, are clearly borrowed. And here let us be permitted to say that it is partly the Gaels' own fault that people in general do not care for their language and eschew their tales. They have so oppressed their spelling with heaps of needless letters.* "Not needless," says the Gaelic scholar, "it is just the same in Arabic; there are delicate shades of pronunciation, which we attempt to reproduce by all sorts of doubled diphthongs and tripled consonants; your coarser organs cannot appreciate them." Well, then, let them go. What can be the use of spelling "Brehon" *Breitheamhan*, or "Gael" *Gaedhil*? and what Sassenach can be expected to interest himself in the fortunes of Muirheartaich (Murtogh), or of MacAedogain (Egan), or of Meilghe Molbhhach, son of Coblthach? Mr. Aubrey de Vere solves the difficulty by giving English equivalents—Lothair, for instance (why not rather Lear?), for Laeghaire (Leary?) son of Nial of the nine hostages; but this plan would hardly satisfy Celtic scholars; while to talk of Ulstermen as Ultonians and Leinstermen as Lagenians, satisfies nobody. Many of the names, too, become (thanks to the comedians who taught us to smile at Irish names as Irish) irresistibly comic in an English dress. Thus Dubhhach mac ua Lugair, chief of the poets, who, as we said, welcomed the first Christian teachers, and "put a thread of

* Compare the scorn which Boileau (Art. Poét., chant iii.) heaps on poor Jacques Carel, "Qui de tant de héros va choisir *Childebrand*?"

poetry about the 'Senchus' for Patrick," looks very different when we call him plain Duffy M'Clure; and so it may be suspected that this formidable spelling is partly kept up as a safeguard against vulgarity. But we were talking of culture; and the truth, of course, lies between the two extremes. The old Irish were not as low in the scale as the Ashantees, nor were they all got up in gorgeous and stately style, with collars of gold, and gems rich and rare, and ivory wands. The king or chief sat at banquet with the tribesmen of all ranks; even the captives (who, like Adonibezek's kings in the Book of Joshua, "with the binding of the three smalls on them, were flung into the peat corner") "assisted" in a sort of fashion. It was a noisy feast. "Whist, there, whist, for a tale by Conall Croy," cries the King of Erin, in one of Mr. Campbell's stories. But then all men's feasts are apt to be noisy. Has not the toastmaster at a London City dinner to prepare each announcement by shouting out: "Gentlemen! great silence"? We probably overrate the material culture of some other early races; we certainly do that of the Greeks (if Dr. Schlicmann will allow us to say so) when we take the descriptions of house and furniture in the "Odyssey" as giving a true idea of an ordinary chief's palace. There is no need, then, to accept the Irish poetry as literally true. But when in a dry law-book household furniture of every kind, including even branch-lights and reflectors, is spoken of, when "the cleansing of roads" is provided for, and the preventing gaps between grass fields, and also the maintenance and physicking of the sick—and this not in the glosses, but in the text ("Senchus," i. 125)—we have no right to say that these people were savages, whom successive streams of invaders from the neighbouring island had much ado to coerce into something like civility. Who that thinks for a moment could hold that "cleansing roads" was likely to have been taught to the natives by any of Mr. Froude's successive "civilisers"? As well might we fancy they would have taught them any of the laws against "slander, satire, and false witness," which are so marked a feature of the Brehon code (there was an honour-price, *eric*, even for *satirising a dead man* and for *false boasting of a dead woman*), or that grand rule about "crime of eye," which ranges in four classes "the lookers-on at an evil deed." No; the Brehon law is evidently home-grown, and therefore it proves a very considerable amount of material culture in those among whom it grew up. As to intellectual culture, the race has always had only too much of it, in directions in which that culture has, like Solomon's "talk of the lips," tended to poverty. Adamnan of Donegal, whom King Finnachta the festive met with his jar of milk on his back, was a poor scholar. As he ran out of the way of the king's cavalcade he stumbled and broke his jar. "Be not sorrowful,"

said the king; "thou shalt get protection from me." "Well may I be sorrowful," replied the future biographer of St. Columbkille, "for we are six goodly students at Clonard, and day by day one gathers victual for the other five; and to-day it was my turn, and the jar was borrowed." But Adamnan was but an imitator; the "poor scholar" dated from heathen times; he sat at the feet of the Druids; he filled the "ten classes of poets," who had been medicine-men as well before Patrick came, and to whom the Saint confirmed all their other rights and duties, saying: "More is what I give you than what you give up" ("Senchus," i. 45). Never was there such a race for "poring (alas! for the most part 'ineffectually,' to use Mr. Matthew Arnold's word) over miserable books." Think of what Campion saw ("Account of Ireland," 1571): "They speak Latin like a vulgar language, learned in their common schools of leechcraft and law, whereat they begin children and hold on sixteen or twenty years, conning by rote the aphorisms of Hippocrates and the Civil Institutes, and a few other parings of these two faculties. I have seen where they kept school, ten in some one chamber, grovelling upon couches of straw, their books at their noses, themselves lying prostrate, and so to chaunt out their lessons by piecemeal, being the most part lusty fellows of twenty-five years and upwards." Does the reader know the Irish tramp-scholar? He is still occasionally to be met with, and is deserving of heartfelt pity as the lineal descendant of those whom Campion sneers at. He has few to befriend him; the English poor dislike him actively; they don't even give him the respect which they award to the ruffian who would break your head in a dark lane if he thought you had half-a-crown about you. No one need be afraid of helping him; he will never trouble his helper again; he is a wanderer like his kinsman the extinct *Gaberlunzie*. A gentleman known to us once tried to "localise" one who could construe Cicero at sight and work out Euclid on the gravel walk; but after a while he got restless, and leaving a few written words—full of delicate feeling!—behind him, he was off. There was no loss of spoons or coats, and not a penny of debt at the lodging. They are wanderers, these scholar-tramps, who do not come round to their hosts a second time. One of them was about not long ago in West Cornwall, a tall, gaunt creature, with the seeds of old hereditary disease in him. He had come to see the Land's End. Why not? It was something to see, and maybe he'd write some verses on it. He was as well seeing that as anywhere else. Work he could get none; his brogue was against him (ay, poor man! and his coat, too, and his ungainly look). On his card (for he had a card) was "——, Philomath, teacher of Latin." He certainly knew a good deal of Latin and some Greek;

but who would employ him? His verses on the Manx Railway smacked of "The Groves of Blarney;" but clever doggerel won't keep a man nowadays. How he must have sighed over the times when a "satirist" could raise blotches on a niggardly chief's face, or when Tabhan Draodi from Scotland came to Eochaid Einsula (one-eyed), ancestor of all the O'Sullivans, and, telling him how he had heard over in Alban the report of his wondrous generosity, craved of him his one remaining eye, which the chief incontinently gave him; or when the great bard Athairné swept all Leinster of its cattle as if he had been a Norseman on the foray, and laid down the hurdle-road over the black pool (Atha-cliath over Dubh-linn) to carry his plunder safely back. Even sixty years ago the poor Philomath might have had a good time. As late as 1812, one O'Kelly published his "Bardic Visitation of Leinster and Connaught," he had more than three thousand subscribers, and those who did not subscribe he lampooned in a style which ought to have ensured him many a good thrashing. But since then the "Peelers" (we beg pardon, the "Royal Constabulary") have done for ever what King Aedh did for a while by the half of his Council of Drumkeat in 590: "Finding the *filedha* (poets) to be of excessive number, for they were one thousand, of whom each *ollamh* had thirty followers, each *unruith* fifteen, and so on, he banished them all to Ulster." "Three times (says history, if Keating is history) did the men of Erin refuse to maintain the *filedha*; and each time did the Ulstermen uphold them."

It was an unprofitable life that of the bard, and did not deserve to succeed, laying, as it did, one more burden on the already overburdened farmer; and yet, though possibly it had its root in dislike to steady physical exertion, very sad is the persistent devotion to letters of a race which has not made letters "pay." Think (for instance) of the misery endured by Brehons and bards and such-like from the time when O'Clery died heartbroken in Ballyshannon Abbey, pen in hand, working, as his fathers had worked, at the "Annals of the Four Masters," A.D. 1612, down to the days when Dr. Molyneux, travelling in Connaught in 1709, found poor O'Flaherty, "in a miserable condition, over eighty years of age. . . . His ill-fortune had even stripped him of his old MSS., so that he had nothing now left but some of his own writing, and a few rummish old books of history printed." The Irish scholar in the seventeenth century had indeed fallen on evil days. Here and there, in the big towns, a "patron," some half-Englishman with a craze for antiquarianism, might fling him a little temporary help, as Sir James Ware did to that MacFirbis, who supplied so much of his "Collectanea."* But elsewhere his lot was pitiable;

* Ware, with characteristic ingratitude, does not once mention his name.

he was "*suspect*," as men of aristocratic bearing were in France in 1793; the very possession of Irish MSS. was a crime in the eyes of the coarse Cromwellian or Williamite, who would fancy they were the old title-deeds to the land on which he was settled. His chiefs, the men whose hereditary poet or Brehon he had been, were gone "to hell or Connaught," hanged as "Tories," or flown with "the wild geese" to serve under good King Lewis. The peasantry would shelter him as far as they dared; but even the peasant world (the women of it especially) likes success, and at last comes to look coldly on living anachronisms. Poor fellow! you can fancy him wandering from one mean shelter to another, loth to leave Ireland, yet wishful to get to one of the Irish colleges abroad, always with his precious MSS. (recopied as they fell to pieces) in his bosom, wandering till death overtook him, and the light that he might have thrown on early Gaelic history was for ever quenched. Few things in literary anecdote are sadder than the end of Dubhaltach or Duaid MacFirbis, Dudley Firbis, as he anglicised it (it is, he asserts, the same name as Forbes,—“the common ancestor of Firbis in Ireland and Forbes in Scotland, twelfth in descent from King Nathi, who lived in the eighth century”), hereditary historian, poet, and genealogist to the chief clans of Connaught, especially to the O’Dowds of Sligo, and also to the Scotch Macdonnells. MacFirbis, neglected by Ware, banned by the penal laws, a homeless wanderer, was sheltered for the night by a tradesman in a Sligo village. Into the shop lounges the “buck” of the neighbourhood, a Crofton, and begins flirting, in the pronounced style of “bucks” of that time, with the shopkeeper’s pretty daughter. “Be quiet, can’t you, sir,” says the girl; “there’s an old gentleman in the parlour will see you.” “D——n the old gentleman; I’ll have his blood,” roars the “buck;” and, seizing a knife from the counter, he rushes in and plunges it into MacFirbis’s heart (O’Curry’s Lectures, p. 122). Nobody, we believe, was brought to trial; the victim was only a Popish outlaw, and the Croftons were powerful. And so died in his eightieth year, in 1670, the transcriber of the “*Chronicum Scotorum*” (Rolls Series, 1866). What good did he do? His glossary, which might have helped the future Professor of Celtic, was lost; his “*Chronicum*” we could do without. You will not find in him much of what Mr. Matthew Arnold charges against the Celt—“the extravagance and exaggeration of a sentimental nature in a gay defiant reaction against fact.” Not much of gay defiance in MacFirbis. Was he “checkmated for want of strenuousness or patience in dealing with the fact which yet he was sharper than even the Latins to perceive”? It did not need much sharpness to perceive “the fact” as it was in his day. The Irish were beaten down. They never stood in

fair field again between Auðhrim and the '98. Castle-rule was going on steadily in Dublin ; the millennium of jobbers and spies and informers had begun. The bitter seed was being thickly sown of which we have not yet reaped all the fruit. And yet Matthew Arnold is right ; it is the Celt, not the Teuton, who never knows when he is beaten ; and MacFirbis, shutting his eyes to "the tyranny of fact," found consolation, such as it was, in his "Chronicum" and his glossary. Probably he had faith in the future ; and surely his faith is realised when Dr. J. H. Newman gives £400 towards putting O'Curry's voluminous matter in order, and sits himself, the most appreciative of the audience, to hear "the Scotie Scaliger" deliver his lectures. Dr. Henthorn Todd, too, sends this same O'Curry, at his own cost, to copy the Irish MSS. in the Burgundian College at Brussels and in St. Isidore's College at Rome. Unfortunately, Lord Ashburnham, purchaser of the priceless Irish MSS. at the break-up of the Stow Collection in 1849, refused to let O'Curry copy them, "for fear, if their contents were known, they might be worth less when they came to be resold !" But, to balance this, we have Sir H. S. Maine speaking words of genial sympathy while he never loses his hold of "fact." Oh ! *si sic omnes* ; one can scarcely believe, after the abundant misrepresentation of centuries, that an Oxford professor should write—"Why the English common law and the Brehon, starting from the same original body of Aryan custom, should have followed such different paths in development, history must tell ; and, when it is impartial, history will not attribute the difference to native faults of Irish character." It is not often, since the anti-Celt reaction set in, that an English writer has told the truth in that kindly, fearless manner. As for Mr. Matthew Arnold, he is even more of a philo-Celt than Professor Goldwin Smith. He actually suggests the very thing for which we are pleading, a Celtic Chair at Oxford ; he would "send, through the gentle ministrations of science, a message of peace to Ireland." Why is not his hint taken ? Oxford has money enough ; she is to have Chairs for everything ; she can cover her parks with monstrosities of all kinds, turning stone and brick into forms which seem the nightmare of a foolish architect's dream. Why not spare a little of all this money to endow a Chair of Celtic ? Many a single college could do it (a good way of getting rid of surplus revenues before the overhauling comes). Why should not Merton do it ? It would be a graceful act ; for at Merton John Scotus Erigena, buried in a splendid tomb behind the high altar of the Church of the Minorites at Cologne (abroad they don't forget the Scots who served them), is said to have taught ; so Merton owes something to Ireland. Professor Blackie is, we all know, trying hard and successfully to found a Chair of Celtic at Edinburgh, and he deserves all

honour for his effort; but *cui bono*? It would be only one of the Irish Chairs over again. It would never have the *prestige*, nor (let us say it without offence) could we ensure for its holder the general culture, of an Oxford professor.

Is this attempt to set up an Oxford Chair of Celtic a futile endeavour to galvanise a dead thing? Surely not; for though even the Clare poets—the last of the race—have died out, English scholars are getting to see, first, that there is something in this vast mass of Celtic literature; that Macpherson did not forge it all, mischievous as were his prevarications, his displaying of Highland title-deeds in Cadell's shop in lieu of MS. poems, and so forth; and next, that to let the Germans work out for us this field also would be a national disgrace. The story is that that Commission of 1852 for "publishing the ancient laws of Ireland," on which sat Lord Rosse, Lord Talbot de Malahide, and Lord Dunraven, was due to the pressure which German *savans* were able to bring to bear on the Prince Consort. "We want these books," they said; "and you, not we, are the proper people to open them to the world." It may be true; for seeing how Government behaved in 1849 in reference to the Stow MSS. mentioned above, we should say the thing would never have been done spontaneously. Mr. Matthew Arnold tells the Stow story admirably; we shall only spoil it by condensing. The late Sir R. Peel, with his usual insight, wished to buy the Duke of Buckingham's Irish MSS. for the British Museum. Lord Macaulay, a Museum trustee and Celt-hater, who knew as much about Gaelic MSS. as he did of Turanian inscriptions at Nineveh, said:—"There's nothing at Stow worth buying but Lord Melville's correspondence on the American War." And so Lord Ashburnham, and not the Museum, bought the Irish MSS., and treated them as a regrater would treat corn in time of famine; and till they are studied there must always be several unsettled points in early Gaelic literature.

But things are better now. If the counter-reaction goes on, its own literature will soon cease to be unfashionable even in Ireland. That has hitherto been the saddest feature in the case. Canon Bourke refers to it over and over again: "Students from London and Oxford have within the past five years come to Tuam to learn Irish Gaelic; how many students in Ireland have turned their attention to that branch of study?" (p. 6.) Castle-funkeyism, sectarian divisions, real race-hatred, have combined to make a large part of the Irish people as ashamed of their own literature as they are ignorant of it. Well may M. Gaidoz, in the "*Revue Celtique*," say, in words that ought to take the skin off an Irishman's cheeks, "There's no hope of the *Todd Professorship*; l'esprit national n'est pas assez vivace en Irlande. Why, when

I was in Dublin, I went to Professor O'Mahony's class, and found myself alone at the lecture. *Les sociétés irlandaises qui s'occupent de littérature et d'antiquités nationales meurent l'une après l'autre devant l'indifférence du public. Le sol irlandais ne semble pas favorable à une telle semence. If it was only like Croatia, where a million of people have subscribed half a million francs and founded a Serbo-Croatian Academy at Agram! . . .* M. Gaidoz, of course, knows that Ireland's national spirit evaporates in other directions. "The gentle ministrations of science" are not at all in the way of those who are forced to keep up the excitement of Home Rule. Then, too, the peculiar state of Ireland made it necessary for Government to take the initiative, to set the fashion; and this Government long declined to do at all, and has only as yet done it in a very half-hearted, inadequate manner. Hence this unfashionableness of things Gaelic in Ireland. It is a survival of the "Protestant ascendancy," a tradition of the dominant caste. "Hypogorillaceous" or not, that somewhat mongrel creature the Anglo-Irish gentleman is apeishly given to imitate English ways. And it is this class which has mostly set the fashion. Hence it comes that in Dublin men keep a "porther" or a "peage," because such are kept in Belgravia or Bloomsbury, while they have not money enough to educate their sons properly. In Edinburgh you call on a man eight times as rich as these pretenders to *haut ton*, and the door is unassumingly opened by a neat woman-servant. So it is in respect of speech; the present writer's earliest recollections are mixed up with a dear old Scotch lady, who would as soon have broken up her precious China as have tried to get rid of the least tittle of her brogue. Irish people, *i.e.*, the Irish "Philistines," are ashamed of their brogue; send their children over to third-rate English schools that they may get rid of it. And so of their antiquities. Who that knows much of Ireland does not remember some ridiculous old Tipperary lady who, whenever the subject is touched on, is sure to protest in a high brogue against talking about the usages of "such barbarians as the *mere Irish*." This will soon be changed, when we get our resident Prince, our green-coat regiments (why not, just as naturally as there are regiments in kilt and trews?), and our Oxford Chair of Celtic to give the crowning "light" to all that sweetness. Fenianism, misguided as it was, showed how much deep feeling for the past, how much of Mr. Matthew Arnold's "sentiment," there is in the real Irish race. It will be England's wisdom to deal sympathetically with this feeling. Hitherto she has sadly snubbed it,—hindered it from its proper development, and forced it into wrong channels. When an Irishman thinks of how Irish ballad poetry (Sigurson's poems and suchlike, almost unknown at home) is valued in America, he feels sadly that things

are somewhat like they were in Sicily when Burbidge (Clough's friend) wrote:—

"On far Parisian garret-floors the old Sicilian tree
Murmurs its ne'er-forgotten trick of honeyed melody."*

But never mind the ballads; for which most of us have, alas! been content to accept Moore's new words to old tunes. No doubt, Moore is much more of a poet than people think, but he did not do for his country's ballads even what Pope did for the "*Iliad*"—paraphrase them. Never mind the ballads; but let science now have her turn. "The comparative method of investigation abates national prejudices," says Sir H. S. Maine. The thing has been proved in India. You can't well kick your boot at a fellow's head or call him a rascally nigger if you have recognised that he is of your own stock, and that his primitive customs closely resemble those of your own forefathers. "The calm study of old Irish law (adds Sir Henry) must destroy those reckless race-theories which assert an original inherent difference of idea and usage between Teuton and Celt." And this study is very practical; see how differently it makes different writers deal with the same fact. The Irish Tories and Rapparees at the Revolution were, like the Borderers of a century earlier, great cattle-lifters. Therefore, Macaulay at once infers that "cattle-stealing is a vice inherent in the Irish character." We can fancy he thought it might break out at any time, even in the most civilised; we can imagine him advising Lord Lansdowne to keep his stable and cowhouse doors well locked when there were Irish guests at Bowood. "No such thing," says Sir H. Maine, "not a bit more inherent in them than in the Maxwells and Grahams and Ridleys; it's just a survival, which circumstances kept up longer in Ireland than elsewhere." So, again, Mr. Froude—who deals with Ireland as one would deal with London who should quote the "*Newgate Calendar*" in proof of the low moral tone of its inhabitants—explains temporary lawlessness, arising from certain external causes, as due to inherent faults of character. If any resident in West Cornwall chose to put down all that he will be pretty sure to hear (out of old Dr. Borlase's MSS. and from other sources) about the lawless and savage doings in that corner of England in the earlier half of the last century, he would be able to make out just as good a case against the Cornish as Mr. Froude does against the Irish. Just reflect, on the other hand, on this sentence from Sir H. Maine: "*If*

* We were not prepared for Canon Bourke's statement (p. 103) that the Irish in America are taking to learn Gaelic. But we happen to know that the glorious poem to the air of "*Old Langolee*," "*Songs of our land, ye are with us for ever*," too little known at home since the "*Young Ireland*" excitement cooled down, is heartily appreciated in several parts of the Union.

Ireland had been left alone, one tribe would have conquered the rest, and the legal ideas which come from a strong central government would have been imported into the Brehon laws, and the gap (*never very wide*) between 'English civilisation' and 'Irish barbarism' would have disappeared." When men of thought and culture take to writing in that way, we feel that Matthew Arnold's "sweet ministration" is already begun. Ireland unhappily was not left alone. Never subjugated by the Roman, her people remained quite unlike those who had felt his heavy hand. Even the Popery that England substituted for the native Church-system failed to bridge the gulf between the "untamed Celt" and the Saxon and Norman, on whom the training of imperial Rome had done its work.* *La divisa del mondo, ultima Irlanda*, says Tasso, describing her contingent to the host that was to deliver Jerusalem. Hence, as soon as the conduct of the Spaniards in America had taught statesmen "a short method of dealing with natives," the Tudor statesmen were anxious to apply it near home. The Irish declined, then and afterwards, to be "improved off;" and now the scientists tell their English readers: "You must accept these 'natives,' whom circumstances have made so unlike us that a noble orator could call them 'aliens in blood, religion, and language,' as your brothers in blood and speech;" while philosophic politicians are forced to add: "It's a good deal our fault that they are not at one with us in religion." So much for the first whispers of "the message of peace." Will that message come in its fulness, so that (to quote Mr. Matthew Arnold yet again) "one of our angelic revenges on the Philistines, *who, among their other sins, are the guilty authors of Fenianism*, shall be to found at Oxford a Chair of Celtic"?† Who can tell? It is worth while trying for other reasons, on which, as we do not mean to be political, we will not say one word.

But we were talking about the Irish scholar fallen on evil days, on the mischievous love of the race for book-learning (that *αὐορὰ βροτοῦ*, which makes men "very lean and pale and leaden-eyed") instead of handicraft. Sometimes, thinking of Horace's "doctus Iber," we are fain to fancy the mischief comes from a Basque cross. Anyhow, no one can doubt the intellectual culture of the old Gael.

* Mr. Prendergast ("Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," a book to be read by every inquirer into the causes why Ireland is what she is) goes so far as to remark, "that had Ireland remained heathen she might have kept her independence." King Laeghaire may have felt this when he refused Christian burial, and said: "Bury me like a man, upright on my feet, with my face to the south."

† It is to be at last, if news from Oxford, received since this paper was written, is correct. Jesus College has come forward. We are heartily glad; though we don't quite like the Cymri getting the start of the Gael. Surely Balliol ought to have had a hand in it.

We heartily wish he had had less of it. Reading his Brehon laws, studying the earliest fragments of his literature, analysed in O'Curry's Lectures (a very respectable volume in itself is that introduction by Professor Sullivan), you cannot reasonably doubt about his material culture. If you find him degraded by and by, you must remember that other nations have gone back and yet have retained the seeds of progress; the English, for instance, in Harold II.'s time, had undoubtedly degenerated from what they were in Athelstane's day. But they have long since risen out of the degradation. They go far beyond their forefathers. The old Gael, too, did something in the world of art, and that something he did better than any one else in the world has ever done it. And now, when we think of Gibson and Foley and M'Dowell, we feel that he can, in these later days, sometimes "master fact" so far as even to deal with marble. Yea, the "magic" which Mr. M. Arnold finds in the Celtic poetry of nature have not these men put it, as few other sculptors have, into the "poems in stone" which they have left behind them?

About moral culture we shall say nothing directly; and for the intellectual we would refer the reader, not only to Canon Bourke's work, but, by preference, to Mr. Matthew Arnold's book, for it is so much more English than the other; just remarking that the apostle of sweetness and light never said a truer word than when he fixed on its "magic" as the distinctive charm of Celtic literature. Read a nursery story in Grimm or Dasent, and then read the very same in Mr. Campbell's "West Highland Tales." There is a glamour thrown over it as different as possible from the matter-of-fact rendering of Norse or German. In them, for instance, a ship is simply sailing as fast as she can; in Campbell her going is described on this wise: "I took the track of the duck on the ninth day; I gave her prow to sea and her stern to land; I hoisted the speckled, flapping, bare-topped sails up against the tall, tough, splintery masts. My music was the plunging of eels and the screaming of gulls, the biggest beast eating the beast that was least, and the beast that was least doing as best she might. The sea plunging and surging, the red sea lashing the blue sea and striking it hither and thither. The bent brown buckie (*query*, whorled dun whelk?) that was on the ground of the ocean would cry *laig* on its mouth (*quefy*, give a *snug* on her gunwale?), while she would cut a slender oat-straw before her with the excellence of the steering." It is only a bit of prose taken down from the mouth of a pauper in Islay—a very old man, who died soon after telling it. He had learned it from an old man in Colonsay; it must have passed through many mouths, and yet what a freshness there is about it (even through the halting translation), what a smack of the Pierian spring. How it makes the whole scene live—the rainbowed

spray about the bow, the sea-monsters distanced as the vessel shoots along. Take this again; it is in verse, for a Gaelic prose tale often runs to verse for a few sentences—

“They raised up music, and they laid down woe;
Music from strings which would lull to sleep
Wounded men, and travelling women
Withering away for ever,—with the sound of that music
Which was going on sweetly all that night.”

Why, it is steeped in Mr. Matthew Arnold's “magic,” and yet it is just a bit of a tale which they used to tell in both halves of the Gaeldom, in Eirin and in Alban, in Donegal as well as in Barra and Colonsay. How would it tell in a London music-hall? Or would the crowds who shout out luscious hymns to negro melodies care a jot for it? Culture? We are sometimes forced to think that culture is dying out when we take up our *Sgeulachdan* (tales) and our Ossianic poems, and then reflect what the great world that works railways and telegraphs and makes fortunes on the Stock Exchange mostly reads and cares for. Culture? Must comfort and increased wealth wholly kill it? The present writer almost believes that the place in which he found relatively the largest amount of culture was one of the most comfortless he ever was in. He had been at Lisdoonvarna, a wild village in Clare with mineral springs, and he had walked along through the rocky barony of Burren, looking up stone circles and cromlechs. Night came on when there was only a poor cabin within reach. “Can I rest here the night?” “Oh yes, and welcome.” They had only one sleeping room with a tiny square of glass set immovably in the mud wall; this they at once gave up to the traveller, but he and the whole party sat late round the peat-fire in the living-room; and when they heard what the stranger was looking for, and found he was not a chance tourist who would laugh at their enthusiasm, shyly and cautiously they began to tell stories about the Feine. What he called cromlechs were for them “lebai” Jarmuith a’s Grainie” (the beds of Diarmuid and Grainie). And then they told bits of the Gaelic Iliad—how while Diarmuid was at the ball-play, Grainie, Fion’s young bride, looking forth from her *grianan* (sun-chamber, *solair*; Grian is *grynaeus Apollo*),* caught sight of the “beauty-spot” on his shoulder, “and loved him with the love that was his doom.” Talk of Lancelot, what is he to the pure-minded, Diarmuid, who sins in his own despite, because his queen lays *geasa* (bonds) on him, and by his knightly vows he is bound to obey, though he feels all the while his allegiance to Fion burning into his very soul. We could wish that Tennyson had known Gaelic, and that some one had put before

* Cairn grian, the sunny hill, in St. Just parish, within sight of Land’s End.

him these, the undoubted originals of the Arthurian romance. The Idylls might then have been less courtly, less fit for Belgravia, but they would have been even truer than they now are to the universal voice of man's heart.

But to our narrative, which had better take the form of an extract from the writer's diary:—

"People came flocking in, having scented a stranger; and soon somebody asked: 'Did you see the isles of Arran, sir, as you came along?' 'I did; and I wish I had time to go across to Arran of the Saints,' I replied. 'Ah! but there's an older name than that for it. Them islands that always look golden when there's anything like a sunset are *Tír nan Óge*, the land of the young; and it's there that Oisín (Ossian) lived with the *sighe* (fairy) Niamh, daughter of the King of Youth, two hundred years and more from the days of the Feine till after Patrick came.* And then one day the longing took him to visit the earth again, and she gave him leave, and set him on a grand battle-horse, "But mind," said she, "if you touch ground with your foot, you'll never come back to me any more." And he rode till he met a waggon that was overturned, and he would stay to help them, and just a touch from his hand was enough to set it up again, but in stooping forward he hit his foot against a stone, and the horse and all the finery vanished, and he lay on the sod a little shrivelled old man; and they lifted him up and carried him to Patrick.' 'Oh, yes,' said I, 'and how badly he fared on the Saint's poor diet' (as meagre, methought, as yours, poor folks), 'and how he was always regretting the feasts and songs of days gone by, and the men who had fought, and loved, and sung, and feasted, and who, had they lived, "would have hated the clerics, ay, hated Patrick from Rome of the harsh faith."' And then we went on helping one another out with that strange 'Dialogue of Oisín and Patrick,' which I wonder the Roman Church has not banned, so free is its handling, so stubborn the impiety of the last of the Feine.

"Even when threatened with hell, Oisín says he can't be worse off than he is—

'It is punishment enough for me from thy God
To be among His clerics as I am,

* She is thus described ("Transactions of Ossianic Society," vol. iv. p 237):—

'A royal crown was on her head;
And a brown mantle of precious silk,
' Spangled with stars of red gold,
Covering her shoes down to the grass.
Like gold loops were hanging down
The yellow ringlets of her hair;
Her eyes, blue, clear, and cloudless,
Like a dewdrop on the top of the grass.
Redder were her cheeks than the rose,
Fairer her face than the snow upon the waves,
And sweeter was the taste of her balsam lips.
Than honey mingled through red wine."

Without food or clothing or music,
Without bestowing gold on bards.
Without the cry of the hounds and the sounding horns,
Without guarding havens or ports,
Amid the hum of psalms and the harsh clang of bells,
Oh, for all that I suffer *I forgive thy God willingly.*'

"And again—

'O Patrick of the white crozier, lately come!
The hum of thy lips is not pleasant to me.
I shall bitterly cry, but not for God;
But that Fion and the Fairs are not alive,
That the wooing generous women is over, and the play,
The unfolding of banners in the battle's front,
The playing at chess, and the swimming,
And the welcoming of all at the festive board.'

"Never was dramatic character better supported. Oisín says:
'Never believe God if He tells you that He conquered the Feine and reduced them to weak shadows by Himself alone, without hosts, without help at hand. If my son Oscar had wrestled with the Son of God himself he would not have been worsted.' When he is told that his chief and his comrades—

'Have passed off like a mist,
And shall be for ever in the bonds of pain,'

he is ready with the retort—

'Great would be the shame of God
If He did not release Fion from these bonds;
For if God Himself were a captive,
My chief would fight for His sake.*

And so we went on quoting against each other, I from what I used to read in the 'Transactions' of the poor old Ossianic Society.

"Then we got back to Arran again, and talked of the *clochan na carrick*, pre-Christian stone-houses in the big island; and they told me I must keep a look out for the Arran men who come over in their skin *corrachs* (next night I crossed Galway Bay in one of them), and bade me notice their 'brogues'—the real old thing, of raw hide with the hair inwards, needing to be wetted each time they're worn so as to take the shape of the foot. And then, just as I was for bidding 'good night,' an old man asked, 'Did you ever hear tell of the ten years' war between Queen Melbh of Connaught and the Ulstermen with their hero Cuchullin?', 'Yes,' I said, 'it was the *Tain bo Quailgne*, and be-

* This free handling is not confined to laymen. In the Life of St. Columbkille we read that, three days after the burial of St. Oran, one of his monks in Iona, some one went to the grave and was told by the Saint that there was no heaven, no hell, nothing but a dim Hades, in which the soul gradually melted away like smoke. Whereupon St. Columbkille cried: "Earth, earth upon the mouth of Oran, that he may no longer blaspheme."

gan about some bull of divine parentage.' 'And did ye hear how that story was brought back to us when only a bit here and there was kept in memory?' 'Not I; let me hear it.' 'You shall; but I wish ye knew the native Irish, sir, that I might tell it at my ease. They were ashamed, you sec, all they *ollamhs* and poets to have forgotten the *Tain*; so they told Murgan the bard to go through the world till he should find one that knew it. And on his way he rested at the cairn of Fergus MacRigh. There he sat; and by and by he spoke a lay (*laidh*); and then Fergus arose, clad in a green mantle with collar of gold and a ribbed-woven shirt and a gold-hilted sword, and his sandals of power. And Fergus told him the whole of the *Tain* till he had learned it; and then he went down into his cairn again.'"

Now we would ask those who sneer at Gaelic culture, can they match that evening in any cottage in England? No doubt these Burren men were rough folks; you wouldn't have cared to jostle against them at a fair; you perhaps might have met them scores of times and found nothing in them. It is very seldom that one can unlock their hearts; for "the Celt" is shy and sensitive, though his manner, often brusque from very shyness, may make strangers think otherwise. Let him fancy you are "drawing him out," and he will either fool you to the top of your bent, or else shrink into himself like a snail when his horns are touched. What we contend for, then, is, that there was in the old Gael only too much of literary culture, and that a great deal of it has come down to our day. The Englishman doesn't care for it; it is unprofitable, it neither brings railways nor steam thrashing-machines, nor does it drain bogs; moreover, its existence is a sort of reflection on his system, for men like Montalembert say, when they have studied it a little: "Surely a better hand might have been made of a race that is so gifted." But Englishmen ought to care for it; for Gaelic culture just supplies what is wanting in this modern society, in which everything, even to the most solemn mysteries of religion, is being made a matter of bargain. The present writer has always said: "Chivalry is of the Celts," and he has often felt thankful that Mr. Matthew Arnold seems to be of the same opinion. From them came that leaven which made feudalism bearable for so many centuries. Tenderness, delicacy, sentiment, what is called in the "Study of Celtic Literature" "a straining of human nature more than it will bear," these are Gaelic, and they are just what we nowadays, with the stream setting so strongly towards materialism, cannot afford to lose. It is not unlikely that the Scot has yet a work to do among us; for surely we want a little more "reaction against the despotism of fact," a little more of that straining after an ideal perfection which it is now the fashion to pooh-pooh. London society might undoubtedly get something valuable from what we have called Old Gaelic culture. The diffi-

culty is to make London, or even Dublin society, care for such things. There is a fashion in all this. A Finland or a Servian epic, well made up for the London market, is read and quoted because the Czar has been amongst us or because the Eastern Question presses. So much the better, if thereby we are led to study a hitherto neglected side of European culture. But the Gael is nearer home, nearer of kin; and his literature is not only invaluable to the comparative mythologist, but heart-stirring, full of grand ideas and noble thoughts. The pity of it is that he should be left to the compiler of "*The Child's Companion*," already mentioned. It is worth while to study that engraving; the Maori and his wife and child are far more comfortably clothed than ragged Pat and his belongings, while the Patagonian and Cinghalese are pictured as far above him in intelligence. The pity of it; for we sadly need noble thoughts, and these the old Gaelic literature abundantly gives us. "Not one of your clerics," says Oisín to Patrick, "is more truthful than were Fion and his Fianna." "There are three times *when the world dies*," says the "*Senchus*," "a time of plague, a time of general war, and a time when people *break verbal contracts*." How grandly simple that is. Do not we need it this day? Does not the modern Gael especially, truthful as he still is in spite of circumstances, need to be recalled to the grand truthfulness of his forefathers? But the moral culture of divers races, as compared with their success, is a very wide question, and too deep, moreover, for us at this time and place. We will only point to one other feature in Gaelic lore—what we have already hinted at—its value to the comparative mythologist. Resemblances crop up everywhere. Fion's *dord* (horn that is heard from one end of Erin to the other, and tells by its note what is the occasion of blowing it) is Charlemagne's magic horn. Diarmuid and Grainé are Lancelot and Guinevere in another form. Why was the Celtic epic adopted by the twelfth-century poets? Well, there is something in that French notion (not Thierry's fancy only) that the Norman was really a Normanno-Breton conquest, and that therefore it gave a fillip to Celtic nationalities, and brought Celtic poetry into fashion. But we want to have not floating surmises but fixed ideas about all this; and therefore we want an Oxford Professor of Celtic, who shall calmly go through the vast body of Old Gaelic literature and shall set it in order, bringing to bear on it the lights of general grammar and general archæology. There is plenty for him to employ himself upon; even the "*Senchus*" is an unworked mine stored with facts of daily life. Its very defect (pointed out by Sir H. Maine) of looking to individual cases, not to principles, forced its compilers to describe every form of society—above all, the common everyday life of the people. A man who has time

and the constructive faculty and collateral reading in other Gaelic works, ought to be able to set forth life in Ireland, say in the tenth century, far more clearly than any one can picture the same times in almost any other part of Europe. We have just barely indicated what sort of a life it was—not that of savages or cut-throat Rapparees; and that is all that we meant to do—to point out how much is lost by scornfully flinging aside all that concerns the early culture of our Gaelic brethren, and at the same time, as was said at the outset, to put in an earnest plea for such a Chair of Celtic at one of our Universities as shall make England's carelessness of her Old Gaelic literary treasures cease to be a byword among Continental philologists.

And now we must say a few more words about Canon Bourke's book, several times referred to in the course of this article. If it is less English in form than either Sir H. S. Maine's or Mr. M. Arnold's, it is for that very reason all the more characteristic. We have referred to it because it sets forth in an attractive guise the undoubted, and also, we must add, a good many of the doubtful, claims of Irish literature. We characterise the book as attractive; it is so in a high degree to any who either care for the subject or value freshness of style and novelty of arrangement. Canon Bourke's is not only a thoroughly Irish book, but it is the book of an Irish ecclesiastic, whose culture (and culture it is of a high order) is not as our culture, whose very mode of arguing is, if not as foreign to ours as that of St. Stephen in his defence, still distinctly unlike that which a man of English University education would use. Hence, in two ways the book proves the need of this Oxford Chair of Celtic for which we have been arguing; it discusses linguistically the place of Gaelic among Aryan tongues; it calls attention to the vast number of almost untouched Irish MSS.; and at the same time it clearly shows that these treasures can only be properly dealt with by a man who has been brought up outside the atmosphere of *Abergluibe* in regard to her early times, which still pervades almost all Ireland. At St. Jarlath's, it is clear, no cold wind of doubt ever penetrates this charmed atmosphere. Thus, for Canon Bourke, Sedulius, the Christian hymnologist of the fifth century and his namesake, the Irish commentator of the sixth, are one and the same; and on this identity is based a long argument on the Gaelic origin of modern rhythm, and especially of octosyllabic verse. St. Ambrose may have been "a man of Celtic origin" (p. 458), as we are triumphantly reminded that Zeuss declares Virgil to have been (*fear geal*, a fair-haired man), as well as Livy and Pliny; * but surely the rhythm of the *pervigilium Veneris* (Ver novum, ver jam canorum; vere natus orbis

* Addo et Livius et Plinius Nomina Gallica Italiæ Inferioris.

est) is thoroughly modern in rhythm, and yet in its case we cannot suspect Celtic influence. Again, in the long discussion on the round towers, complicated by a statement of the views of Sir W. Wilde and others on Cuthites, Fomorian, Nemedians, and other inhabitants of limbo, our author falls repeatedly into the common error of taking assertion for proof. Thus (p. 374) "it was impossible for Irishmen to build the towers from the first moment an Ostman set foot on the Irish soil, . . . that they were not built between the time when Brian defeated the Danes at Clontarf (A.D. 1014) and the landing of Henry II. is a certainty of history." Can Canon Bourke have looked into the *Chronicum Scotorum*? There (p. 217) the death is recorded (A.D. 964) of Cormac ua Cillín (O'Kellyn), Comarb of Tomgraney, by whom were built the great church and its *cloigtech* (bell-tower); and this is the earliest extant record of the building of a round tower. One of the latest concerns the building of that at Clonmacnoise, finished (*Chronicum*, p. 325) by Gillachrist ua Macileoin (O'Malone) and Toirdhealbhach ua Conchobhair (Turlough O'Conor), A.D. 1120. The fact is that the period of comparative calm following the battle of Clontarf was a great time of church restoration, as were in England the intervals between the different wars of the Roses.

But our object is not to criticise Canon Bourke; rather we would hail the notable fact that comparative philology has made its way to Tuam, and that one who believes in "the splendid architectural piles of Tara" (p. 383) has yet given up the Cuthites. It is, however, the geniality of the book which is its charm; it bears traces of its origin—"from the talk about Irish antiquities round the festal board of the College;" and those who have had the pleasure of joining one of these gatherings of Irish Roman ecclesiastics know how genial they are. Even Mr. Froude, justly censured for following Giraldus and outdoing Pinkerton in his account of the savagery of the Irish before the English civilised them, wholly escapes in this volume the bitterness with which he is generally assailed by patriotic writers. The only thing which raises Canon Bourke's ire is that strange disregard of their language and their antiquities which is shown by too many Irishmen. He laughs at a Cork merchant who straitened himself in order to send his eldest boy to an English college, "that there he might acquire a correct accent;" and he gives the story of a girl whom the Professor of Hebrew at the Irish College in Paris met at the Euston Station, and could not for a long while persuade to speak a word of Irish, though all the while she knew it as well as he did. She was ashamed of her native tongue. The feeling no doubt exists, though the writer's experience is on the whole the reverse of Canon Bourke's. He has often found that even the few

sentences of Irish of which he is master have changed at once the whole manner of those whom he addressed. He has proved the charm of Gaelic as fully as Mr. F. Campbell did in the scene that he so graphically describes in the preface to his "Tales of the Western Highlands." The Irish tongue, no doubt, was banned by legal enactments; but so was the Welsh. When Warner of Bath was travelling in Wales he noticed in the schools "the Welsh lump," a mass of lead hung round the necks of those children who dared to talk their own tongue. But Welsh has survived the lump; and now Canon Bourke can give no better advice than: "Do what the Welsh are doing. Offer prizes; hold Eisteddfodan; make the speech of the Gael appreciable and honourable."*

We are glad to see that the Canon's book has reached a second edition. Before he issues a third, we recommend him to extirpate a few errors of typography which, less obedient than the snakes to St. Patrick, still lurk in it here and there. It is annoying, for instance, to find a well-known German called Grotofend, and to be forced to recognise the late Bishop of St. David's as Dr. Thorwall. We have a prejudice also in favour of an index arranged in the usual way. It is perplexing to find Sydney before Sullivan, and both of them two columns before the Sahines. But these are trifles. Overweighted as it is with so much irrelevant matter, the book has nevertheless made its way; and if the author will publish separately the chapters on philology and grammar and Gaelic literature, he will command a far larger circle of readers than the work in its present form is likely to attract. Nevertheless, it is (as we said) singularly attractive to any reader who has the courage to make a beginning with it. And the general culture which it evinces is at once a testimony to the intelligence of the race, and to the self-denying earnestness which enables one of the poorest churches in Christendom, still further impoverished by profuse payments of Peter's Pence (why don't they remember their old unwillingness to pay, more creditable by far than their present subserviency?), to keep its clergy so fairly abreast the tide of modern philology. Few indeed are the English clerics, Established or Nonconforming, who have gone so thoroughly into questions of race and language as Canon Bourke.

* We wish Professor Haughton and his friends good speed in their efforts in this direction.

ART. VI.—SUCCESSFUL LAWYERS.

A Memoir of the Right Honourable James, First Lord Abinger, Chief Baron of Her Majesty's Court of Exchequer, including a Fragment of his Autobiography and Selections from his Correspondence and Speeches. By the Honourable PETER CAMPBELL SCARLETT, C.B. London: John Murray, Albemarle Street. 1877.

MORE than thirty years after Lord Abinger's death, when few can remember him either at the Bar, on the Bench, or in Parliament, his son publishes this memoir. Except amongst the remnant we have alluded to, whom it may amuse by reviving old recollections and fading traditions, this book will excite little interest. The life of a successful lawyer—and not even his descendants can attribute to Lord Abinger greater eminence—is read very languidly by a generation the greater part of which could not offhand tell who or what the subject of the biography was. Of the literary merit of the book we cannot speak highly, but as Mr. Scarlett honestly avows his inability to write his father's life and career at the Bar, criticism is disarmed. His memoir affords us, however, an opportunity of considering the class, viz., successful lawyers, of which the first Lord Abinger was a type. In so doing, we shall gather up some reminiscences of a forty years' acquaintance with Westminster Hall and Lincoln's Inn.

Mr. Gladstone, in a speech delivered at the dinner given by the Bar of England to the most distinguished of French advocates, M. Berryer, said—

“We have been told to-night, and in terms of eloquence that cannot be matched, what have been the recent achievements of the members of your illustrious profession on behalf of liberty. Even under the mild and temperate sway of the House of Brunswick, the want of a Bar has been felt, and that want, whenever felt, has been supplied. We might go further back—we might go to remoter, worse, and darker times—we might go to the reign of James II. and the trial of the seven Bishops—we might go to the reign of Charles I. and the trial of Hampden; and we should find that whenever it has been a question of examining or searching, of vindicating or of establishing, the liberties of England, then the Bar of England has stood in the foremost rank.”

On the same occasion, Lord Selborne, who then, being Attorney-General, presided at the dinner, said—

“We rejoice, gentlemen, in the science of a great and common call-

ing—a calling which vulgar minds frequently misunderstand and underestimate, but a calling upon which depend in no small degree the rights and liberties both of individuals and nations. To elicit truth by intellectual struggle and conflict, to supply just weights and balances to the scales of justice, by laying before justice all the considerations on every side of every question that ought to weigh—to stand forward for the weak, the miserable, the degraded, and even the guilty, and on great occasions, when public liberties are in question, to assert the same right, privilege, and duty of free, undaunted, open speaking of truth,—that is the right, that is the duty, that is the privilege of our profession. In this country it has been our inestimable benefit in times past, and we believe that, if need were, we should be able to discharge that duty again; and we rejoice to see it discharged in other countries.” *

We do not deny the services of the Bar of England to the cause of freedom, but these eloquent panegyrics of them by the great statesman and the great lawyer are alike defective in this respect: they only present one side of the truth. If we go back to the times to which Mr. Gladstone refers, we find that, whenever chartered rights were to be invaded or fundamental laws to be violated, the Bar of England always produced men who, at the bidding of power, were ready and willing to do both the one and the other. And in more recent times, if in the reign of George III. Camden and Erskine vindicated the rights of juries, Mansfield and Thurlow were as bitterly opposed to them. If Erskine, by his splendid exertions, unparalleled before or since, put down the reign of terror sought to be established in 1794 by Mr. Pitt, Sir John Scott and Sir John Mitford strove to the best of their power to establish it. Erskine strove not more strenuously with the juries who tried Hardy and Horne Tooke for their acquittal, than the subject of the memoir before us strove to obtain the conviction of Hunt and the other actors in the tragic scene of Peterloo. Lord Abinger, indeed, if not the last Attorney-General, was one of the latest, who filed an *ex officio* information for libel against the press; and it is impossible to read the passage (quoted by Mr. Scarlett) from his father's charge to the grand jury of Lancashire in 1842 without seeing between the lines his hostility to the meetings, then in the height of their popularity, of the Anti-Corn-Law League.†

* These speeches are quoted from “The Oratorical Year-Book for 1865,” by Alsager Hay Hill, *vide* p. 408. It is to be regretted that so valuable a work was not sufficiently encouraged by the public to induce the learned editor to continue the series.

† *Vide* Memoir, p. 187, and the speech against Hunt and others (the Peterloo case), p. 215, Appendix.

In the interests of historical truth we deem it our duty thus to correct the one-sided representations of Mr. Gladstone and Lord Selborne, and we now turn to the memoir before us. James Scarlett (afterwards Sir James Scarlett, and latterly Lord Abinger) was of a family who had for some time been settled in Jamaica, where he was born, 13th December 1769. He left that island in 1785, and in the November of that year, in his sixteenth year, he commenced residence at Trinity College, Cambridge. His university career was remarkable for a diligence and studiousness very uncommon amongst young men of fortune at that time, and he even kept an "act in the schools." This (he notes in his fragment of autobiography) "was a very unusual step in a fellow-commoner, and, I believe, at that time had but one example." * He took his B.A. degree in June 1789, and transferred his residence to the Temple.

He had long since made up his mind to go to the Bar, and had made the acquaintance of Sir Samuel Romilly, who appears to have had much influence on his professional studies as well as on his political opinions. Romilly recommended him to read "Blackstone's Commentaries," "Coke upon Littleton," and the leading cases under each head in "Comyn's Digest,"† which he was to continue in manuscript as to cases published since the last edition of that work. Scarlett's experiences as a student he thus records:—

"'Comyn's Digest' and the cases, I must own, I at first found very hard of digestion, but after some study bestowed upon the cases and arguments in the reports, I found much entertainment and exercise of the intellect in reading the modern cases. As I grew more familiar with the principles, which I gathered up as I went along, I became bolder; and after reading the statement of the case and the arguments of the counsel on both sides with great attention, I laid aside the book, and endeavoured to apply my own store of knowledge to solve the question by giving judgment on the case. Sometimes I wrote down the opinion I had formed, but more frequently was contented with thinking over the arguments and coming to the conclusion which I thought just, before I read the opinion of the judges. At the commencement of this practice I found myself very inadequate, and that my presumption was often rebuked by the learning and wisdom of the judges. After some perseverance, however, I was delighted to find

* Memoir, p. 41.

† Ibid., p. 44, called "Connyer's Digest" by Mr. Scarlett, who, as a lawyer's son, and as he acted for some time as his father's marshal and associate, should have known the name of this real legal author.

that I made progress, and that the practice was not only a source of entertainment, but afforded me the best means of judging of the proficiency I had made in my studies. At length I was overjoyed to find that I was right in the majority of instances, and, which might have been a source of vanity to me, I generally found that I had hit upon the same system of reasoning as Mr. Justice Buller had adopted in his judgment. This of course gave me a high idea of that learned judge's superiority in legal learning and acuteness.* This practice has been of great use in giving me the early habit of reflecting upon the principles and rules of the law, and applying them to new cases by my own reading; and I may here observe, what a long course of experience has taught me, that the lawyers least to be depended upon are those who are in constant pursuit of cases in point to govern their judgment, and who, therefore, seldom have sufficient knowledge of the principles to judge for themselves."†

This passage equally well describes his *modus operandi* as judge. The Court of Exchequer was at that time stronger than ever it has since been. The Chief Baron was strong in learning, experience, and self-reliance. Among the Puisne Barons were two men, the late Sir James Parke (afterwards Lord Wensleydale) and the late Sir Edward Hall Alderson, fully equal to their chief in all the three great qualities we have mentioned. It soon became a popular saying in Westminster Hall that the Court of Exchequer cared for no one but themselves; and we remember a well-known leader at the Equity Bar, who had been brought up under Lord Eldon, objecting to a case being sent from Chancery for the opinion of the Court of Exchequer, because "they did not pay so much attention to the old cases." Certainly the Court of Exchequer, as then constituted, commenced the practice, since much followed by other judges, and carried perhaps to its greatest height by Lord Westbury, of deciding every case upon its own merits as they strike the mind of the judge, without reference to authorities or precedents. This practice has of late years rendered it increasingly difficult for the profession, in either the higher or the lower branch, to advise clients as to what the law applicable to their cases is, or to foretell the result of any litigation. The glorious uncertainty of the law, always proverbial, is inexpressibly increased, and, on the whole, more

* Mr. Justice Buller's legal learning and acuteness were beyond all doubt, and Lord Mansfield intended him for his successor. Mr. Pitt's brief experience of the Western Circuit, however, caused him to doubt the learned judge's incorruptibility, and the irascible, penurious, but upright Kenyon was made Chief Justice.

† Memoir, p. 45.

harm and less justice are done by an attempt to do justice according to the circumstances of each particular case, than by an adherence to well-known rules and principles, beneath which every case was brought. Law and Equity are now amalgamated, or, at any rate, are said or supposed to be so; and the result is that Selden's objection to Equity now extends to all English jurisprudence. "For law we have a measure, and know what to trust to; Equity is according to the conscience of him that is Chancellor, and as that is larger or narrower, so is Equity. 'Tis all one as if they should make the standard for the measure a Chancellor's foot; what an uncertain measure would this be! One Chancellor has a long foot, another a short foot, the third an indifferent foot. It is the same thing with the Chancellor's conscience."*

The next step in Mr. Scarlett's professional career was the then inevitable special pleader's chambers. He became a pupil of Mr. George Wood, who afterwards became a Baron of the Court of Exchequer. We think it was he who, in sentencing to death a bank-note forger, bid him seek "in another world that mercy which a due regard to the interests of the paper currency prevented being extended to him in this." Mr. Scarlett was as industrious in chambers as he had been at college. "The faculty and confidence," he writes, "I had acquired by my previous reading enabled me to dispatch the business put into my hands more rapidly than my colleagues; and I believe I may say with truth, that after I had been three months in the office the greater part of the whole business was done by myself." He was called to the Bar in June 1791. He had then to decide whether he should return to Jamaica, where he was next to certain of all the success that influence or connection could give him, or whether he should endeavour to gain some experience at the English Bar before he left England. By Romilly's advice he decided to remain in England for a year or two—in fact, he never saw Jamaica again. Destitute of professional connections, he was led by "the powers which erring man calls fate and chance" to choose the Northern Circuit; and on his first visit to Carlisle he received a junior's brief in a cause, the pleadings in which he had prepared while in Mr. Wood's chambers. Some questions as to the construction of the pleadings arose during the trial, and their author explained them to the satisfaction of the judge, and had the rare favour of a compliment from the leader on the other side, Mr. Law, afterwards Lord Ellenborough, who was by no means in the habit of complimenting friends or foes.

* *Vide* "Selden's Table-Talk," quoted in Blackstone's Commentaries, Notes, vol. iii. p. 432. Ed. 1784.

His second circuit gave him a good opportunity of witnessing the knowledge and quickness of Mr. Justice Buller, whom, as we have seen, was his ideal judge. It is enough to make the profession and the suitors of these days sigh to read—

“There were eighty-six cases to be tried at York, one of which was a boundary cause that lasted sixteen hours; thirty-six at Lancaster, and forty to fifty prisoners at each place; but Mr. Justice Buller concluded the whole circuit in three weeks. It was not the fashion of the Bar to make long speeches, or to occupy any time in resisting the opinion of the judge once declared.” *

Or this—

“Romilly was a great walker. It was our constant habit to walk together for some hours every day when the weather would permit immediately after the court rose, which in those times was generally about two o'clock.” †

When we read these passages, and another which relates that Lords Kenyon and Ellenborough tried causes at the rate of from twenty to twenty-five a day, and that the very last day on which Lord Ellenborough sat at the Guildhall, when he was labouring under great infirmity, he tried seventeen defended causes, and compare this state of things with the dead-lock in which the business of the courts now is, the thought arises whether the present grievous state of things might not be remedied by a return to the practice of these former days. If counsel would conduct causes in the same manner, as we shall presently see, Mr. Scarlett conducted them, and the judges treated each trial, as in fact it is, as the decision in the affirmative or negative of a particular proposition, from the inquiry into which everything irrelevant tendered as evidence must be carefully excluded, instead of, as is now the practice of judges, treating the trial as a roving commission of inquiry into all the relations of the parties and the extraneous circumstances of the case, the overburdened cause-lists of the several “divisions” would soon be brought into a manageable condition. It is clear that with such counsel as Erskine or Scarlett, and before such a judge as Mansfield, Kenyon, or Ellenborough, the scandalous waste of public time caused by the two trials in the Tichborne case would not have happened.‡

Of Romilly we learn from Mr. Scarlett things which do not appear in his “Life” by his sons, or in Lord Brougham’s well-known sketch.

“He was,” says Mr. Scarlett, “a man of reserved habits and cold demeanour; but under that exterior were covered the warmest heart and most generous emotions. When excited by controversy his temper was too easily provoked, and his opponent felt that he was very

* Memoir, p. 40.

† Ibid., p. 53.

‡ Ibid., p. 51.

intolerant, and sometimes too severe upon bad reasoning. As a speaker, though he was often led by the force of his feelings into something like declamation, yet he was not successful in affecting the passions. He did not persuade by his rhetoric, but convinced by his logic. His reasoning was acute and perspicuous. His sagacity in detecting and his felicity in exposing the sophistry of his antagonist were amongst the first of his oratorical merits." *

We think that when thus depreciating Romilly's powers as a rhetorician, Mr. Scarlett had forgotten Romilly's celebrated reply in *Huguenin v. Bazley*, of which we say, with Lord Brougham, that "even as reported in 11 Vesey, junior, where legal matters chiefly were in question, it may give no mean idea of his extraordinary powers." It is much to be regretted that no record remains of Romilly's summing up for the claimant of the evidence in the Berkeley Peerage case, which certainly afforded one of the finest fields ever open to the abilities of either logician or rhetorician; nor, so far as we remember, does Romilly mention the case in his diary.

That Romilly as an omnivorous reader approached, if he did not equal Macaulay, is a fact known to all, but Mr. Scarlett tells us further "that there was something extraordinary in his facility of reading, which enabled him to wade through a book in an hour which would have occupied most men a day. He did not stop at words or sentences, but took in almost a page at a glance."

Mr. Scarlett adds the following ingenious remark—

"Nor does this faculty seem so surprising when it is considered that a musician reads by a glance of the eye the notes in their several divisions of musical lines, one containing the bass, and the other the treble of the accompaniments, and the third the melody for the voice; and to these combined movements of the mind he adds that of the fingers of both hands at the same moment on the instrument. This operation is extended still further when the same music contains the music in parts for several instruments. The leading player ought to know by a single glance of the eye what notes any other player is to sound, and what rests he is to make."

That Romilly had a great ambition to write a good style, and that he was an admirer of Voltaire and Rousseau, appears from his "Life," but the projected literary partnership between him and Scarlett is not, we think, mentioned there. The increase of business at the Bar of both the intended partners prevented the carrying out of the project. Within little more than a year of his being called to the Bar, Mr. Scarlett thought his success justified his marriage, and on the 22d October 1792,

* Memoir, p. 85.

he married Louise Henrietta, third daughter of Peter Campbell of Kilmory, Argyleshire, to whom he had been long and ardently attached. Business at sessions, assizes, London and Westminster, continued to flow in, and in 1799 he was advised to apply for a silk gown, but he did not obtain the rank of King's Counsel until 1816, for many years before which he was leading almost every case on the Northern Circuit, and dividing the lead of Guildhall and Westminster with Garrow and Parke. Lord Eldon, in his bestowal of this honour, to which Mr. Scarlett was so well entitled, showed more even than common of his usual hesitation and delay. Mr. Scarlett formally applied for the silk gown in 1807, but no notice was taken by the Chancellor of the application until 1816, when it seems to have been granted with mysterious and even inconvenient suddenness.*

With Erskine Mr. Scarlett early formed an intimacy which lasted until Erskine's death. Of this unrivalled advocate, on whose model Mr. Scarlett evidently formed himself, he says what is mere corroboration of all other judgments; but his opinion has a special interest from the influence which his observation and experience of Erskine had on his own career.

"As an advocate no language can exaggerate his merits. Cautious, wary, astute, clear in his discernment, and almost infallible in his judgment; no point that could really serve his client was unobserved, no topic that could advance his cause omitted.

"His examination of witnesses was always pointed, brief, and perfectly gentlemanlike. His manner towards his antagonist, and his mode of speaking of him, always courteous.

"His opening speeches short, lively, and characterised by a gay sort of pleasantry that made it always amusing to hear him. In his reply, though abounding with eloquence and ornament, no topic was admitted that did not bear directly upon the verdict. He was perspicuous, rapid, vehement, and never failed of success if the case was doubtful. He was the favourite of every jury, and I might add of every judge, before whom he was in the habit of practising. His style was always elegant and correct.

"It appears to me, as a style for oratory, to approach more nearly to perfection than any other. Besides the merit of perspicuity, correctness, and ornament, it has a music and rhythm altogether peculiar to it, and which gives it, even in reading, a singular grace and energy. But from his tongue, accompanied by his impassioned tones, the beautiful modulation of his voice, and the vehemence of emphasis, it was quite irresistible. The very sound of his voice had a charm about it which invited you to listen; in fine, he imparted to his audience all his emotions. He was the only orator within my knowledge who

* Memoir, p. 71.

possessed the real power of pathos, who could excite the passions and make the sympathies of his audience subservient to his purpose. This, no doubt, was the effect of the combination of all his powers. To his parts as an orator he added those of a consummate actor. His eye, his countenance, the action of his limbs and body, were full of expression, elegance, and dignity. They combined to enforce the passions which his language was exciting." *

Possessing those rare qualities, how is it, asks Mr. Scarlett, that Erskine had comparatively so little success in the House of Commons?

He answers his own question, and we have never seen the difference between forensic and Parliamentary speaking so well explained—

"I think there are very satisfactory reasons why a habit, long cultivated at the Bar, and attended with great success, should render the exhibitions of the speaker in Parliament, few and occasional as they can only be whilst he remains at the Bar, less successful than might be expected.

"The forensic orator is instructed beforehand by a specific statement of facts. He comes prepared to discuss a precise question, upon which the issue is joined between the parties. His duty is to make such use of his facts and of the topics which his own imagination may suggest as will lead to the conviction of the jury in favour of his client.

"His sole object ought to be to persuade those twelve men to come to a specific conclusion. He may declaim, and be as amusing as he can upon collateral topics, but they will not in the least help him to his object, even though the judge should not interrupt him, nor will they command long the attention of the jury, who are ever anxious to see their way clear before them, and to lay aside mere topics of amusement. In short, his business is to carry conviction to an audience who are to adopt or reject a specific proposition upon oath. How different is the object and the duty of the Parliamentary speaker. He addresses an assembly of which the majority have already decided the vote. He does not expect to bring conviction to any individual amongst them. There is to be no movement, and no act done in consequence of his speech or of the debate. The object is to flatter and encourage his own party, and to hold the opposite party or their measures up to contempt and sarcasm. He is, therefore, not called upon to apply himself to the subject of nominal discussion, for any other purpose than that of connecting it with such topics of praise or

* Memoir, p. 65, 66. "Juries have declared that they felt it impossible to remove their looks from him when he had riveted, and, as it were, fascinated them by his first glance; and it used to be a common remark of men who observed his motions, that they resembled those of a blood horse; as light as limber, as much betokening strength and speed as free from all gross superfluity or incumbrance."—*Lord Brougham's Sketch of Erskine in "Statesmen of George III."*

blame as he may think fit to introduce. His chief object must be to command the attention of his hearers, and this is not to be done so well by any efforts upon their reason or their knowledge respecting the question before them, as by the dexterous handling of any extraneous matter that he can make the subject of praise or blame. There is no method more common or more exciting than that of selecting some individual and exposing him to ridicule or sarcasm or contempt. In short, the character of the eloquence of the House of Commons is that which is termed by the ancient rhetoricians 'demonstration.' It is convenient in praise or blame. The chief figure is exaggeration. It is like scene-painting, which is to have its effect at a distance. It is not for the assembly, but the gallery and the newspapers.

"Hence it appears to me that if two orators of equal parts had each taken one of these two lines, and by usage acquired great facility and reputation, neither would find it easy, on changing his line, to fall at once into the habits and discipline required to ensure him a successful comparison with the other." *

Mr. Scarlett quotes a saying of Burke's we do not remember to have seen before, "The best that the lawyers bring us in this House is but the rinsing of their empty bottles;" and he tells us that he found it impossible to pursue his profession consistently with the application to Parliamentary subjects which was essential to his pretending to any lead in the House of Commons.† To his chosen calling he therefore devoted himself with all his energy, and with a success exceeding even that of Erskine; for, as Lord Brougham remarks, "he retained his leading practice above forty years—in short, all the time he continued in the profession—a piece of good fortune that even Erskine himself had not."‡

It was said of Scarlett by Chief Justice Tindal that he had invented a machine, which he dexterously contrived to keep out of sight, which had a surpassing effect on the head of the judge, producing on it a motion angular to the horizon, here Tindal made a movement of his head which signified a nod of approbation. The same witty and learned lawyer said of another leader on the Northern Circuit, "of more popular and much higher reputation as a speaker" than Scarlett (Lord Brougham is apparently the leader referred to), that he had also contrived a machine to produce an effect on the head of the judge, but of a different character, the motion in this case being parallel to the

* Memoir, pp. 66, 67. The same idea is stated, but not so clearly expressed, in Lord Abinger's estimate of Sir James Macintosh, Memoir, p. 200 *et seq.*

† Memoir, p. 68.

‡ Sketch of Lord Abinger in "Life and Times of Lord Brougham," vol. iii. p. 470.

horizon in this fashion; he then moved his head in a manner signifying dissent.*

What, then, was the secret of the marvellous success which Scarlett had both with judges and juries? He has given us a most complete, simple, and truthful explanation. The great value of it to all who would gain success at the Bar justifies our transcribing it at length—

“When I entered on the first practical duties of my profession, I was prepared by probably more than the common course of study with the usual theories on the art of public speaking. I borrowed a hint from Mr. Hume’s ‘Essay upon Eloquence,’ and composed an elaborate speech which I got by heart. When I had delivered the first two sentences, I began to think that they did not naturally arise out of the facts of the case, and that the elegance and refinement of my composition would detect the previous labour. This alarmed me, caused me to hesitate, to forget the whole of my lesson, and forced me to plunge at once into the topic of the moment. From that time I not only renounced previous composition, but scarcely ever, in thinking over the subject I was to speak upon, clothed a thought with words—certainly with no words that I ever remembered afterwards—and I never found a want of words when I had thoughts or arguments to utter. *Provisam rem verba sequuntur*. I made it my business to know and remember the principal facts, to lay the unimportant wholly out of memory, to open the case, if for the plaintiff, and when I expected evidence for the defendant, in the shortest and plainest manner, with no other object than to make the jury comprehend the evidence which they would shortly hear. I very seldom thought it necessary to make any anticipation of the defendant’s case. It is, indeed, oftentimes dangerous to do so, as it leads the judge and jury to seek for support to it in the plaintiff’s evidence. I found from experience as well as theory that the most essential part of speaking is to make yourself understood. For this purpose it is absolutely necessary that the court and jury should know as early as possible *de quâ re agitur*. It was my habit, therefore, to state in the simplest form that the truth and the case would admit the proposition of which I maintained the affirmative and the defendant’s counsel the negative, and then, without reasoning upon them, the leading facts in support of my assertion. Thus it has often happened to me to open a cause in five minutes which would have occupied a speaker at the Bar of the present day from half an hour to three-quarters of an hour or more. Moreover, I made it a rule in

* Memoir, pp. 78, 79. Chief Justice Tindal was noted for a certain grave humour, his jokes were generally professional—*e.g.*, in the days when the judges and sergeants dined together in Sergeants’ Inn Hall, now or about to be demolished, a learned sergeant coming late wandered round the hall seeking a seat but finding none. “Brother Manning,” observed the Chief Justice, “you look like an outstanding term and an unsatisfied one.”

general rather to understate than overstate facts I expected to prove. For whatever strikes the mind of a juror as the result of his own observation and discovery makes always the strongest impression upon him, and the case in which the proof falls much below the statement is supposed, for that very reason, not to be proved at all. As the evidence proceeded I bestowed much too anxious attention upon it to take a note. I treasured up the facts in my memory, and arranged them in such a way as I thought would lead most distinctly to the conclusion I desired. My mind underwent the same process during the defendant's case. I learned by much experience that the most useful duty of an advocate is the examination of witnesses, and that much more mischief than benefit generally results from cross-examination. I therefore rarely allowed that duty to be performed by my colleagues. I cross-examined in general very little, and more with a view to enforce and illustrate the facts I meant to rely upon than to affect the witnesses' credit, for the most part a vain attempt. By the time the defendant's case was closed the topics for reply were arranged in my mind. I had sifted the material facts from the chaff, and held them fast in my memory, stored in their proper places. I had observed the facts that appeared to make the most impression upon the jury either for or against me. My reply was in general short, vehement, perspicuous, and directly to the point. Very often when the impression of the jury and sometimes of the judge has been against me on the conclusion of the defendant's case, I have had the good fortune to bring them entirely to adopt my conclusions. Whenever I observed this impression, but thought myself entitled to the verdict, I made it the rule to treat the impression as very natural and reasonable, to acknowledge that there were circumstances which presented great difficulties and doubts, to invite a candid and temperate investigation of all the important topics that belonged to the case, and to express rather a hope than a confident opinion that, upon a deliberate and calm investigation, I should be able to satisfy the court and jury that the plaintiff was entitled to the verdict. I then avoided all appearance of confidence, and endeavoured to place the reasoning on my part in the clearest and strongest view, and to weaken that of my adversary ; to show that the facts for the plaintiff could lead naturally but to one conclusion, while those of the defendant might be accounted for on other hypotheses ; and when I thought I had gained my point, I left it to the candour and good sense of the jury to draw their own. This course seems to me not to be the result of any consummate art, but the plain and natural course which common sense would dictate. At the same time it must be observed, that he who would adopt it can only expect success when it is known that he can discriminate between a sound and a hopeless case, and that his judgment is sufficiently strong to overcome the bias of the advocate and the importunity of the client, and to make him at once surrender a case that cannot and ought not to be sustained. But although the practice I have mentioned was eminently successful with me, in many instances, both with juries and with Committees of the House of Commons, I have known advocates of great reputation pursue a very different line

from want of judgment or influence of temper. With them the discovery that the judge and jury had formed an impression against them seemed rather to awaken their resentment and to provoke their vengeance, or to induce a stronger confirmation of their own opinions, and to make them more stubborn and obstinate in maintaining them, and to oppose the prejudices of the judge or jury, or both, as wholly void of all rational foundation. The natural consequence of treating the opinion of a man as unreasonable is to set him upon finding reason to support it, and I hardly know an instance of this practice being successful with a jury, though it may in some cases be so with a judge, who is or aims to be above passion and prejudice. Of course, when I expected no evidence for the defendant, I took a longer view of the subject at the outset; but even here my endeavour was to awaken the feelings I wished to excite by way of influencing the damages, or leading to the desired conclusion by a temperate and candid appeal to the justice and discernment of the jury, and then to make so moderate a statement of the facts as I was sure would be exceeded and appear stronger by the evidence. No error is more fatal to an advocate, or more common, than exaggeration. In Parliament the practice is often successful. But in the trial of causes, the evidence is sure, first or last, to furnish a measure by which to examine the statement, and the advocate who, either in his opening or reply, exaggerates the importance of his facts, is sure to be suspected either of a defect in judgment or an excess of zeal which obscures his intellect, or, which is worse than all, of a design to impose on the jury.” *

He further says, he never made a speech for his own reputation, nor for any other object but to serve his client, and that no one can take interest in or even understand any of his reported speeches, even in his most important cases, without reading over and understanding the whole of the evidence. The appendix to this volume contains three of his speeches—two addressed to juries, one in the Peterloo case, the other in the case of the Mayor of Bristol; the remaining one is his masterly argument before the Queen’s Bench in banco in the case of Sir Francis Burdett. The minute dissection of the evidence in the two addresses to juries—one of Scarlett’s characteristics †—reminds us of Erskine’s defence of Gordon and of Hardy. The argument in Burdett’s case will bear comparison with Erskine’s famous vindication of the rights of juries. We have said that Scarlett formed himself as an advocate on Erskine’s model. The proof of this assertion we find in Lord Brougham’s description of Erskine at the Bar, which appears to us to be equally true of Scarlett. Brougham, it will be remembered, was the intimate friend of both.

“While representing his client, his whole soul was wrapped up in

* Memoir, p. 74 *et seq.*

† Ibid., p. 81.

the success of the cause, and to win that, each faculty of mind and body was subdued. His argumentative powers were of the highest order; clear in his statements, close in his application, unwearied, and never to be diverted in his deductions; with a quick and sure perception of his point, and undeviating in the pursuit of whatever established it; endued with a nice discernment of the relative importance and weight of different arguments, and the faculty of assigning to each its proper place, so as to bring forward the main body of the reasoning in bold relief, and with its full breadth, and not weaken its effect by distracting and disturbing the attention of the audience among lesser particulars. . . . His memory was accurate and retentive in an extraordinary degree; nor did he ever, during the trial of a cause, forget any matter, how trifling soever, that belonged to it. His presence of mind was perfect in action, that is, before the jury, when a line is to be taken upon the instant, and a question risked to a witness, or a topic chosen with the tribunal, on which the whole fate of the cause may turn. No man made fewer mistakes, none left so few advantages unimproved; before none was it so dangerous for an adversary to slumber and be off his guard; for he was ever broad awake himself, and was as adventurous as he was skilful, and as apt to take advantage of any the least opening as he was cautious to leave none in his own battle. But to all these qualities he joined that fire, that spirit, that courage, which gave vigour and direction to the whole, and bore down all resistance. . . . The entire devotion to his cause which made him reject everything that did not help it forward, and indignantly scorn all temptation to sacrifice its smallest point for any rhetorical triumph, was not the only virtue of his advocacy. His judgment was quick, sound, and sure upon each successive step to be taken; his decision bold, but cautious and enlightened, at each turn. His speaking was hardly more perfect than his examination of witnesses, the art in which so much of an English advocate's skill is shown; and his examination-in-chief was as excellent as his cross-examination, a department so apt to deceive the vulgar, and which yet is, generally speaking, far less available, as it hardly is even more difficult than the examination-in-chief or in reply. In all these various functions, whether of addressing the jury, or urging objections to the court, or examining his own witnesses, or cross-examining his adversary's, this consummate advocate appeared to fill at one and the same time different characters—to act as the counsel and representative of the party, and yet be the very party himself; while he addressed the tribunal, to be also acquainted with every feeling and thought of the judge or the jury, and while he interrogated the witness, whether to draw from him all he knew, and in the most favourable shape, or to shake and displace all he had said that was adverse, he appeared to have entered into the mind of the person he was dealing with, and to be familiar with all that was passing within it." *

Brougham's opinion of Scarlett himself is this—

“He rose to the highest place among the advocates of his time. He had all the mastery of the conduct of a cause, that self-devotion to his client, and that skill, readiness, and fertility of resource which long and varied experience can alone give.” *

Of the manner in which Mr. Scarlett conducted an important trial we possess a sketch which great professional knowledge and considerable dramatic and literary skill combine to make most vivid and lifelike. We refer to the *cause celebre* of *Doe dem Titmouse v. Jolter*. The passion and prejudice which defile and disgrace almost every page of Mr. Warren's “Ten Thousand a Year” will prevent that book retaining a permanent place in English literature, but the account of the trial is as graphically written as that of *Bardell v. Pickwick*, while it is far more interesting. It will probably preserve the book from falling into complete oblivion. “The sleek, smiling, portly Mr. Subtle, whose initials were ‘J. S.,’” can hardly be other than Mr. James Scarlett. Indeed, it is impossible to mistake the person thus vividly and appreciatively described by Mr. Warren.

“Mr. Subtle was the leader of the Northern Circuit—a man of matchless tact and practical sagacity, and consummately skilful in the conduct of a cause. The only thing he ever looked at was THE VERDICT, to the gaining of which he directed all his energies, and sacrificed every other consideration. As for display, he despised it. A *speech*, as such, was his aversion. He entered into a friendly, but exquisitely crafty, conversation with the jury; for he was so quick at perceiving the effect of his address on the mind of each of the twelve, and dexterous in accommodating himself to what he had detected to be the passing mood of each, that they individually felt as if they were all the while reasoning with and being convinced by him. His placid, smiling, handsome countenance, full of good-natured, cheerful confidence in his cause, was irresistible. He flattered, he soothed, he fascinated the jury, producing an impression upon their minds which they often felt indignant at his opponents attempting to deface. In fact, as a *visi prius* leader he was unrivalled, as well in stating as in arguing a case, as well in examining as in cross-examining a witness. It required no little practical experience to form an adequate estimate of Mr. Subtle's skill in the management of a cause; for he did everything with such a smiling, careless, unconcerned air, equally in the great pinch and strain of a case as in the pettiest details, that you would be apt to suspect that none but the easiest and most straightforward cases fell to his lot.” †

We venture to digress for a moment, in order to express the

* Sketch of Lord Abinger, *ubi supra*.

† Ten Thousand a Year, p. 225, ed. 1871.

hope that, if the learned author of "Ten Thousand a Year" should see this paper, and in event of a new edition of the work, he will give his readers a key to the Bench and Bar whom he there so well describes. In the absence of such a key, we will, for the sake of any reader whom we may induce by this article for the first time to read the book, attempt to supply one. Lord Widdrington (Chief Justice of the King's Bench), "a great scientific lawyer, referring everything to *principle*, as extracted from precedent, but in temper stern, arbitrary, overbearing, and his manners disfigured not a little by coarseness," can be no other than Lord Tenterden. Mr. Justice Grayley, "almost unrivalled in his knowledge of the *details* of the law, his governing maxim being *ita lex scripta* ; here his knowledge was equally minute and accurate, and readily applied to every case brought before him, and who was a man of exemplary amiability, affability, and forbearance," is no doubt the late Mr. Justice Bailey. Of the counsel for the plaintiff, the leader, Mr. Subtle, is, as we have seen, Mr. Scarlett. Mr. Quicksilver, afterwards Lord Blossom and Box, is evidently Mr. Brougham (Lord Brougham and Vaux). Mr. Lynx, the junior, we are in doubt about, but it may be intended for Mr. Parke, afterwards Lord Wensleydale. Of the defendant's counsel, we have no difficulty in recognising two. Mr. Sterling, "a man of great power, and, on important occasions, no man at the Bar could acquit himself with more distinction. As a speaker, he was eloquent and impressive, perhaps deficient in vivacity ; but he was a man of clear and powerful intellect, prompt in seizing the bearings of a case, a capital lawyer, and possessing, even on the most trying occasions, imperturbable self-possession." This plainly is meant for the late Sir Frederick Pollock. We have as little difficulty in recognising in Mr. Crystal, who, "with some faults of manner and bearing, was an honourable, high-minded man, clear-sighted and strong-headed, an accurate and ready lawyer, vigilant and acute," the late Sir Cresswell Cresswell.* The puzzle to us has always been, who is *The Attorney-General* who is brought down specially for the defence, and who is described as "much superior in

* Whom O'Connell once described as "a man with two names, and neither of them a good one."

The faults of manner and bearing which marked Sir Cresswell Cresswell at the Bar were *not less* prominent after he became a judge ; e.g., when the Divorce Court was instituted, the members of the Bar of the old ecclesiastical courts suddenly found themselves called on to take part in the *viva voce* taking of evidence, to which they were perfect strangers. On the first occasion of Sir Robert Phillimore undertaking the task of examining a witness, he received from the judge (Sir Cresswell Cresswell) the encouraging remark, "Sir Robert, in one quarter of an hour you have violated every canon of the law of evidence."

point of intellect and legal knowledge to Mr. Subtle," and who was sagacious where Mr. Subtle was only ingenious, "and who had as much weight with the judge as Mr. Subtle with the jury." We cannot identify him with any of the Tory Attorney-Generals of the pre-reform era, and of no one but a Tory lawyer would Mr. Warren have a good word to say. The name "Sir Charles Wolstenholme" bears some likeness to that of Sir Charles Wetherell, but not even the bigoted Toryism of Mr. Warren could assign to the crack-brained Recorder of Bristol such qualities as he describes this Attorney-General as possessing. There are some points of resemblance in the sketch to Lord Lyndhurst, but, on the whole, we do not think he is the person intended, and that this Attorney-General is not a portrait, but a creation.

To return from this digression. Nothing can better illustrate Mr. Scarlett's method of conducting a case than the scene at the consultation between Mr. Subtle and his juniors.

"'I shall open it very quietly,' said Mr. Subtle, putting into his pocket his penknife, with which he had been paring his nails, while Mr. Quicksilver had been talking very fast. 'What do you think, Mr. Lynx? Had I better boldly allude to the conveyance executed by Harry Dredlington, and which becomes useless as soon as we prove his death in his father's lifetime, or content myself with proving our pedigree, and let the conveyance come from the other side?'" . . .

"'But about that tombstone—what sort of witnesses will speak? Will that evidence be requisite in the plaintiff's case?' said Mr. Lynx. 'All we shall have to do will be to prove the fact that Harry died without issue, of which there is satisfactory evidence; and as to the time of his death, that will become material only if *they* put in the conveyance of Harry.' 'True, true, ah! I'll turn that over in my mind. Rely upon it I'll give Mr. Attorney-General as little to lay hold of as possible. Thank you, Lynx, for the hint."

The opening speech at the trial is thus described—

"Mr. Subtle proceeded to state the nature of the plaintiff's case with the utmost brevity and clearness. Having handed up two or three copies of the pedigree which he held in his hand to the judge, the jury, and his opponents, he pointed out with distinctness and precision every link in the chain of evidence which he intended to advance; and having done this, presenting as few salient points of attack to his opponent as he possibly could, he sat down professing his entire ignorance of what case would be set up in answer to that which he had opened. He had not been on his legs quite half-an-hour, and when he ceased, how he had disappointed every one present except the judge and the Bar! Instead of a speech apparently befitting so great an occasion—impressive and eloquent—there had been a brief, dry statement of a few uninteresting facts, of dates of births, deaths,

marriages, registers, entries, inscriptions, deeds, wills, without a single touch of feeling or ray of eloquence."*

Here also is a description of his manner during the progress of the trial. The Attorney-General, by a very admirable and well-sustained fort of cross questioning, had completely demolished a material witness for the plaintiff.

"Mr. Subtle, who had been all the while paring his nails, and from time to time smiling with a careless air (though you might as safely have touched a tigress suckling her cubs as attempted at that moment to disturb him, so absorbed was he in intense anxiety), believing that he could establish the same facts by another, and, as he thought, a better witness, did not re-examine; but calling that other, with an air of non-chalance, succeeded in extracting from him all that the former had failed in, baffling all attempts on the part of the Attorney-General to affect his credit."†

The following passage from the reply excellently illustrates the "vehemence and perspicuity" which Mr. Scarlett himself describes as among the characteristics of his replies in general—

"My learned friend the Attorney-General, gentlemen, dropped one or two expressions of a somewhat disparaging tendency," said Mr. Subtle, "in alluding to my client, Mr. Titmouse, and shadowed forth a disadvantageous contrast between the obscure and ignorant plaintiff and the gifted defendant. Good heavens, gentlemen, and is my humble client's misfortune to become his fault? If he be obscure and ignorant, unacquainted with the usages of society, deprived of the blessings of a superior education—if he have contracted vulgarity, *whose fault is it?* Who has occasioned it? Who plunged him and his parents into an unjust poverty and obscurity, from which Providence is about this day to rescue him, and put him in possession of his own? Gentlemen, if topics like these must be introduced into this case, I ask you *who is accountable* for the present condition of my unfortunate client? Is he or are those who have been, perhaps unconsciously, but still unjustly, so long revelling in the wealth which is his? Gentlemen, in the name of everything that is manly and generous, I challenge your sympathy, your commiseration, for my client."‡

Here, it will be remembered Mr. Subtle, was interrupted by an unexpected and wholly irregular outburst of applause from Mr. Titmouse, who had to be removed from the court. Of this the adroit advocate avails himself to deepen the impression he had already made on the jury—

"Gentlemen," said he in a low tone, "I perceive that you are moved by this little incident, and it is characteristic of your superior feelings. Inferior persons destitute of sensibility or refinement might

* Ten Thousand a Year, p. 231.

† Ibid., p. 232.

‡ Ibid., p. 239.

have smiled at eccentricities which occasion gentlemen like yourself only feelings of greater commiseration. I protest, gentlemen,' his voice trembled for a moment, but he soon recovered his self-possession, and after a long and admirable address, sat down confident of the verdict."*

This incident forms the subject of a conversation between Mr. Subtle and Mr. Lynx after the trial is over.

"'Odious little reptile! (said Mr. Subtle, speaking of Titmouse). Did you ever in all your life witness such a scene as when he interrupted me in the way he did?' 'Ha, ha! never! But upon my honour, what an exquisite turn you gave the thing; it was worth more than called it forth—it was admirable.' 'Pooh, Lynx,' said Mr. Subtle, with a gratified air, 'knack—mere knack, nothing more. My voice trembled, eh? at least so I intended.' 'Upon my word,' said Lynx, 'I almost believed that you were for the moment overcome, and going to shed tears.' 'Ah, ha, ha! Delightful! I was convulsed with inward laughter. Shed tears! Did the Bar take it, Lynx?' inquired Mr. Subtle; for though he hated display, he loved appreciation by competent persons."†

We have made these extracts from a work of fiction because they are, in fact, the testimony of an eye-witness, and illustrate better than anything in Mr. Campbell Scarlett's *jeune* narrative his father's own description of his conduct of cases. Like Erskine, Scarlett was not without vanity, and, like Erskine, was a great actor. This is illustrated by one of the very few anecdotes this Memoir contains—

"Mr. Justice Patteson related the following story of my father's dexterity in the conduct of a cause, the ends of justice being attained by a theatrical display of incredulity which deceived both Brougham and Parke, the counsel on the other side. My father, with Patteson as junior counsel, were for the defendant. He told Patteson that he would make Brougham produce in evidence a written instrument, the withholding of which, on account of the insufficiency of the stamp, was essential for the success of his case. That on Patteson observing that even if he could throw Brougham off his guard, he would not be so successful with Parke, my father said he would try, and he then conducted the case with consummate dexterity, pretending to disbelieve the existence of the document referred to, that Brougham and Parke resolved to produce it, not being aware that my father had any suspicion of its invalidity. Patteson described the air of extreme surprise and mortification of my father on its production by Brougham with a flourish of trumpets 'about the non-existence of which his learned friend had reckoned so confidently.' Patteson went on to say that the way in which my father asked to look at the instrument, and

his assumed discovery of the insufficiency of the stamp, were a masterpiece of acting." *

The verdict, no doubt, was very adroitly obtained; whether "the ends of justice were attained" is by no means so clear, and we are quite sure that the high-minded, conscientious judge on whose authority this anecdote is related could not have admired such strategies. There was much of slyness, and even trickery, in Scarlett, which Mr. Warren hints made judges "suspicious" of him. Here is another case of adroitness, not unmingled with the other qualities just mentioned, but where the interests of justice seem to have been attained—

"On one occasion an action was brought for the abatement of a nuisance, and Mr. Scarlett was employed for the defence. He began his cross-examination of a lady, the plaintiff's witness, by inquiring tenderly about her domestic relations, her children, their illnesses. The lady became confidential, and appeared flattered by the kind interest taken in her. The judge interfered with a remark about the irrelevancy of this. Mr. Scarlett begged to be allowed to proceed, and on the conclusion of the cross-examination he said, 'My Lord, that is my case.' He had shown, on the witness's testimony, that she had brought up a numerous and healthy progeny in the vicinity of the alleged nuisance. The jury, amused as well as convinced, gave a verdict for the defendant." †

It is not without reluctance that we quote as an authority Mr. Cordy Jeaffreson, every page of whose two volumes is disfigured by inaccuracies, but in the passage we are about to quote we believe him to be correct. Speaking of Lord Tenterden, Mr. Scarlett writes—

"In some important particulars he could not be excelled—caution, candour, patience, impartiality, and a strict sense of duty. He would have been more effective if he had entertained a more just confidence in his own judgment; but he had not vigour to resist the pertinacity of the Bar, nor to rescue the jury from an eloquent and forcible reply, which sometimes carried the day against the justice of the case." ‡

Now, as through the whole period of Lord Tenterden's judicial career Mr. Scarlett was the leader of the King's Bench Bar, his testimony as to the pertinacity of the Bar, and the eloquence and force of replies, is in the highest degree authoritative. He is

* Memoir, p. 193. There is something of the same kind in "*Doe dem Titmouse v. Jolter*," vide p. 236.

† Memoir, p. 194. There is a want of accuracy in details here. He could not have said "That is my case" at the close of his cross-examination of the plaintiff's witness.

‡ Memoir, p. 86.

describing himself, and we suspect there is good foundation for this remark of Mr. Jeaffreson's—

“Some of the modes by which Scarlett gained his ascendancy over Lord Tenterden were scarcely less discreditable to the advocate than the Chief Justice. Familiar with the weaknesses of the Chief's nature, Scarlett used to play upon him as though he belonged to an inferior species; but upon a memorable occasion his Lordship was enlightened as to the ignominious thralldom under which he was held. Interrupting Mr. Adolphus, the criminal advocate, Scarlett superciliously observed, ‘Mr. Adolphus, there is a wide difference between the practice of this court and the usages of the Old Bailey.’ With perfect coolness, and in a voice that hit itself into the ear of every listener, Adolphus answered, ‘I know it well. There the judge rules the advocate—here an advocate rules the judge.’”*

Such was the practical working of, the machine with the invention of which Chief Justice Tindal credited Mr. Scarlett.

When we turn from the forensic to the Parliamentary and judicial careers of this eminent person, we find that the nearly unrivalled eminence he attained at the Bar he did not maintain in the House of Commons or on the Bench. “This,” says Lord Brougham, *Gracchus de seditione querens*, was owing “to his besetting weakness—vanity—which greatly injured him on many occasions, and never more than in the House of Commons, unless, indeed, it be on the Bench. He always took for granted that he knew what it was quite impossible he should know from utter want of experience, and this made him as a judge, though with all the qualities required for the office, yet ‘inferior to men of far less talent and nothing like his acquaintance with business.’”†

We have referred to the influence which Romilly early obtained over Scarlett. Owing to that influence, Scarlett, who from the first exhibited a strong interest in Parliamentary life, became one of the Whig party. On one question, however, the friends differed, and it is due to Scarlett's memory, having reference to his separation from the Whigs in 1830, to say that that question was Parliamentary Reform.

“Romilly's wishes,” writes Scarlett, on that question, “went beyond mine. I was a reformer to a moderate extent, but always entertained a belief that a democratic Assembly must necessarily lead to the destruction of the monarchy.”‡

This was in 1789 or 1790. Whig principles did not fit very well on one who was by birth and education one of the slave-owning aristocracy of Jamaica, and the “moderate extent” of

* Book about Lawyers, second edition revised, 1867, vol. ii. p. 247.

† Sketch, *ubi supra*, p. 472.

‡ Memoir, p. 55.

Scarlett's reforming tendencies was still further limited by the scare caused by the French Revolution. It was not till after the death of his "guide, philosopher, and friend," that Scarlett entered Parliament. In 1818 he was returned by the Fitzwilliam influence for the city of Peterborough. Soon after he took his seat, writes Lord Brougham, "he distinguished himself by one of the most able speeches that any professional man ever made." This speech was made in the debate on the proposal of the Government to give an allowance to the Duke of York for taking care of his father. "I well remember," continues Lord Brougham, "the impression which that speech made upon those least inclined to expect much from lawyers. The common talk of the House was that we were all distanced by him, and that he more than balanced the loss just sustained in Romilly." *

Scarlett himself notes that "he received many compliments upon his first speech in Parliament, and that he was not conscious of any deficiency of talent for debate;" † but, as we have seen, the other side of Westminster Hall possessed more attraction for him. In the same year Lord Ellenborough died, and *consensu omnium* Scarlett was the most proper person to have been appointed to the vacant Chief Justiceship of England; but to the Regent and Lords Liverpool and Eldon, the idea of conferring such a dignity upon a man attached to the Opposition was a thing "*inter christianos non nominandum*," and Mr. Justice Abbott (Lord Tenterden) was given the Chiefship. Scarlett consoled himself for the loss of dignity by the practical reflection, "Of this I am certain, that if I had been placed in that situation, it would have been the worse for me by at least" £5000 a year from the year 1818 to 1835." ‡

He declined mixing himself up with the case of Queen Caroline, and thereby obtained the favour and confidence of George IV. In 1827, on the formation of the Canning Ministry, the Premier, who had long been his intimate friend, offered him the place of Attorney-General, with expressions of regret that the claims of Lord Lyndhurst prevented his offering him the Chancellorship. With the sanction of the Whig leader, Earl Grey, of Earl Fitzwilliam, whose nominee for Peterborough he was, and of other leaders of the Opposition, he took the proffered office, and was made Sir James Scarlett. Canning's death soon followed, and the Wellington Administration formed. After a period of indecision, Sir James Scarlett resigned office, and resumed his seat amongst the Whigs. On the passing of the Catholic Relief Bill, and the consequent

* Sketch, *ubi supra*, p. 471.

† Memoir, p. 68.

‡ Ibid., p. 85.

resignation of the Attorney-Generalship by Sir Charles Wetherell, Sir James Scarlett, with the assent and consent of the Whig leaders, again became Attorney-General, which was offered him at the express desire of George IV. His acceptance of office was unfortunate; within a year the Wellington Administration was out of office, and the Whigs, after their long exile from power, came in. In the new arrangement, no one ever seems to have thought of Scarlett, who was much irritated thereat, resigned his seat for Malton, accepted a nomination from Lord Lonsdale, delivered an antiquarian argument in the House of Commons against the Reform Bill, and went "body, soul, and spirit," over to the Tories. A whole chapter of the Memoir* is occupied with his narrative of the affairs of this period. He considered himself persecuted by the Whigs, and Lord Brougham, writing after his quarrel with his former friends, says, "The conduct of the party to Scarlett always appeared to me one of the worst parts of its history." After carefully reviewing the statements of Sir James Scarlett and Lord Brougham, we come to the conclusion that there was an irreconcilable difference between Scarlett and the Whigs on the subject of Reform, which would have made it equally dishonourable for them to offer and for him to accept office in a Ministry whose *raison d'être* was "the bill, the whole bill, and nothing but the bill."

In the first Reformed Parliament Sir James Scarlett was one of the few Conservatives sent by a large constituency. He was returned for the city of Norwich. Four years afterwards, on the petulant dismissal by William IV. of the Melbourne Ministry, Sir James Scarlett was rewarded for his conversion to Toryism in the darkest hour of its history by being made Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and a peer by the title of Lord Abinger. On being sworn in, he had the advantage of being addressed by the King "in a very pretty speech on the administration of the law,"† a subject on which His Majesty was no doubt highly qualified to give him advice.

Henceforth there is nothing worthy of remark in his career. He considered, very properly, that his judicial office precluded his taking part in party debates, but from a somewhat ambiguous passage in Lord Brougham's Sketch, he would seem to have privately acted as an adviser to the Conservative party in the Lords.‡

As a judge, he was, as we have before said, neither popular nor successful, very careful and accurate. Mr. Foss says of him, "That he had too much the habit of deciding which of the two parties

* Chap. xxvii. p. 139 *et seq.* † Greville Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 177.

‡ Sketch, *ubi supra*, p. 473.

was in the right, and arguing in his favour ; while juries who had been accustomed to be led by his pleadings refused to submit to his dictation as a judge."* His manner to the Bar exhibited an amount of hauteur and temper quite inconsistent with the suavity of manner for which, by all accounts, he was remarkable at the Bar ; but, as has been well said, "between the Bench and the Bar an eternal Belflowers." In the tenth year of his judicial career, and while acting as Judge of Assize for the county of Suffolk, he was seized with paralysis, and died after a very short illness in his seventy-fifth year.

It would have been interesting if Mr. Scarlett had given some information as to his father's gains when at the Bar. Notwithstanding that he was so long the leader of the Northern Circuit and of the King's Bench, and that after becoming Attorney-General, and consequently ceasing to attend circuit, "he visited on special retainers every part of England and Wales, and was during the assizes in different counties carried about from one end of England to another, over thousands of miles as fast as four horses could take him,"† we suspect that his income would not bear comparison with those of leaders of a later date. It was said that Sir Frederick Pollock when Attorney-General made £17,000 a year, and Lord Westbury's yearly income while holding the same office was reputed to be £20,000. Lord Eldon, besides large landed estates, left over £200,000 personalty. Lord Westbury, though having a large family, and a man of expensive habits, died worth £300,000. From some allusions in Lord Abinger's autobiography and letters, we should guess that his income did not exceed £12,000 yearly. That he did not die a rich man is certain; he himself says, "If my economy and prudence had equalled my good fortune, I think none of my predecessors would have laid such a foundation for his posterity. But though I have never spent the whole of my professional income since the year 1798, I am sorry to say that I have saved but little of it ; and so much of that comparatively little has been invested in land, and that so injudiciously, that what I leave behind me will scarcely be worth having."

We have spoken of Lord Abinger as a type of the "successful lawyer." By that class term we mean to denote men who obtain success for themselves, and wealth, or at least a competence, and honours for their successors, but who, dying, leave no mark on the history of their time, or the world any better than they found it. Amongst successful lawyers, however, there are two splendid ex-

* Lives of the Judges, quoted in Memoir, c. xxxiii. p. 203.

† Memoir, p. 112.

ceptions to this general rule—at the Bar, Erskine; on the Bench, Mansfield. Let us frankly acknowledge that that part of this island which lies on the northern side of the Tweed claims as her sons both these illustrious men. Had Erskine only been distinguished by his vindication of the rights of juries, he would be entitled to the praise of having laid the foundation of the law which secures the liberty of the press; but great as was the splendour of that achievement, it pales before the glories of his efforts in the Gordon case, and his still greater labours in 1793–94, which annihilated the doctrine of constructive treason. It is not too much to say of him, as did Lord Brougham—

“If there be yet amongst us the power of freely discussing the acts of our rulers; if there be yet the privilege of meeting for the promotion of needful reforms; if he who desires wholesome changes in our constitution be still recognised as a patriot, and not doomed to die the death of a traitor,—let us acknowledge with gratitude, that to this great man, under Heaven, we owe this felicity of the times. In 1794 his dauntless energy, his indomitable courage, kindling his eloquence, inspiring his conduct, giving direction and lending firmness to his matchless skill, resisted the combination of statesmen, and princes, and lawyers, the league of cruelty and craft formed to destroy our liberties, and triumphantly scattered to the winds the half-accomplished scheme of an unsparing proscription. Before such a precious service as this, well may the lustre of statesmen and orators grow pale; and yet this was the achievement of one only not the first orator of his age, and not amongst its foremost statesmen, because he was beyond all comparison the most accomplished advocate, and the most eloquent that modern times have produced.”*

If Mansfield's services were not so precious as Erskine's, still to him is due the merit of having laid the foundation, and raised a great part of the structure, of our system of mercantile law, and that upon liberal and enlightened principles—no mean service to a great commercial country, and worthy to be held in grateful remembrance by all succeeding ages of Englishmen.

If, however, Lord Abinger was merely a successful lawyer, if he rendered no such services, nor left such a memory as Erskine or Mansfield, he did not, like his immediate predecessor in the office of Chief Baron, expose himself to the well-deserved taunt from an opponent, that “God had given him great talents whereof the devil directed the application.” Nothing in modern political life approaches in profligacy the bad use which Lord Lyndhurst made of his undoubtedly great powers and his great influence with the House of Lords to defeat, or, where that was impossible, to hinder, delay, and

* Sketch of Lord Erskine, *ubi supra*.

mutilate, the Reform measures of the Grey and Melbourne Governments. "The world," writes Lord Beaconsfield, "has recognised the political courage, the versatile ability, and the masculine eloquence of Lord Lyndhurst ;" * but the world has not recognised in him the honest statesman or the great lawyer desirous of his country's good. It is the misfortune of this eminent person, who, for easily appreciable reasons, was desirous that his biography should not be given to the world, that, so far as his memory will be perpetuated at all, it will be only in Lord Campbell's life of him, which Lord Lyndhurst himself,—fully conscious that, to use his own words, "It added another pang to the terrors of dying to think that Campbell was writing your life,"—foretold would be written "with envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness, for such is his (Campbell's) nature." † Campbell's nature was well described by Bishop Wilberforce as "a singularly coarse one," and the book in question proves it.

It would have been good for Lord Campbell's reputation if his literary executrix had not published this volume after his death. It was not completed, and we may therefore hope that, had he lived to finish it, there would have been a softening of the malevolent tone which runs through it and disfigures it. Nevertheless, while the reader of this Life must always be on his guard against the writer's animus, still the fact remains ‡ that the country was brought to the verge of revolution by the mischievous policy of Lord Lyndhurst, which was also a fatal mistake in the interests of the party he was seeking to serve. To Lord Lyndhurst also, it was owing that the passage of the Municipal Corporations' Act was hindered, and the measure altered for the worse ; and that the reform of the Court of Chancery and the establishment of the County Courts were delayed for many years. In extreme old age he strove hard, though without success, to make the law of divorce more equal between the sexes, but even then the love of a party triumph, and of giving a blow to Mr. Gladstone, led him to take an active part in the unconstitutional rejection of the Paper Duties Repeal Bill. His judicial career was only remarkable, as a rule, for an indolence which deprives him of any great reputation in that respect, though his memorable, but reversed, judgment in *Small v. Atwood*, and his equally memorable judgment, given in his last days, in the Bridgewater Peerage case, show that he was capable of attaining the highest judicial eminence.

* Preface to Collected Edition of Novels, 1870, p. 18.

† See Life of Lord Brougham, vol. iii. p. 435.

‡ Lord Campbell's statements are thoroughly confirmed by Mr. Greville, *vide Journal*, vols. ii. and iii. *passim*.

As a Parliamentary speaker, Lord Lyndhurst was without a rival in the House of Lords. As has been well said, he cast a spell over the Upper House "which will long be remembered, and the precise equivalent of which may never be heard again." Few remember him in the days of his yet undiminished power, and, therefore, from some old notes we disinter one of the finest specimens of his eloquence. It is from his vindication of his celebrated "Alien" * speech, in reply to the memorable attacks on it of Sheil and O'Connell—

"My lords, who were my accusers? As to the first,† I have no complaint against him; he was labouring in his vocation, and any enmity I might have felt would have soon subsided upon the recollection of the great pleasure I have derived from his brilliant and sparkling eloquence, and the amusement he has afforded me by his late extraordinary exhibitions. But, my lords, the next of my accusers‡ was a man of far different stamp, for nothing could be more strongly contrasted with the well-polished weapon of the gentleman I have first mentioned than the coarse *flail* of his associate. My lords, this individual I have not the power of describing; my faculties of portraiture are not adequate to the painting of him. I wish I possessed the ability in this respect of the noble Viscount (Melbourne). Your lordships must remember—I am sure you cannot forget—the manner in which the noble Viscount introduced him the other night as wrapped in mystery, heralded by portents, visiting us like some strange meteor, leaving us in doubt whether we were gazing on a kind or a malignant genius. The noble Viscount addressed him as 'spirit of health or goblin damned.' He seemed as if about to pursue the spirit of adjuration, and, continuing the quotation, to say, 'I'll call thee king, father.' My lords, this individual has exhibited himself in such a variety of postures, not always the most seemly or decent, amidst the shouts of innumerable crowds, that all description of him is unnecessary. He has never ceased to abuse and insult your lordships' House, many of you individually. Nay, he has denounced against you destruction—[Here Mr. O'Connell appeared among the M.P.'s at the bar]—and even now, availing himself of your lordships' courtesy, he comes to your bar, he listens to your proceedings, he marks and measures you as his *victims*. He comes into the senate, marks us with his eyes, 'and destines each one of us to slaughter.' My lords, the person to whom these expressions were applied, your lordships will remember, had one redeeming quality. Witness the last scene of his life, as you read it in the powerful and animated description of the historian—he ever retained the virtue of courage. Here, therefore, my lords, the parallel *fails*. Who is it that, whenever it suits his purpose, works on the feelings and prejudices arising out

* In which he spoke of the Irish as "aliens in race, aliens in language, aliens in religion."

† Mr. Sheil.

‡ Mr. O'Connell.

of a difference of descent, and calls the Protestants of Ireland 'foreigners and Saxons'? Who is it that has over and over again, when it suited his particular object, declared that 'hostility shall never cease between the two classes of the population'? Who is it that has applied, with the same view of exciting feelings of hostility and antipathy against him, the term 'Saxon' to my noble friend (Lord Stanley)? My lords, one of my accusers!"

We have referred to Lord Campbell. Of him it may be said that, in point of the number and importance of the offices to which he attained, he was, of all English lawyers, the most successful. Lord Hardwicke was successively Attorney-General, Solicitor-General, Lord Chief Justice of England, and Lord High Chancellor. Lord Campbell also successively held all these high offices, and, in addition, at various times, those of Lord Chancellor of Ireland and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster. Besides his own peerage, he had previously obtained one for his wife, the eldest daughter of the first Lord Abinger. Of the manner in which these high offices were obtained, the correspondence given in the third volume of Lord Brougham's "Life and Times," pp. 423-435, may serve to show. It well exhibits the "singularly coarse nature" which Bishop Wilberforce rightly attributed to Lord Campbell. On reading them one can appreciate what was said of him, "That if he had taken to be an opera-dancer, he would not have danced so well as Taglioni, but he would have made a great deal more money." Considering the length of Lord Campbell's public life and the high offices he held, his career was not productive of any great beneficial results to the country. His short Chancellorship was wholly undistinguished. His name, however, will be prevented from falling into oblivion by his "Lives of the Chancellors and Chief-Justices," works which, with many faults, have secured a permanent place in the literature of Britain.

Less successful in the number of offices he attained, but far more distinguished by the use he made of them for the public good, was Lord Campbell's immediate successor, RICHARD BETHELL, first LORD WESTBURY. Amongst the lawyers of the nineteenth century he had the greatest knowledge of law as a science; and amongst the Bar of his day he was as an advocate unrivalled in power and subtlety. He was sincerely desirous of reforming the law, of simplifying, cheapening, and accelerating legal proceedings. In one remarkable instance he succeeded in so doing—viz., by the establishment of the Probate and Divorce Court, the Bill for which purpose he, unaided and alone, carried through the House of Commons, spite of a powerful opposition from Mr. Gladstone and Sir James Graham, whose ecclesiastical tendencies were alarmed by a proposal to facilitate divorce. His measures

for the reform of the Bankruptcy Laws, and for the establishment of a Land Registry, were well-intended schemes, but were not so successful. In the latter case he might have said of the attorneys, as once did Cromwell, "The sons of Zeruiah be too many for me." The most marked characteristics of this eminent person were intellectual pride, scorn for opponents, and independence. Of all these three qualities one of his Parliamentary speeches afforded a remarkable exhibition. In the session of 1859 he rose between the two leaders of his party (then out of office), Lords Palmerston and John Russell, and made a strong speech in favour of the ballot, careless as to its effect on the minds of two men who, disagreeing as to the rival claims of each to be the next Liberal Premier, heartily agreed in opposing the ballot. In reference to the objection of the two leaders that the elective franchise was a trust, and therefore that the non-electors had a right to know how the electors voted, and to call them to account, he showed unanswerably the fallacy of this reasoning, called Lord John Russell the author of the fallacy, and Lord Palmerston his great coadjutor in it, and accused them of reasoning on "false analogy, the fruitful source of error." Such unusual plainness of speech from one who had been, and expected to be again, a Minister of the second rank, was equally distasteful to both the leaders.

It was truly said of Lord Westbury, "that he would do kind things, but that he could not miss the opportunity of saying an unkind one." That the first part of this description was true the present writer had abundant means of knowing in his own experience, and gratefully records his testimony to the fact. Unfortunately no one can deny the equal truth of the latter half of the description. The man who, in answer to the question why the then Lord Chancellor always sat with the Lords Justices, replied, "Because his Lordship is afraid to sit alone in the dark;" who, when a Vice-Chancellor said "he would turn a matter over in his mind," said loud enough to be heard by the judge, "Take a note of that; his honour will turn it over in what *he is pleased to call his mind*," could not fail to make enemies. Other irritating remarks are attributed to him. When asked how he got on in a case heard before the then Archbishop of Canterbury as visitor of one of the Oxford colleges, assisted by his Vicar-General as assessor, the Attorney-General, as he then was, replied, "Get on! how can you get on with two silly old men who know nothing of the matter?" Again, some friends of his colleague, the then Solicitor-General, complained of a conspiracy to promote some rival "over Mr. Solicitor's head." "His head, did you say?" replied Mr. Attorney; "I did not know he had one." The

most offensive of these sarcasms is one of the authenticity of which there is unfortunately no doubt; for it was uttered in debate, and from the woolsack. It referred to the judgment of Convocation on the "Essays and Reviews," which was known to have been drawn up by Bishop Wilberforce. Alluding to the nicknames "Soapy Sam" and "Slippery Sam," commonly applied to the Bishop, the Lord Chancellor remarked "that the terms of this judgment were so *saponaceous and lubricious* it was impossible to grapple with them."

These barbed sayings, the sting of which was sharpened by the slow, mild, and lisping tone in which they were uttered, produced those results which might have been expected. The man who was graphically described by the last Lord Derby "as standing up, and for upwards of an hour pouring on the head of his opponent a continuous stream of vitriolic acid," if caught tripping, must expect to be upset. The corrupt abuse of the Chancellor's patronage by his son and secretary—of which, however, there is not the least reason to think Lord Westbury had any personal knowledge—afforded an opportunity for an attack. In a moment of passion and prejudice, a section of the Liberals joined a strict party vote of the Conservatives, and the Government were defeated. The tact and alertness of Lord Palmerston, however, saved the passing of the vote of censure which had been moved.

The defeat had taken place on a motion to adjourn the debate. The main question was about to be put, when Lord Palmerston rose and said he would not trouble the House to divide again. The House adjourned; on its next meeting it was announced that the Lord Chancellor had resigned. A vote on the motion of censure was by this means avoided, and no condemnation of Lord Westbury is recorded in the journals of the House. His speech, announcing his resignation to the House of Lords, was marked by all his characteristic calmness. "With regard to the opinion which the House of Commons has pronounced, I do not presume to say a word. I am bound to accept that decision. I may, however, express the hope that, after an interval of time, calmer thoughts will prevail, and a more favourable view taken of my conduct." *

Lord Westbury is gone where the voice of praise or blame can reach him no more, but we believe his wish is fulfilled, and that all parties now feel shame and regret at the treatment he received.

We must bring these reminiscences to a close, but, before doing so, we wish to revive, however ephemerally, the memory of a man who filled a unique position among the judges of his day—no

* The Oratorical Year-Book for 1865, p. 211.

less than that of the wag or Joe Miller of the Court of Chancery. We refer to the late Sir James Lewis Knight Bruce, who successively held the offices of Vice-Chancellor and Lord Justice.*

Struck by the dulness and gloominess of the proceedings in Courts of Equity, this eminent person sought to enliven Lincoln's Inn by an occasional exhibition of judicial waggery. These attempts were enhanced by a sonorous voice and a solemn, sententious way of speaking. Whether these performances do not fall within the class which Sir Charles Wetherell termed "ponderous levities," may be doubted. We will give three illustrations, so that our readers may judge for themselves.

A solicitor of the court having become one of its suitors, the learned judge thus sketched the proceedings—

"The court," commenced the Lord Justice, 'has been now for several days occupied in the matrimonial quarrels of a solicitor and his wife. He was a man not unaccustomed to the ways of the softer sex, for he already had nine children by three successive wives. She; however,—herself a widow,—was well informed of all these antecedents, and, it appears, did not consider them any objection to their union, and they were married. No sooner were they united, however, than they were unhappily disunited by unhappy disputes as to her property. These disputes disturbed even the period usually dedicated to the soft delights of matrimony, and the honeymoon was occupied by endeavours to induce her to exercise a testamentary power of appointment in his favour. She, however, refused, and so we find that, in due course, at the end of the month, he brought home with disgust his still intestate bride. The disputes continued, until at last they exchanged the irregular quarrels of domestic strife for the more disciplined, but expensive, warfare of Doctors Commons and Lincoln's Inn.'"

In a case where the question to be decided was on the construction of a will, the Lord Justice remarked—

"If," he said, 'the spirits of the departed are ever permitted to be conscious of things which take place here below, and if the spirit of the testator has been cognisant of the discussion which has been going on here to-day, he must have been, no doubt, considerably astonished, perhaps, I might say, disgusted, at the intentions which have been ascribed to him, and the various meanings which have been put upon his words. Nevertheless, we must presume that he intended what, as lawyers, we make his words to mean—no matter whether he meant it or not.'"

The indiscretion and bad taste of a judge disparaging the law he sits to administer are beyond question. The readers of Mr. Hepworth Dixon's "Spiritual Wives" will be interested in this judicial description of the early days of "The Agapemone"—

* Died 1866.

"It appears that 'The servant of the Lord' has found or formed a cænobitical establishment, which, though not on the Euripus, but on the Bristol Channel, he has denominated 'Agapemone,' a name, no doubt, adopted in order to make the people of Somersetshire understand or guess its object, which however, unluckily, I fear few either there or elsewhere in any very clear manner do.

"The establishment scarcely seems to be a convent either in connection with the Greek Church or otherwise. Its inmates, who are not a few, and are of each sex, can hardly be nuns or friars, for some, though not all of them, are married couples, and the men and women are not separated. They, however, call themselves and address each other as brothers and sisters; and there appears to be something of a religious kind, whether really or only professedly, in the nature or design of the institution, which might perhaps be described as a spiritual boarding-house, though to what kind of religion, if any, the inmates belong, does not, I think, appear. I believe that they do not attend any place of worship in or out of the establishment. They sing hymns, I think, addressed to the Supreme Being; but, as I collect, they do not, in the sense of supplication or entreaty to God, pray at all. The Agapemonians appear to set a high value upon bodily exercise of a cheerful and amusing kind. Their stables, according to the description given of them, must be unexceptionable.

"It does not appear that the Agapemonians hunt, but they seem distinguished both as cavaliers and charioteers. They play, moreover, frequently or occasionally at lively and energetic games, such as 'hockey,' ladies and all, so that their lives may be considered less as ascetic than frolicsome. The particulars, however, of the Agapemonian's exterior existence, not being open to general observation, are little, if at all, known beyond their own boundary. Now this is the establishment in which the father in this case has been, and is, one of the dwellers. He has, I apprehend, no other home, and thither accordingly I suppose that he would take his son; but God forbid that I should be accessory to condemning any child to such a state of probable debasement! As lief would I have on my conscience the responsibility of consigning this boy to a camp of gipsies." *

The distinguished men of whom we have been speaking belonged to a time and a system now passed away. Whether the recent measure of legal reform is or not, as has been said, "a gigantic machine for calling old things by new names," it is too soon definitely to pronounce at present; all its effect is to perplex the profession, and to increase the delay and expense of legal proceedings. If indeed the old system is to be swept away; if the great hall of pleas at Westminster is to become only a vestibule to the Houses of Parliament; if new courts are to sit in a new palace of justice, let us trust that, amidst all these changes

* The question in the cause was as to the custody of an infant son of one of the Agapemonians.

in forms and externals—the mere handmaids of Justice—their eternal mistress will dwell in her new sanctuary, as of yore she did in that her venerable temple, which has witnessed the strifes, if not the reconciliations, of so many generations, that future generations of Englishmen may see such judges as Coke, Hale, Mansfield, Denman, Westbury, Cockburn; such advocates as Erskine, Scarlett, Romilly, Brougham; and that under the new system, even more than under the old, “the laws of England may clearly speak the right, and her judges purely interpret it.”

ART. VII.—THE CRADLE OF THE BLUE NILE.

The Cradle of the Blue Nile: A Visit to the Court of King John of Ethiopia. By E. A. DE COSSON, F.R.G.S. In two volumes. London: John Murray. 1877.

WHEN one meets in society, or in the casual intercourse of a journey, some one who knows a friend, one says, “What a small world it is!” And it is quite true that most of us live in very narrow circles, and our little “beats” cross one another very often. That there is a large world outside our daily walk to business, or our small evening round of pleasure, is, however, a fact; and it is not unimportant to have that fact brought home to us. The daily sympathies of men are very limited, their daily thoughts confined and straitened; and it is a service to them to have their thoughts and feelings informed and widened. Now genuine books of travel do that for us, and it is no unimportant part of the best culture to be open in our sympathies and complete in our knowledge. A great deal of our vice and crime arises from our too exclusive self-reference, or at least from our too exclusive reference to our immediate environment. Any larger views of life, of responsibility, any more generous feelings which will extend a man’s cares to others as well as himself, will tend to make his conduct more excellent, and his actions more beneficial to his fellow-men. In this way, then, really good books of travel, in countries with which we are unfamiliar, are of true service to us. But at the present time a book about Ethiopia or Abyssinia has not only this indirect ethical interest for us, but has a very pertinent bearing upon practical politics. This world, although it is large enough to contain continents which have only been penetrated by one or two knights-errant of geography, and nations of whom we have only vague stories and no real knowledge;

although it is so large that there is still much to explore, has still, within recent years, become much smaller in comparison with man's wants and capacities than it was formerly, by reason of the immensely improved modes of conveyance of men, of commerce, and of information. We have the world in an abridged form since steam was utilised.

But the change which has taken place in that respect has not been without many important effects upon international relations. Long ago distance could prevent peoples going to war, and could sometimes do what good-will could not—secure peace. Miles in the old days made countries independent of one another, and commerces were things of luxuries, not the carriers of necessities, as in these days. Now there is no such thing as an independent nation; we are all interdependent. A civil war in America causes a famine in Lancashire. The declaration of war between Russia and Turkey sends up the price of the quartern loaf in every town in Britain. But even in a much more vital way nations hang together, and the interests of the one are connected with those of other states. We know that in this Eastern war many British interests are, if not jeopardised, at least distantly threatened. We know that, as a commercial nation, England has a peculiar interest in the water-ways of the East being kept open; and as Constantinople is a key to these commercial corridors of nations, it is important that Constantinople should be in the possession of a power whose interests will not clash with those of this country and of Europe in that respect. But we have a water-way to India, and any obstacle to the free use of that road by our commerce or our ships of war would be a serious injury to Britain. A part of that water-way is formed by the Suez Canal, in which we are interested not only as a ship-owning power, but as a share-owning power too. And intimately connected with our interest in the Suez Canal is our interest in Egypt; and in so far as this present war threatens any of those home interests of England, the present war is a matter which affects English policy and calls for English statesmanship. But this war is not only a question of English policy. No nation in Europe but has important questions of policy and interest to debate in relation to this strife on the Danube. Germany is between Russia and France, and is aware of it. Austria, with many home-troubles, must feel that the disintegration of Turkey might result in the ultimate disintegration of her own Empire-kingdom; and we can understand that Italy might contemplate such a disintegration with compensated equanimity. But short of these grave issues, it is scarcely to the interest either of Germany or Austria that their great river-way to the sea should be in the hands of a jealous power like Russia. We have only referred to the Eastern question

by way of illustration, to show how many complicated questions of policy are involved in the misgovernment of her Christian subjects by Turkey and in the lamely-excused aggression of Russia. These current facts show how very interdependent the nations are. Indeed, no nation is now free to do as it chooses, either within its own boundaries or in its relations with neighbouring states. There is a large public opinion amongst nations, and no country is free, in the long-run, to disregard the moral sense of mankind.

Our own immediate interests, in Egypt make the study of her policy and prospects more interesting to Englishmen than to most other nations. We have, within recent times, had an expression of opinion from the Home Secretary upon our foreign policy as to Egypt which is not unimportant. Mr. Cross has distinctly stated that our interests in this Eastern war are not to be overlooked, and that these interests would be injuriously affected if the ugly limits of this struggle were to extend to the Bosphorus, to the Suez Canal, or to Egypt; and has shown that the Government regard our national interests as ultimately associated with those of that country. It is a theory of some amongst us that the purchase of the Suez Canal shares was, in the mind of one member of the Cabinet at least, the first step in a series of important political measures, which would have resulted in the formation of a great English Empire in Africa; and even now there are many, whose astuteness is not often at fault, who would advocate the pursuance of the policy which that purchase was supposed to inaugurate. But, whether we are prepared to go so far or not, there can be no doubt that many of our interests are bound up with the interests of Egypt, and, consequently, with the relations of Egypt with her neighbour nations, and that the internal prosperity and civilisation of that country are by no means unimportant to us. So important did our Government regard the financial prosperity of Egypt, that they sent out a special commissioner (the Right Hon. Stephen Cave), whose duty it was to report to the English Government as to the condition of Egyptian finances; and that action was taken, not in the interests of the creditors of Egypt, but of Egypt herself.

But we have other interests in Egypt. It was through English enterprise that gigantic discoveries were made in Equatorial Africa, and those discoveries have conduced to the advantage of Egypt. And not only were discoveries made by Englishmen, but Sir Samuel Baker became the Khedive's servant, ostensibly for the purpose of putting down the slave trade in the Soudan, and perhaps more really for the purpose of annexation; and, even more recently, Colonel Gordon has been carrying on that work, and has assumed the rule of the Soudan, and become the mediator between Egypt and Abyssinia; and, even as we write, we see that

he has succeeded in negotiating a peace. All these circumstances make English people take an interest in the well-being of Egypt, and especially an interest in Egypt in her relations with Abyssinia. Our attention was painfully directed to the latter country by the perilous campaign which we had to undertake in 1868 to secure the liberation of certain British subjects from that country of fastnesses, and our painful interest has been continued in both these countries by the existence of that trade to which our country is an enemy—the trade in men and women. Of this trade, as carried on in Upper Egypt and Ethiopia, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter.

In the meantime, however, it will be evident that the circumstances to which we have alluded prepared us to welcome a book written by a gentleman who had journeyed from Massowah to Adowa, from Adowa to King John's camp at Ambachara, thence to Gondar, the capital of Abyssinia, and from Gondar across the desert *via* Abou Haries to Khartum, and again across the desert from Berber to Suakin, and treating of the countries through which his very varied road lay. True, Mr. De Cosson went there only for amusement. The avowed object of his journey was to shoot large game on the Takazze. We do not know that a good supply of Westley-Richards' rifles, of elephant-guns, of explosive bullets, of fine animal spirits, and a plucky desire for dangerous sport, are the best preparations for an instructive tour through a country like Abyssinia. We do not wish to object to a gentleman going to shoot crocodiles, if he likes it; we may feel a little pity for the monkey which General K—— shot* simply for amusement, as our author felt an anticipatory pity for the parrot which he did not kill; but it is no mandlin sympathy with the hippopotami of Lake Tzana that makes us object to a shooting excursion being made the foundation of an instructive book of travels. It is upon far different grounds from these. It has been well said, that to bring the wealth of the Indies from the Indies, you must send the wealth of the Indies to the Indies; and it is quite certain that to bring valuable information home from another country, you must take valuable information to that country. Send an idiot to Africa, and see what he brings back. Send, on the other hand, a well-informed man of science, who is learned in languages, who is a competent draftsman, who has a high motive in his researches, and who is familiar with botany, with geology, and with ethnology before he goes, and you will find his contributions to human knowledge, when he returns home, will be an invaluable one.

Not that Mr. De Cosson is not a man of ability. Without

doubt he is possessed of very various talents, and he has written a very readable book ; but had he been as thoroughly informed as we could have wished our typical explorer to be, he would have written a more valuable book. Possibly it might have been less pleasant reading, for Mr. De Cosson's book is very amusing, and never hangs heavy on the hand. He apologises for his style in his preface ; but the apology was unnecessary, for, on the whole, his style is good. Still there is a good deal of closeness sacrificed to more attractive but not more valuable qualities. Mr. De Cosson has evidently read widely in the English poets, and few pages of his book are without some pleasant quotation. True these are not inapposite, but they do not really add much to our knowledge of Abyssinia. Then the story of why the people of Espertina do not like to be asked what o'clock it is—which seems to be because in old times the people of that town, when they got a sundial, were so proud of it that they built a roof over it—or how St. Isidore, who was a stupid boy, from seeing the stone of a well worn by a rope came to the conclusion that continual study might wear a way even into his head, and thereupon became a saint,—these, and the story of Leila and the woodpecker, although interesting in themselves, do not inform us much as to Abyssinian manners and customs.

We could have spared these if Mr. De Cosson could have given us more accurate information as to many matters in which we are interested, and in connection with which he gives us no information. His knowledge of botany is somewhat limited ; he has not studied geology ; and his remarks upon questions of race are to a large extent taken from other books. Indeed, a good deal of Mr. De Cosson's information has been gathered from other works upon Abyssinia ; but what we want from the traveller is something we cannot get at the British Museum.

It would perhaps have been wrong to expect that our author should have gone to Abyssinia perfectly equipped as an explorer, for we gather that he is still a young man,* and we are not ungrateful to him for what he has done. His observations, if not always accurate, are always acute ; and if he has failed to add very much to our knowledge of Ethiopia, he has at least given a very pleasant sketch of an arduous journey, which was not without its danger, nor without its inconveniences. Mr. De Cosson does not, like many sportsmen, bother us too much with his shots. Indeed, on the whole, we cannot see that he had very repaying sport. He shot at a good many things, and we have no doubt that he may have killed much that he does not care to chronicle. He does not, either, make too much of the dangers to which he was

exposed. Indeed, on the spot he seems to have made too little of them ; as, for instance when on the way from Wakhni to Galabat, he followed the lion,* and when he took a deep-water bathe in the Blue Nile, notwithstanding the imminent presence of crocodiles, because he was assured that these animals would not attack a man unless he was in shallow water.† We confess, although he does not in these pages exaggerate his dangers, he seems to make more of an inconvenience in Abyssinia, and that is the vermin, than it deserves ; but possibly, that is in his anxiety to be amusing, and doubtless “fleas,” are an amusing subject. He does not, however, dwell upon very serious matters, like the ophthalmia from which he suffered. Apart from that, however, we are glad to see that, notwithstanding very trying exposure, after very great hardships, and after very many privations, he seems to have enjoyed very good health, although after leaving the country and arriving at Jiddah he suffered from fever. But while discounting Mr. De Cosson’s performance, we would wish to recognise with respect his efforts to do one great practical service to Abyssinia. He travelled from Massowah to the court of King Yohannas with General K——, who was conveying letters from Her Majesty and Earl Granville, at that time our Foreign Secretary, to King John, and he offered to become the bearer of the King’s answer to these despatches, on condition that the King would say in these letters that he would put an end to the slave trade within his dominion. At a conference which our author had with the King—fixed for five o’clock in the morning, but afterwards, in deference to European sleepiness, postponed until ten—the King had consented to abolish slavery ; but he seemed very unwilling to put the same promise in writing and to seal it with his seal. But Mr. De Cosson was most anxious to have the King pledge himself in writing to what he had promised in conversation ; for he thought that the King would hesitate before he broke such a written promise. It was evident that the writing was a much more important matter than the casually-mentioned intention, from the fact of King John’s unwillingness to accede to Mr. De Cosson’s request that he would add a paragraph promise to that effect to the letters of which he was to be the bearer. Indeed, Mr. De Cosson had to leave the King’s camp at Ambachara without the letters, and it was only at the last moment that King John made up his mind to do as he was desired ; for the despatches were sent after our author, and were only delivered to him as he was leaving Gondar. Still, there the promise was in writing, and we only hope that it is now in fact.

But whether it is or not, Mr. De Cosson did his best to intro-

* Vol. ii. p. 163.

† Vol. ii. p. 220.

duce a beneficent change into the internal policy of Abyssinia. Mr. De Cosson's journey has been of service in other ways. Notwithstanding the fair promises of Egypt with reference to the suppression of slavery, notwithstanding the parade she made to Gondokoro with a view to the suppression of that vile trade in Central Africa, our author found that she was conniving at that trade within her own dominions. He went through a public slave-market at Galabat, a town at which Egyptian troops were stationed; and he gives in an instructive appendix an account of the pretenceful action which the Egyptian authorities take to prevent that trade in the Red Sea. It is important that we should know the truth of this painful matter. It is important that we should know that there is a trade in Abyssinian slaves carried on through Egyptian territory. It is important we should have the account which is given by Mr. De Sarzec, who was French vice-consul at Massowah, of the way in which Egypt pretends to free slaves, and also that the Khedive's steamers are employed to convey slaves from Africa to Arabia. We do not wish to dwell upon this subject—it has been dealt with recently in these pages—but we wish to protest against such a breach of faith upon the part of Egypt, and against a passive acceptance of such duplicity upon the part of England. We have interests in Egypt. Are not our interests sufficient to warrant a grave expostulation? Are they not sufficient to warrant the suppression of that trade by the force which we possess? Mr. De Cosson's efforts in Abyssinia in that direction point to the imperative duty of this country in that respect. If a private gentleman can, in an interview with the King, extort a promise from him to do away with slavery, surely England might, with the force of her authority and the persuasions of her friendship, have induced King John to take that decisive step. But we shall have occasion to return to the question of English policy—or, in recent times, no-policy—in relation to Abyssinia hereafter, and to our laches in respect to the slave trade both in Ethiopia and Upper Egypt. Here, however, we would set out shortly the information we have gathered from Mr. De Cosson's work.

We learn that Abyssinia is a remarkably beautiful country. It has all the zones of climate upon its high hills. It is clothed with a luxuriant vegetation, and contains within its boundaries the heats and jungles of the tropics, the high hills and tablelands which elevate its populations into the clear bracing climate of more temperate zones. It is exceedingly picturesque with its high-peaked hills and vast precipices, its quick rivers, which carry down large quantities of fertilising mud to the Nile, with its mimosas and palms. The impression of the beauty of the country and the richness of the vegetation, the variety of the flora

and fauna of the country, is well although miscellaneous conveyed by the pages of Mr. De Cosson's diary. Already the exports of the country—which is well suited for the cultivation of grain, of coffee, of cotton, and other very marketable commodities—are not unimportant; but if the character of the population were changed the exports might be infinitely increased, and the prosperity of the country promoted. The cultivation, we gather—although we do not find any direct information as to the agriculture of the country, nor about many other things—is at the present time lamentably deficient, and altogether inadequate when compared with the richness of the soil and the excellence of the climate. The people are, as a rule, lazy, and look always to to-morrow for opportunities of doing what ought to be done at once; and further, they seem to think that any occupations except those of war and the chase are unworthy of true men. The existence of a great many birds and beasts of prey in their forests and skies and rivers may have made them hunters, while the existence of neighbours of prey, who have been encroaching on the boundaries of Abyssinia, may have made them warriors. At the time that Mr. De Cosson visited the camp at Ambachara there were 40,000 men in it; * and it would not be just to say that to some extent the warlike character of the people has been forced upon them by Egypt.† As we said before, however, we see that through the instrumentality of Colonel Gordon peace has been made between Egypt and Abyssinia, and we hope that that will give the hardy people of the latter country an opportunity of laying aside their shields and spears, and using the plough and the reaping-hook. Still something more must be done to produce real prosperity in Abyssinia than to give her the large opportunities which peace will afford. The people are a fine hardy race, and although some of their mental and physical characteristics would hold out hopes of their capacity for civilisation, they are lazy and procrastinating, and the liberal lands of the country will not yield all they might unless the people learn to take from them with persevering effort and with better methods than they have yet learned to use. At the present time the gift which is most valued in Abyssinia is a gun; and although they have had Portuguese bridges, as at Gondar, Portuguese and Indian castles, as at Gondar, and fine churches, as

* Vol. ii.

† There can be no doubt, we think, that the policy of Egypt with reference to Abyssinia has been one of encroachment and aggression—a policy which has been detrimental both to the country unjustly robbed of territory, and the country which spent much of its borrowed money—losing a good deal of its poor credit—for the sake of a paltry territorial aggrandisement. As to this see, what King John said to Mr. De Cosson (vol. ii. pp. 40, 41, 43.

at Axum, before their eyes for three hundred years, they have not learned how to build an arch; they live in mud huts, and have to seek fords in their rivers. The Abyssinians had a chance of learning how to civilise themselves from the Portuguese when they settled in and Christianised the country. The Ethiopians seem to have become Christians after a fashion without having become civilised in any fashion. But even now we find that attempts at further Christianising are going on, for there is mention in these pages of various missionaries; all these means have, however, as we have said, failed: the Abyssinians are still savages. It is true that Mr. De Cosson does not tell us very much about their habits or doings, and is content to dwell more upon his own journey amongst them and upon their fleas than upon many important matters which would have given us some notion of the real life of this curious people. That they sit and stare and gape at a stranger we do hear, and that they prefer to look at a monkey even to a stranger; but what they do when neither strangers nor monkeys are there to stare and gape at we do not know. We have some descriptions of feasts in the house of Kar Bariaü at Adowa, and of the King and his courtiers at Ambachara: we hear of the "tef" cakes they eat, and of the "tella" and "tedge" which they drink, of the "kuaries" which they wear; but little or nothing is said of their real domestic life and of their common avocations, from which, and from which alone, their true condition can be ascertained. The life of nations is really observable not in council-chambers but in cottages. It is not lived in parades and at triumphs, but in quiet common ways of living—not through great holidays, but through small ordinary days. And much as we desire this information, Mr. De Cosson does not touch upon it. He speaks of the custom of hospitality—a custom which varied from the extreme of penurious, grudging, giving or withholding, to a generous giving of excessive viands, such as innumerable cakes of "tef," and whole cows or sheep; and he also refers to the anxiety which Abyssinians display not to speed, but to impede the parting guest—a habit which delayed him for a month at Adowa—and to their more disagreeable habit of very indiscriminate lying. Still some traits we have mention of—as, for instance, the strictness with which they keep Lent, the avidity with which they eat raw flesh, the respect which they have for sanctuary, and the like; but he does not vary the impression that the Abyssinians are very rude and very uncivilised.

That such a country should be in such rude hands is an injury to the world. That a country which might send out corn and coffee and cotton to supply the wants of Europe should remain untilled, should remain a haunt for wild beasts, and scarcely less wild men, and an emporium of precious mud for Lower Egypt, is

not a matter of small interest to the civilised world, which has in many places to wrench small harvests from penurious lands. As we pointed out, we are not independent, but interdependent states, and we cannot disregard the waste of such a generous country as Ethiopia. Even if we had no immediate interest in Egypt, we should have a real practical interest in these highlands of Africa. It is a matter of selfish importance to us as a nation ; it is a matter of importance to the world, when we regard the many wants and the scant means that are at the disposal of men to supply them, that Abyssinia should be cultivated, and that the race which inhabits this most excellent soil and fine healthy country should be civilised. The human race is, after all, a whole, and no nation can remain in selfish isolation, priding itself upon a culture, upon a civilisation, which it withholds from its neighbours. There are large human duties between countries, of the same nature as those which exist between individuals. Between men there is a perfect communism in good thoughts, good manners, and good actions, which constitute culture and fair conduct. No man can make a private property of these. The very exercise of his functions as a man makes a gift of these to all who come in contact with him, and so the education of society proceeds. So also ought it to be between nations. A country has no right to the fatal privilege of aloofness from its neighbours. Just as man is suited for society, so are nations suited for intercourse ; and as the intercourse in society is educational to the individual, so is the association in the comity of nations as civilising to them. The practical question now, however, is how that intercourse is to be brought about ? Our experience teaches us that civilisation sails far oftener with the fleets of commerce than with the propagandist excursions of the Church. No doubt missions have contributed to the cultivation of mankind, but the influence for good is not likely to be so great, so widespread, or permanent, as when civilisation is carried into the mart, and when a man cannot transact his ordinary business without having examples he may profit by presented to him. We have seen that the Church has failed in Abyssinia. Would not commerce succeed ? But how can we get commerce to establish relationships between Abyssinia and England ? Commerce is only a matter of exchange. English wares, and with them Englishmen, English manners, English probity, and English civilisation, will find their way into Abyssinia only if Abyssinia has products to offer in return. We have seen, however, that at the present time Abyssinia has little or nothing to export. She sends some ivory, some corn, and some slaves to the markets of Upper Egypt ; but before these could be materially increased the character of the people would require to be changed by the very civilisation

which it is our object to bestow upon them. It was the opinion of Livingstone—and few opinions are more worthy of respectful consideration than his—that the only way to introduce civilisation into Africa is to open up the commerce of the country, to establish colonies in the midst of the half-savage tribes as centres of European civilisation, to associate mission work with these, to educate the children, and to teach the natives by practical example the advantages of industry and peaceful occupations. We cannot but think that that is the only way by which Africa will be civilised. Depend upon it, that if you have taught these great lessons, you will have prepared the way for the easy acquisition of greater lessons than these. We do not teach children by doctrine, but by example, and we are content if they learn to imitate good actions, confident that in time they will learn to have good motives too. Thinking thus, then, with regard to the necessity of an attempt to civilise Abyssinia, and as to the means by which this could be done, we cannot but agree with Mr. De Cosson when he says—

“We know that the breech-loaders and Gatling guns of the Khedive have failed to subdue the courage of the Abyssinian mountaineers in their rocky strongholds, but I certainly think it a pity that, after the Magdala campaign, when the roads and railways were all there, England did not at least *try* the success of establishing a colony and developing the resources of this fine country and people, instead of abandoning them to their fate after causing the death of their King. I firmly believe that the advancement of civilisation and commerce, to say nothing of Christianity, would be materially assisted were we even *now* to arbitrate between Egypt and Abyssinia, and secure to the latter the means, so long withheld from her, of transporting her produce to the shores of the Red Sea, and communicating with other countries.” *

We cannot but think that even now something might be done to establish colonies in that country. Are we all so happy, are we all so well off in this our England, that we could none of us find happier lots and pleasanter days on the high plains and under the brilliant skies of Abyssinia? Could we not all breathe more freely and work more advantageously if we were not so closely packed in sterile corners of the world, but if the wide and healthy regions of Africa afforded us an ampler air and wider elbow-room? We could, we think, without doubt, spare some of our surplus population to these lands which require men so much. What would America have been to-day if it had not been colonised from Europe? The hunting-grounds of savages. What is it to-day? A nation contributing vast resources to human

happiness, vast increments to human thought—a nation which is in many respects sending its riper civilisation back to Europe, and thus benefiting the world. That Africa might become a second America we cannot doubt. These recent years have shown the existence of large equatorial lakes; we know of its wonderful rivers which make highways to its very heart; we hear of its possessing minerals which are more precious than the precious metals, and that it has a climate healthier by far than that of India. It is not Utopian to hope much for such a country as Abyssinia; but if these hopes are to be realised, it must be through the honest dealing of European nations, and not through the foul play of Egyptian policy. If Mr. De Cosson's work has in any way contributed to make England more alive to what seems to us an obvious duty in this respect, he will have done good service to the country which offered him its rude hospitality and its sport for some months.

ART. VIII.—THE EASTERN QUESTION.

The Policy of England in relation to India and the East; or, Alexandria, Ispahan, Herat. By J. A. PARTRIDGE.
London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

THE Eastern Question, involving much of the progress, uses, and destinies of the British and Muscovite Empires, the fate of South-Eastern Europe, of Central Asia, of Egypt, and of the vast parallelogram of country through which flows, in a diagonal, that great river the Euphrates, and influencing directly and indirectly our Indian and Australian Empires respectively, is, in respect of mere extent of territory, the vastest question, perhaps, heretofore asked on this globe; whilst as to the races conquering and to be conquered in the process, the civilisations and religions to be established or overthrown, the international sites and thoroughfares to be neutralised or guaranteed, its principles and issues are not of the East only, or of the West, but of the world.

This great question comprehends in effect two Eastern Questions. Let us clearly distinguish between them, and realise as clearly their connection. There is the European Eastern Question and the Anglo-Eastern Question. The first is really a question of the preponderance of the Muscovite, and of the pressure on Europe of

his mighty numbers and ethnical force—a question complicated with certain rights of his hard to deny ; for, whilst northwards and southwards, at the Sound and at the Bosphorus, Russia stretches with two mighty arms towards her destiny, and will embrace that or ruin, the very freedom of the seas to which she appears entitled may imperil the Ottoman capital and threaten the gate of the East at Suez. This numerical preponderance will mean, according to an estimate by Colonel Valentine Baker, “in twenty years, 3,000,000 of trained men for the regular army, minus losses, besides about 400,000 frontier Cossacks, and an additional 5,000,000 in reserve, minus losses.” Truly an awful embodiment of power, and one that seems likely, even now, to be increased appreciably in strategical opportunity and in recruiting area by the so-called independence of the Roumanian state, with its 5,000,000 of population ; for may not this new state do much to check any flanking movement of Austria against the Russian advance, or even to outflank the flanker ?

The other Eastern Question is one of the empire, civilisation, and commerce of India, affecting indirectly also Australia ; and the connection between these two Eastern Questions consists of the two greatest sites or thoroughfares of the world, Constantinople and Suez, their influences and safeguards or guarantees ; of the Euphrates valley and its probable railway ; of the navigation of the Black and Caspian Seas, and their connecting or partly connecting rail ; of the Persian alliance, with the strategical effect of its northern mountain barrier, standing out like a vast central citadel, and dominating, as it ought easily to do, the passage of troops east, west, north, and south ; and finally, of the unity of race and fraternity of faith along the whole line of the Ottoman, Persian, and Indian Empires.

There are three answers, from our English standpoint, to the Eastern Question. The first suggests the establishment of local liberties and self-government on Turkish territory—a desirable consummation enough on any territory. The second demands, as a necessary prelude to this new life, the gradual and progressive dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, a sort of euthanasia, to be performed in solemn conclave on the sick man by the political doctors of Europe. The third answer proposes to let all these matters drift, and to look after our own interests.

The question as between the first two answers is, whether liberty can be established without dismemberment. The question as between the first two and the third is, how to promote British interests, whether in the regeneration or dismemberment of Turkey. Whether, as against Russia or for the interests of the people of Turkey, a real power must be constituted there, and any such real power must be the natural enemy of an aggressive Muscovy,

and the natural ally of liberal, commercial, and imperial England. If the Turk be the true political vine, let us engraft thereon a new constitution; if not, why should it cumber the ground? In the first case we want the European "coercive concert," for there could be no rational concert about Turkey without coercion in the background. In the second case, the Russian executioner must come with the imperial Englishman at his elbow.

The problem, therefore, may be thus stated—what are the interests of Europe, of freedom in Turkey, and of England? Can the three be harmonised, and do they involve any, and what, precautions against Russia?

It is plain and clear that South-Eastern Europe must have certain guarantees about the waterway to the Mediterranean; that to Russia must be conceded the like guarantees; that universal trade interests demand the freedom of those seas; and that hence and henceforth no one power can be allowed to bestride either Europe and Asia or Asia and Africa like a Colossus. It is plain and clear that England must have material guarantees at Suez, demanding them from the Sultan, whose shadowy suzerainty is the only phantom in the path; that the people of Egypt have rights as well as the people of Turkey; that Russia cannot be expected to strangle herself at the Dardanelles; and that Europe and England will take leave to consider the question of Russian pressure and progress.

British interests are generally and specifically so allied with freedom, in the regeneration of Turkey and Egypt, in the maintenance of our Indian and Australian Empires and the way to them, and in the preponderance of our higher civilisation, that the question of what are British interests becomes the main question; and here we agree at the outset with Mr. Partridge, the title of whose book is placed at the head of this article. He says—

"To establish and foster on the banks of the Bosphorus a strong and virile community, which shall be our natural ally against its overbearing neighbour, which shall in case of war admit us into the Black Sea and exclude the enemy from the Mediterranean, thus protecting our communications at Suez and threatening his with the Caspian; and to acquire in the immediate neighbourhood of the Canal the best base for its defence, we honourably can—this seems to me to be all of the Eastern Question, whether as regards our duty to ourselves or to our neighbour, that there really is in Europe.

"But if, as a preliminary, we should join Russia in demanding effectual guarantees for the performance of Turkish promises, and those guarantees (however irrelevant to Indian questions) should become in our hands guarantees also against the executors of Peter's will, who could help admitting the usefulness or admiring the irony of the situation?"

Now, when Mr. Partridge proceeds to *limit* British interests in

one momentous particular, and to show the changes, political and strategical, that necessarily attend the severance of the Suez isthmus and the opening of a new Russian base at Ashourâda on the Caspian, can we refuse to deny the cogency of the argument? If the best basis against our Indian Empire is some 1200 miles east of Constantinople, it is unreasonable to talk of checkmating Russia at the latter place as the best means of protecting British interests.

The British and Muscovite powers are undoubtedly advancing towards one another—alien in ideas, race, and civilisation—two mighty opposites though, perhaps, after all, as opposites, they need not become “incensed.” Yet between their strategic posts and points lies prone the entire Ottoman Empire, holding in its palsied or frenzied grasp the north and south, and east and west; whilst Persia, the sister paralytic, occupies, after a like fashion, the territory which might likewise bar all transit in Central Asia—Empires (including slaveholding Egypt) without warrant of any kind for their existence, moral or material, of right or of power! They obstruct, and are allowed to obstruct (simply because their successors are not apparent), not only the thoroughfares, but the commerce and civilisation of the world, and will have none of either within their own borders.

The twin Eastern Questions—the English and the European one—are, we believe, one in solution with the interests and progress of the British Empire, if both be interpreted in a large and liberal sense. “British interests,” of which we have heard so much, are, we believe, human interests. Whatever the real intentions of the Conservative Cabinet, British and human interests had been best promoted by the establishment of strong, self-subsisting, and virile communities between the Danube and the Dardanelles, but such communities we have not formed or assisted in forming. British and human interests should have taught us that the question of the thoroughfare should follow, and cannot control, that of the character of the communities on its banks, and that the strategic value of a strait must be far less than that of an alliance with the free nations which might command it. British interests indeed! Why, we sent Lord Salisbury out to maintain them; but Sir Henry Elliott was there to maintain them in a contrary sense, and we commended to the Turk the conundrum of two opposite policies and one Government—the first of them right, but not meant; the other the traditional impolicy of defending the Turk at all hazards.

Anyhow, the policy of the past must be changed, as no longer either human or British, but rather profligate in principles and in cash too. What has been the mere money cost of Turkish “integrity and independence,” and of Ottoman suzerainty and

slaveholding? What have we lost, what are we losing to-day, in trade, commerce, character, and finance, throughout all those regions, ruined with "so accomplished a desolation," from Alexandria to the Caucasus, and from the Danube to the Lower Euphrates? What is our responsibility to the English people and before the bar of history for the maintenance of a "policy" under which Turkey is lost both for want of and by means of Turks—under which Africa remains the "lost" continent by reason of slavery, under which we seek to safeguard "British interests" by an alliance with political dry rot?

Mr. Partridge proposes a solution of the question, "What, after all, is England to do?" and it is an answer that assumes to deal with the whole imperial policy of Great Britain, and the relations between Muscovite, British, and Ottoman interests. Mr. Partridge takes up the question of Indian defence all along the line. He discusses the merits, specific and relative, of Alexandria and Constantinople; recommends an alliance with Persia, seeing that the mountains on her northern frontier, over against the new Russian base, may become in our hands a vast fortress, a Gibraltar of the desert, threatening the Russian advance on either flank towards the Euphrates or Herat. He takes the names Alexandria, Ispahan, Herat as symbols of the new policy—a mixed policy of trade, civilisation, and empire—a policy which, he maintains, creates or enhances our resources everywhere, which may almost save the cost of a second fleet, and echelon our route to India with impregnable defences and with natural and necessary allies.

With regard to the first of these three stages, Alexandria, it must be conceded that anything short of a direct and absolute assertion of our power in Egypt may turn out but tentative and ineffectual. Egypt either is or is not a portion of the Ottoman dominion. For Egypt to remain such and yet not to help its suzerain is absurd. For Egypt to help its suzerain and not to be subject to reprisals is a contradiction in terms. But for us to allow reprisals were probably to allow Russia, our alleged enemy, to do the very thing which we shrink from doing, namely, to seize Alexandria or to occupy Egypt, although Russia, in so doing, must of necessity menace the integrity, not alone of the Ottoman, but of the British Empire; and as to neutralisation of the Canal, it seems probable, as Mr. Partridge observes, that the Canal cannot but draw the ships of contending nations around its mouth and environs, and that, unless we can neutralise a much vaster thing than the Canal, namely, human nature itself, we must and shall have naval battles near the entrance of the thoroughfare, unless, in order to prevent their occurrence, we occupy and fortify Alexandria.

And a really British policy would have gone far to answer both the Eastern Questions to which we have alluded. It would have created a counterpoise and a makeweight against the Muscovite, whilst it would have guarded the gates of the East against him. As Mr. Partridge rightly asserts—

“In the long-run, permanent and natural forces will dominate temporary and spasmodic ones. The thoroughfare will follow, and not control, the main issue, which is the character of the community on its banks, and how it can organise, use, and replenish the country we call Turkey.

“Constantinople is part, and not the whole, of the Eastern Question. If we can constitute there a strong state, it becomes at once, and naturally, our first line of defence, or even of attack, for India. It may safeguard Suez; it may become part of a formidable anti-Russian confederation; it may check Russian aggression from every corner of the Black Sea. But to look first to the thoroughfare, and after that to the nation on its banks, is to enfeeble, to temporise, and to deceive.

“The future cannot consist with intrusting the key of two continents to a retrograde power, for the purpose, not of opening a free promenade for all peoples, but of making a prison-house of a mighty river and a great sea, and constituting a little power gaoler over a great one.”

Is it yet too late? Our policy has gone a long way towards creating a situation likely to eventuate in handing over the Turkish ironclads to Russia, in conferring on her the mastery of the Black Sea, in destroying and disuniting still more those communities which we might have established and united, and in opening up the way to Suez for the Muscovite. Undoubtedly the present British Cabinet is willing enough to fight for our direct interests at Suez. To do them justice, they are ready to fight Russia for anything that may pass for policy. Sovereignty claims an initiative and a veto; and with the Cabinet to take the initiative and public opinion to supply the veto, possibly they may frame between them a right imperial policy for Great Britain. But any policy, rightly so called, must be one and indivisible. The Isthmus is the strategic connection between Eastern policy and Western; and it may stringently be argued that an imperial policy at Suez and Alexandria must adapt itself completely to our system of offence and defence also in Persia and at Herat. Let us turn, therefore, now to the second Eastern Question, and the Anglo-Eastern policy set forth by Mr. Partridge in more direct relation to India and the East.

The policy of the future, whether we will it or no, if it be a policy at all, will be a mixed policy of trade, civilisation, and empire. The policy of the past has been a mixed policy of bar-

barism and of dynasties. If, as we believe, the supreme question for England is her Indian Empire, then the best way to protect that Empire is itself a question of supreme interest; and, moreover, the right way, whatever it be, is one in which fortresses, harbours, and alliances may save fleets, estimates, and taxation, at the same time that they may be used to promote commerce and civilisation, and for the confusion and displacement of at least one slave-holding, bankrupt Government along the route. In fact, the maintenance of our Indian Empire and of English interests is not much less than the regeneration of that portion of the globe that lies between Alexandria and the Ganges.

Mr. Partridge first endeavours to get rid of certain ideas which he contends are *not* policy, but the reverse, and of misconceptions as to the value of certain lines of defence now become obsolete, or which are, and always were, mere misconceptions or exaggerations. Mr. Partridge contends that—

“The Constantinople line will not do, because it might be vetoed by almost any one European power; because our negotiations with at least four European powers must be complete before we could be sure of being allowed to begin to defend our Indian Empire, and by that time said Empire might be lost; because of the double embarkation and landing; because such a line will soon conduct us past a great trunk line of Russia at Tifl and Tabreez, in direct and far shorter communication with St. Petersburg, and at an equal remove from English and Indian supports; because Tabreez and the line itself would be in the hands of the Russians before we could have got to the Danube.

“No! we must be able to reach the Persian mountains and Teheran from the south, reaching the enemy with the consent of only one ally (or from Karachi to the Bolan without even his), bound to us by every sentiment of hope, fear, and revenge, commercial, social, strategic, and political. A railway through Tabreez and Teheran to Herat would probably be seized and used by Russia. We want not to complete, but to break, the continuity between the great Russian base and Herat.

“The very supposition places our Armageddon at the foot of the Caucasus—the very venue which Russia herself would choose—which Russia (considering her cross line from Poti to Tiflis, connecting the Black Sea and the Persian frontier with St. Petersburg) has already chosen; and it takes slight note indeed of the awful embodiment of power which Russian armaments will soon represent.”

But the master-heresy is, in his opinion, that which still considers Constantinople the key of the East, although its flank has, he says, been turned on the north-east by the Russian communications with and new basis at Ashourada on the Caspian, and on the south-east by the Suez Canal.

“At the first view, to allege that Russia requires Constantinople as

a basis against India, when she already has a basis on the Caspian, were the last absurdity in politics. Having already a basis comparatively next door to the most assailable openings in the defences of India, Russia can hardly be charged with the wish to challenge a war which might or might not end in establishing a basis at the furthest possible distance from these openings.

"An English war for Constantinople, conducted on ordinary calculations of sanity, can only mean, that were Russia possessed of Constantinople, she could menace, at enormous disadvantage to ourselves, our Indian communications at Suez, because we should never think of going to war to-day with Russia in order to prevent her striking at us with even chances at some vague future time or place.

"Towards India, however, Constantinople is the last route that Russia would choose, for it is the longest, the most exposed, the most involved, and the most costly. With *points d'appui* at Ashourada and Krasnovodsk on the Caspian, and a good, direct, and well-watered road thence to Herat, it were a strange Indian 'policy' indeed for Russia to march round some 1200 miles extra, for the purpose of breaking her communications, hazarding her base of operations, or exposing her columns to flank attacks by sea and land!" (p. 35).

Granting the great value of Constantinople (especially as possessing the command of the Black Sea), if in the hands of our allies, to menace Russian communications with the Caspian and to safeguard Suez, Mr. Partridge argues that to make a craze of Constantinople not only leaves out of consideration the fact that the preponderance of naval power will certainly be outside the Dardanelles, but is to argue as though there were no substantial naval power at all except what might issue therefrom!

"Of two things, one. Russia will be seated at Constantinople, or she will not. In the first case, the Turkish Empire will be dissolved, and Egypt will belong more to us than to any other power; in the second, if a power friendly to ourselves holds the Bosphorus, war with England would bar the passage against Russia.

"But it is conceivable that Constantinople and its waters may be neutralised, or that some power hostile to England may hold them, and desire to open them.

"We have, therefore, to be prepared for any of five possible cases. First and second, Russia or some other foe in possession of the Bosphorus. Third and fourth, its neutralisation—or the neutrality of the possessing powers. Fifth, a friend in possession who would desire to close the passage against Russia.

"In the first and second cases, we must be prepared to protect the Canal otherwise than by the closing the Bosphorus. In the third and fourth, the same result follows. The fifth case would be favourable, but not decisive in our favour. We should depend on treaties and coalitions and a balance of power, and should not stand in our own ground or depend on our own right arm.

"Thus no one of the five probable and possible cases guarantees

(from the point of view at Constantinople) the Canal even against Russia; and supposing Russia provided against, there remain all the other powers" (pp. 24-26).

Respecting Alexandria, there is the moral and the material or strategical argument, "and moral difficulties are the only evils before which we are likely to quail." Egypt cannot remain connected with Turkey; somebody else must have Egypt. It is a slaveholding and slave-selling power, kept up by British gold and influence, but for which its present Government had long since disappeared.

"Alexandria will be held soon by somebody, and that somebody will certainly not be the Sultan, who works for barbarism, or the Khedive, who works for usury. If that somebody be not England, it will be 'somebody, not ourselves, who works for barbarism.' Egypt is gone on tick to England. The owners of Egypt are not now the Khedive or the Sultan. Their creditors are the owners, to the extent, at least, of many shillings in the pound; or if it be said the people are really the owners—that is our argument. Our missionaries, travellers, soldiers, merchants, our financiers, and even our chiefs of the Exchequer, have done the work in Africa, and have rendered her future possible—these others have only taken the tribute of Egypt. Could any more immoral thing be than that in modern Egypt the people should be ground down to pay tribute to one who can neither fight for them, pay them, teach them, govern them, or organise them, and who is, besides, geographically disconnected with their country? We have practically a lien, political, financial, philanthropic, and our suzerainty would only add order, power, and guarantees" (pp. 29, 30).

"The facts upon which this treatise is founded are as plain, as obvious, and as simple as a map can make them; but in one cardinal instance the map has lately been strangely altered.

"The Persian Gulf, Ispahan, the Caspian harbours, the Old World route of armies from Persia Indiadwards, the passes of Hindostan, Cabul, Herat, Candahar, the once famed and again to be famous oasis Merv, all have been always well known to all who wanted to know them. The projects of Russia around the Caspian are, of course, more novel, but were dictated by the self-same facts of nature. Yet, for ought that appeared until lately, these same great facts had no direct connection with European politics" (pp. 37, 38).

"What, then, is it that has transferred like magic the Eastern Question from Constantinople to Suez—that for the Black Sea makes us read the Caspian, and for Sebastopol, Ashourada?

The Suez Canal is the key to the riddle of many centuries and of three continents. It directly affects every part of the Anglo-Indian Question. Persia, which was before as practically remote as Japan, is brought by it almost to the gates of the Mediterranean. It should give us practical control of a system of Persian railways connecting Ispahan with India. It should give us practical control of their trade. It alters altogether the conditions under which the Anglo-

Russian contest for trade, commerce, political influence, civilisation—ay, and religion—has to be fought out, and is equivalent to the creation of a first-class power always bound to promote all our interests in all these respects” (pp. 39, 40).

A Persian alliance is the next great factor of the project of defence which we are discussing on our way eastward from Alexandria.

“Egypt, Suez, and Persia appertain to one line of Anglo-Indian policy, and the surpassing interest of Persia to this country arises from the fact that the Caspian Sea is by far the best basis of Russian operations against India, and that its southern shores are the northern frontiers of Persia. The value, therefore, of an Anglo-Persian alliance it is difficult exactly to estimate; its possible value it may be difficult to over-estimate. In a country of only some four millions of population, still dwindling through bad government, bad sewage, polygamy, and other causes, whose annual income is controlled by an irresponsible ruler, where education is more general than in other Eastern states, and which lies directly on the path between mighty and jealous empires, it is obvious that great changes are imminent” (pp. 44, 45).

“How are the trade and strategy of Persia and India here involved? How ought not British influence to have prevented such injury and degradation? How readily could British power, with a Persian alliance, confound intrigues otherwise dangerous to both! In fact, as the Suez Canal has created a new strategy, so Russian operations around the Caspian have created a new need for it. The Persian Gulf is now practically as near to us as Constantinople, and it is a thousand miles nearer to what we may have to defend. For the first time in history a real Russian attack against India, and a real defence of it by England, have become possible. Persia has now become our natural, and we her necessary ally. For our purposes she may be made far more available than Turkey. Her interests are ours, and ours hers. It is our foe that menaces her trade and frontier; and whilst the latter confronts and flanks for many miles Russia’s easiest route towards India, the former may become ours, and enable her in return to profit by English-built railways and English mail contracts. The Persian Gulf is the English *point d’appui*; Ispahan would be the natural commercial and railway centre of such an alliance, and the Persian mountains its watch-towers and fortresses” (pp. 49–51).

“The Eastern Question is, therefore, for England, a Persian as well as an African Question, and it cannot be answered or even spelt out at Constantinople. The Turkish Eastern Question is a sham Eastern Question, and is dominated now by the real one, amply enough developed. The suzerainty of Lower Egypt; the Suez Canal; Ispahan as the Anglicised centre of Persian commerce; the whole trade of Central Asia to drift or not to drift by British default into Russian hands; Afghanistan to be closed or opened for British commerce; Merv and Herat, the strategic outworks of a simple, certain plan for sapping or establishing our position in that ‘gigantic fortress,’

Hindustan, of which the glacis may possibly be held by a power not the garrison, and towards which the passes may be occupied by doubtful allies or open foes ;—these are some of the questions that go to make up that 'Eastern' one, of mingled, or hitherto rather mangled, strategy, policy, nationality, and trade,—the vastest perhaps that has ever heretofore been asked upon this globe, and in the answering of which Russian diplomatists have too often brayed the statesmen of the West like fools in a mortar" (pp. 56, 57).

"But the main battle for India must be fought in India, by the commerce, railways, civilisation, strategy, and policy of India." And in Chapter V., "The Russian Trilateral," Mr. Partridge explains his ideas as to how Ashourada is the base of the Russian attack, and how Russia may make Merv the key and Herat the gate of India, and what is our natural strategy and defence *against* such an attack.

"Russia now is well established at Khiva and Ashourada—two angles of the vast trilateral, which, unless we interfere, will be naturally and necessarily completed at Herat, the gate of Hindostan; and equally natural and necessary, supposing we do not interfere, will soon be her position at Balkh (270 miles from Cabul,) as at Herat and Astrabad, and also the consolidation of her Persian-Afghan alliance, and her championship of the Mohammedan race" (p. 59).

"When, however, Russia would have to choose between undertaking a march from Astrabad to Meshea, with our armies on her flank, or dislodging us from the Persian mountains, or leaving us behind her, knowing that she would find Herat, the gate of India, fortified in our interest, and Bolan, its vestibule, protected at Quetta—why, then, Russia, I say, would think a great many times before persuading herself that she had 'the power successfully to attack us in India'" (p. 61).

"Hindustan is 'a gigantic natural fortress,' open to England on the sea, closed on the north and north-east by impregnable mountains, and open to Russian attack only through several practicable passes on the north-west. These passes are threatened by Russia from two sides—from Khiva on the north-west, and much more seriously from Ashourada on the west, and rather to the north-west of Herat and the Bolan Pass" (pp. 63, 64).

"I will take the Russian advance by Khiva first, as the less dangerous; secondly, her attack from Ashourada, her base on the Caspian, and thence along the north-eastern Persian boundary; thirdly, our line of approach by Suez and the Persian Gulf to Ispahan, as possibly the heart of the Eastern Question, and the point where victory or defeat may await us.

"From Khiva to the passes of Hindostan there are but three steps, long ones doubtless, but each strategically depending on and connected with the other, and Russia has just seized the position from which the first step has to be taken. The first step is from Khiva to Merv or Marv; the second, from Merv to Herat; the third, from Herat to the

Bolan Pass. Herat is the gate of India, and but 470 and 590 miles from Quettah and Cabul respectively; Merv is the key to Herat, from which it is but 240 miles distant; in Khiva Russia hopes to have found the key to Merv, from which it is about 300 miles; and she has undoubtedly done so, if we go on dreaming of false Eastern Questions and disregarding the real one. Merv has a fine climate and extraordinary fertility. It comprises an oasis of ninety miles in circumference, rejoices in three crops in a year, and once possessed a million population. It has water communication with Herat, nearly complete, by the Moorghab river, which rises near Herat, passing through Merv and 100 miles beyond. The oasis of Merv is only 140 miles from the banks of the Oxus, and Khiva is on the Oxus.

"Taking again these 'steps' in the reverse, and beginning from the Indian frontier, we find that Cabul covers from the west the famous Khiber Pass and Peshawur; we find also that Quettah covers the Bolan Pass from the west, and virtually commands Beloochistan and Afghanistan. We have now a treaty right to occupy Quettah, but if we wish peace we must occupy it before Russia reaches Merv, and let Russia understand that any move of hers on Merv might, could, and would be met on our part by a representation that we should be obliged to move on Herat.

"But Quettah virtually commands Candahar, which, with Herat and Cabul (or Kabul), forms a tri-lateral of strategy. Herat is on the western angle, Cabul on the eastern, and Candahar on the southern. From the first to the second there is no road without traversing intricate mountain passes to the north, or through plains south to the third (Candahar), which last is thus important, because it closes the road between East and West Afghanistan, as well as the advance from Herat to Quettah" (pp. 64-67).

"Trade, roads, and rails should be our watchwords; a railway through Bolan to Quettah, and to Herat, with a branch from Candahar to Cabul, should be looked forward to as the means of anticipating Russia's force and influence. Our moral force would then become immense; we should occupy the passes belonging to us, encourage commerce, maintain the independence of Afghanistan and Beloochistan, and there we could leave the matter, unless Russia advanced to Merv, a step thus rendered extremely unlikely" (p. 69).

With respect to the proper definitive frontier policy for Russia, from an Anglo-Russian point of view, it is argued—

"Russia has now secured a definitive frontier at Khiva, as she has on the Caspian; and if she is really content to work for civilisation and order in Central Asia, she must work within these lines. To go beyond them is to attempt alliances or to threaten strategic positions which belong to our Indian defences, and which can do Russia no good unless she means to attack us there. The old bed of the Oxus, therefore, should be her utmost boundary there, and might be a natural and peaceful one, having the desert of Khiva, or Kara Kum, between Khiva and Merv. Further north, between the Oxus and the

Yazartes, or even descending to Kashgar, Russia may follow her natural impulses for ascendancy or commerce; besides, she will there not only encounter great natural obstructions, but the jealousy and opposition of the Chinese Empire; and we neither can nor need do much to say her nay, although our Indian Government should endeavour to secure for its taxpayers equal facilities and openings for their share of the trade in those regions.

"And should Russia endeavour to concentrate and threaten us from Balkh in default of Merv or Herat, she can be met safely, as alone she can be met at all, by railway extension to Cabul as well as to Herat. But to strike at India from Balkh *via* Oxenburg and the Oxus, instead of from Ashourada and Meshed, were alone almost a defeat" (pp. 73-75).

Under the head "Conclusions," the Anglo-Indian policy contended for in this little book is thus summarised—

"And the Anglo-Indian policy which common sense would dictate is so plain and manifest, is so obvious upon the face of the facts and of the map, is the subject of such a consensus of informed opinion, and, finally, is now so completely ratified and complemented by the obvious consequences and results of the Suez Canal, that I may be pardoned for urging once more, with increasing certainty and earnestness, that which, as far as facts went, has been often urged before, and which now only receives its last confirmation:—

"1. Considering that the aggressive mania of 1837, and the helpless inaction since, are both equally bad, let us avoid all acquisitions beyond the true Hindostan, but get real possession of the passes.

"2. England must be able to concentrate at Ispahan and Herat. At both we could well supply armies. The former should be in immediate railway communication with the Persian Gulf, the latter with India.

"3. Acquire influence over the tribes of Southern Asia, whilst maintaining strictly their independence. That influence depends on railways, trade, and constant intercourse, and a fearless but moderate policy. It would enable us at once to dissolve barbaric barriers existing against ourselves, and to establish those of civilisation against Russia.

"4. The immense material for native irregular cavalry will be used, on the one side or the other, to attack communication and destroy supplies. We have at present ample means of conciliating and commanding them. Russia at present has none. Shall we wait until she has acquired them? Shall we postpone also the reorganisation of our Indian army as to artillery, additional officers, infantry reserves, and horses, until they are actually wanted in the field.

"5. We must command the Mediterranean entrance to the Suez Canal by a first-class port and fortress, else we imperil our whole strategy in Europe and Asia; and neither Crete nor any other place can vie with Alexandria. Crete would have to pass from the same hands; it is not so close upon our great thoroughfares; it is not, nor can it become, a mighty *entrepôt* between three continents and a fourth; it can, of course, have no land or railway communication with Egypt or the

East ; it can give us no direct command over or communication with the people of Africa, or with those 'African Sepoys' whom, in case of need, we should officer and train by tens of thousands to fight our battles and theirs for a regenerated continent. Finally, if we do not occupy and fortify Alexandria, an enemy may. What then would be the use of Crete in our hands, with its back towards Egypt, and its wonderful port looking towards the gates of the Black Sea?" (pp. 103-106).

With regard to the pressure of Russia upon Western civilisation and Eastern savagery, we must, after all, accept, limit, or oppose it ; and may we not ask, Cannot the Danubian powers be trusted to take care of themselves ? and, for England, is not our own advance an all-sufficient counterpoise against Russia ? In the East, Russia advances over deserts, beyond which she encounters two of the most impregnable fortresses in the world—the mountains of Persia and India. We, on the other hand, hold the Indian and Australian Empires ; we are occupying the African continent everywhere—north, south, east, west, and centre. Its great river will soon be as much an English thoroughfare as its great canal ; and, moreover, Australia and India are so placed that our traffic and influence must ever increase on the great highways. Africa is cursed from end to end with the slave trade, of which the Khedive is the chief prop, whilst his power at this moment stands upon British capital. We cannot much longer uphold a vast slave empire, or a brace of slave empires, bestriding the main thoroughfares of the world, defiling its fairest shores, debasing their population, obstructing their trade, and occupying, by reason neither of strength, virtue, commerce, good government, civilisation, or religion, the vantage-ground which is the common heritage of all nations.

But the fact is, this Eastern Question not only points out the factors, but foreshadows or suggests the issue, of a mightier game than has yet been played on this world's surface. Destiny seems at last to say, with the first Napoleon, "This old lumber-room of Europe wearies me ;" and when we find such pieces as India, Australia, and England, with all her other dependencies, on the board, we are before all things impressed with the fact, that the great power which holds the first two together seems destined also to the tutelage of Egypt, if not of Persia ; that the great river which constitutes the unity of Egypt, and will make that kingdom almost synonymous with Africa, draws its life from the Asiatic or Eastern side ; that the commerce of that continent must flow along the waters or the valleys of the Nile, which possibly may, as Mr. Partridge claims, become an English thoroughfare, its population an English militia, and its empire city at once the gate of the East and West, and the *entrepôt* of three continents and a fourth.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

"**L**AW and God," a former work of Mr. Roberts, had a very considerable success. It would be perhaps an interesting, if somewhat a difficult, study to discover what portion of that success was owing to the singularly attractive title, in a day when law and God are by some considered antagonistic forces; by some, two names or aspects of one great Being; by some, one a word which we have a right to use because we know something of law, the other a word which should scarce be used, because, if God be at all, we know Him not, and cannot know Him. But however this may be, Mr. Roberts was fully justified in extending his teaching beyond the limits of a country parish, even had he not had reason to know "that he has been of some little service to the cause he loves so well." "Reasonable Service"¹ is a very interesting volume, the devout utterances of a man who reads much that opposes his present standpoint, who is drawn by his own honesty into the position of a Christian apologist, because he cannot be content to go on preaching the old assertions without recognising that they are attacked on all sides, and disbelieved by many men at once good and wise. Mr. Roberts is not of those divines who hurl hard names at scientific men and philosophers. He follows them reverently and humbly as far as they can go, but then he says, "I by my imagination or by my faith can go beyond you, can see where your telescopes and microscopes fail." For instance—

"But when this mere matter, with its potentiality of life, is reached, the mind refuses to stop there; it asks, whence came this marvellous matter? And what says Professor Tyndal? He says, 'Considered fundamentally, it is by the operation of an insoluble mystery that life is evolved.' What says Mr. Herbert Spencer? 'The consciousness of an inscrutable power, manifested to us through all phenomena, has been growing clearer and clearer, and must eventually be freed from its imperfections.' Here at last the philosopher meets the theist, and acknowledges the prime fact of religion—the power manifested through all phenomena, by whose operation life is produced. The philosopher declares it 'inscrutable,' and the Christian says 'I know in whom I have believed.' The philosopher calls it 'the unknowable,' and we say 'Our Father which art in heaven.'"

In this extract Mr. Roberts is doing what he has a right to do. All theologians assume this special gift, "faith;" they are happy with it; others are content to be without it. But there is surely a fallacy beyond what is allowed to the pulpit lurking in the following words—

¹ "Reasonable Service." By W. Page Roberts. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1876.

"Religion is as grand a fact of the human race as natural selection. The revelations of St. Paul, at any rate, are as worthy of consideration as those of Darwin. There have been great seers and prophets inspired by the Spirit of God who revealed spiritual facts, as well as scientific discoverers who have revealed the mysteries of nature; and we might as well refuse to acknowledge the existence of the sun as ignore the Christ who lighteth every man coming into the world."

Now the revelations of Darwin can be tested by each man for himself. If Mr. Darwin breeds pigeons or cultivates plants with a view of discovering their antagonistic powers of self-preservation, so may those who read his works; but not all can be caught up into heaven to verify for themselves the reality of what St. Paul tells us he saw there. So, again, no one denies spiritual facts—that is, that certain strong emotions exist in the spirit of St. Paul and other seers and prophets; what is not proven is that these correspond to external verities, and the use of the words is misleading.

We have not the same fault to find with many of these sermons. They are intellectual, inspiring, well written; some, like that called "The King's Highway," full of that amiable confidence generally so characteristic of the clergy of Established Churches, that those who dissent from her do so on wholly insufficient grounds; others, as that on "Revivalism," preached when the Moody and Sankey movement was in its fervour, are somewhat uncertain in their sound; but the volume is worth reading as the utterance of a thoughtful teacher, and perhaps as evidence of how very little one who does his best to do so can really meet the needs of the souls of men when he speaks from that vantage-ground of compromise—a Broad Church pulpit.

Mr. Medd's "Sermons"² are well written—a matter of course from him—are clear, definite, and scholarly, are high, and somewhat hard in tone. They must have been interesting to hear as delivered, but are somewhat dull reading; while the fervour which carries us over so much with which we disagree in many volumes is wanting. A sermon on the Athanasian Creed is typical of the whole. Mr. Medd would keep the Creed firmly and without compromise, but he would put a note to explain the sense in which the Church holds it—the sense we have all heard so often, yet which will never be found in the words of the plain man who goes to church to satisfy his devotional feelings, in love to God, and charity to all men.

Mr. Medd is anxious to show that the clauses to which so much objection is taken apply exclusively to Christians.

"A man cannot 'keep' what he has not first begun to hold. They have nothing whatever to do with, they pronounce no judgment upon, any who do not believe. They are warnings against a sin which none but a Christian can commit, for a man cannot lose what he never had, nor draw back from a position which he never occupied. In using them, we Christians simply remind ourselves and each other, that if we 'fall away' into unbelief after we have 'once been enlightened' and have 'tasted the good word of God,' if we 'deny the Lord that bought us' and, 'crucifying the Son of God afresh,'

² "Sermons Preached in the Parish Church of Bames." By Peter Goldsmith Medd, M.A. London: Rivington & Co. 1877.

put ourselves into even a worse position than that of the unbelieving Jews who crucified their Lord, *then* our last state may be worse than our first."

That is, Mr. Medd considers the state of the intellectual unbeliever, moral, consistent, and religious, who has once been baptized, but has found difficulties in the creed of his education which have caused him to reject it, as probably in the condition of the man in the Gospel whose body was the habitation of evil spirits, and whose condition is meant to be described as all but desperate. And these are the teachers who are set to deal with the perplexities and unbeliefs of men! So, at least, it is generally considered. But the late Rector of Barnes considered his mission only to those who were still orthodox, saying of the unbeliever, "These the Church cannot *consider* or satisfy in this matter. The Church cannot abandon her faith to please unbelievers, to whom that faith is, as it has ever been, a stumbling-block and an offence. She can only proclaim that faith as the eternal truth of God, whether men will hear or whether they will forbear." If we know anything of the temper of men, sermons in this spirit will certainly stimulate them to "forbear."

The Dutch liberal pastors have led the way in endeavouring to put before the young the results of modern criticism of the Bible. Here, in England, liberal thinkers seem content as a rule to allow their children to be brought up in opinions they have long since discarded, even though they are aware that the disintegration of faith must come, with all its sorrow and struggle. And this might easily be avoided had they only the honesty to say from the outset what they know about the foundations of theology.

Pastor Knappert³ has summarised the teaching of his great townsman Kuenen, and Mr. Armstrong has rendered his little book into readable English. It is a fair representation of the results of modern research in the Old Testament, results likely to be extended but never set aside. We should like to see it in the hands of all young people; but where is the bold and honest head-master who will introduce it into his school?

But Professor Kuenen's own lecture,⁴ translated by Dr. Muir, puts the leading facts on the Pentateuch in a still shorter and terser form. There could be no better introduction to a complete study of the subject.

It is impossible to praise too highly the volumes on the Psalms,⁵ of which we here have the first portion, with Prolegomena and Introduction. To meet special University requirements, Parts III. and IV. were

³ "The Religion of Israel: A Manual from the Dutch of S. Knappert, Pastor at Leiden." By Richard A. Armstrong, B.A. London: Williams & Norgate. 1877.

⁴ "The Five Books of Moses: A Lecture by Dr. A. Kuenen." Translated from the Dutch by John Muir, D.C.L. London: Williams & Norgate. 1877.

⁵ "The Psalms, with Introductions and Critical Notes." By Rev. A. C. Jennings and Rev. W. H. Lowe. Books I and II. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

published out of turn, and have already received our cordial recognition. The authors have shown extraordinary learning and diligence. The Prolegomena, especially the essay on Hebrew poetry, are full of interest, and the whole book will tend to preserve the charm which has always surrounded the Book of Psalms. The Hebrew lyrics are above all those portions of the Bible which gain fresh and fresh beauty by being more understood. Prophecy may lose more than its misty grandeur when explained, history may be analysed into legend, but the Psalms are the utterances of hearts speaking from human needs; and the more their actual circumstances are understood, the more they appeal to those in sorrow, in need, or in joy, to those who cry to a some one beyond them, even though the words vary with varying days.

In reading a Layman's Commentary⁶ we seem to hear an echo from more than thirty years ago, when the Dean of St. Paul's was Fellow of Oriel, interested in the early Tractarian movement, when the teaching of the undivided Church was the measure of Oxford teaching, and the precise form of the services in the Prayer-Book was held to be the best imaginable model. Then the Oxford translations known as the "Library of Fathers" were made, and the commentaries in the present volumes are taken from the fathers.

Dean Church speaks of the Commentary as a "sort of introduction to the ancient mode of commenting on Holy Scripture." The excellence and value of this mode was, that the whole mind and thought of the writers were "animated, informed, and kindled by the substance, the purpose, and the spirit of the sacred books." He admits "there was much to learn about the meaning and structure of Scripture which they were not qualified to teach us, and for which we are indebted to the subtlety, the patient criticism, and accurate industry of later years." This is very much the same thing as to say that the fathers had "zeal without knowledge," and we can fancy scarcely anything more mischievous than a fervid devotion which rests on no basis of reality which can stand criticism. A faith in the resurrection of Christ which can be aided by St. Chrysostom's argument based on the chemical absurdity of Bel and the Dragon is one which, when it fails, as fail it must, is likely to destroy with itself much of true piety and reverence—that deepest piety which is independent of and beyond the creeds. "And the dragon also in Daniel shadows out the same"—the resurrection—"for as the dragon, having taken the food which the prophet gave, burst asunder in the midst, even so hell, having swallowed down that body," &c., &c., &c. Verily there be some that do fill their bellies with the east wind. We could wish that one to whom literature is so much indebted as the Dean of St. Paul's were not one of those who sanction the offer of so innutritious food.

Canon Norris⁷ fully accepts in principle the historical criticism which

⁶ "A Commentary on the Epistles and Gospels in the Book of Common Prayer." By a Lay Member of the Church, with an Introductory Notice by the Dean of St. Paul's. Oxford and London: James Parker & Co. 1877.

⁷ "A Key to the Narrative of the Four Gospels." By John Pilkington Norris, B.D. New edition revised. London: Rivingtons & Co. 1877.

was so completely unknown to the fathers. On the whole, he considers, "though it may not be possible to weave into one consistent chronicle all the anecdotes" of Jesus in the Gospels, the original order of events may be so reconstructed as "to show any candid mind that their discrepancies are only such as might naturally be expected." The little work is interesting and very readable, and forms a good "Life of Christ" from the orthodox point of view. Of course, like all Harmonies, it proceeds on the system of leaving out of sight a good many difficulties. Thus Mr. Norris scarce touches on the genealogies, and dexterously avoids the contradictions of the accounts of the resurrection. It is emphatically one of those books which will only be read by those who are prepared to receive its teachings.

Mr. Macan's essay on the Resurrection⁸ was written in performance of his duty as the holder of a scholarship under the Hibbert Trustees, and is now published by those trustees. He appears to have devoted the year of his scholarship abroad to a thorough investigation into the whole literature bearing on the resurrection of Jesus Christ.

With perhaps a little too much parade of careful impartiality, he comes to the conclusion of the entire groundlessness of the tale. The real interest of the work lies in his very careful examination of the relations of the resurrection story to dogma, and of dogma to the resurrection story. But while he attaches no credence whatever to the resurrection, he thinks that the belief in it "is not the least, but perhaps the greatest, of the indirect proofs of Jesus's veritable exaltation above the common level of humanity during His life on earth;" and, in the spirit of Mr. Matthew Arnold, he considers the proper problem of Christian theology to be the elucidation of the mind which was in Christ Jesus.

The essay throughout is well reasoned and readable, and not the least valuable part are the incidental criticisms on certain well-known works, such as those of Dr. Westcott and "The Unseen Universe."

We cannot attempt to review the third volume of "Supernatural Religion"⁹ apart from the others and in the limited space at our disposition. It demands at a future period a more complete treatment than here is possible. The criticisms which have been directed against the two former volumes have, however learned and philosophical, in some cases even damaging, been directed rather against comparatively unimportant details than the real principles of the work. They have taught the author care, and we suspect that there will be found fewer even of the outposts of this volume liable to assault. We notice it here chiefly in connection with what has already been said on the resurrection of Christ. This examination of the accounts is not less complete than that of Mr. Macan, although it forms only a portion of the work, instead of being the subject of it, and at the same time it is still more readable.

⁸ "The Resurrection of Jesus Christ: An Essay in Three Chapters." By Reginald W. Macan, M.A. London: Williams & Norgate. 1877.

⁹ "Supernatural Religion: An Inquiry into the Reality of Divine Revelation." Vol. III. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

The sketch of the character and temperament of St. Paul in his relation to the doctrine of the resurrection is as important as it is interesting. The spirit of the volumes is summed up in the following words, with the quotation of which we for the present earnestly commend the book to the attention of our readers—

“Although we lose a faith which has long been our guide in the past, we need not now fear to walk boldly with Truth in the future, and turning away from fancied benefits to be derived from the virtue of His death, we may find real help and guidance from a more earnest contemplation of the life and teaching of Jesus.”

We presume that the chapters in Mr. Conway's work¹⁰ have been delivered as lectures in South Place. No one could listen to them, few could read them, without stimulus to thought, without being obliged to say, Do I or do I not believe in the things which are here so fiercely assailed as merely old wives' fables? It is well to break idols—it is well often to be full of scornful irony in the breaking—it is well to show, as Mr. Conway is never tired of doing, the comparative mythology of religions; but the idol-breaker and the comparative mythologist perhaps lose necessarily a something of reverential spirit that we should like to find in all teachers, and a power of sympathy with what is true among the felicities of the past.

One of the most striking lectures in the book is concerned with the Ammergau miracle-play, in which he draws a very skilful contrast between the ideal Christ of the Church and the Christ as represented in the Gospels; but we cannot help thinking that his picture is extremely overcharged from a desire of being original, and of differing, not only from most Christians, but from most free-thinkers.

We are sure that few will agree with Mr. Conway's estimate of the manner in which Christ shrank from death, as put out by him in the following passage—

“Again and again had Christ tried to escape this danger (death), even with dexterity, and on his trial he fenced with every art of speech and silence. When he saw the coils of priestly hatred closing around him, his soul was exceeding sorrowful. Death haunted him. When a woman anointed him tenderly, the odour reminded him of death. ‘She embalms me for burial,’ he cries, and his very words shudder. He meets his disciples at supper; but when he sees and tastes the red wine, that too suggests death; he recoils and cries, ‘It's my blood! Drink it yourselves—I'll never taste it again!’”

In a hasty survey of the good and evils of Christianity, the same or greater want of real sympathy and interest is shown. “Idols and Ideals” is a striking but extremely irritating book, attracting by its brilliancy, repelling by its cold, metallic hardness.

The Hon. Albert Canning has written an essay¹¹ which, as it seems to us, would be far more in place in the pages of a magazine than pub-

¹⁰ “Idols and Ideals.” By Moncure D. Conway, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

¹¹ “The Political Progress of Christianity.” By the Honourable Albert S. G. Canning. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

lished as a substantial book. For it is too hasty, and is too much occupied with temporary judgment, and modern newspaper literature, to have any real and permanent value. It is an examination into the comparative civilisation attained by Christian nations and those under the sway of Islam; and he considers it evident that, in modern times, at least, no country except under Christian political rule has attained to real civilisation. Mr. Canning has drawn carefully on all authorities which tend to prove his point, but it is a one-sided and argumentative rather than an exhaustive examination into the question. It is, however, worth reading as a statement of one side of the question.

"No task," says Miss Whately,¹² "can well be undertaken by a Christian writer more painful than that of controversy with fellow-Christians." If such be the case, we can only say that almost every theological work ever written must have brought to its author many terrible pangs; for, with the rarest possible exceptions, every statement of faith and doctrine in every language consists in large measure in running down the faith and doctrines of somebody else. Miss Whately gives herself the terrible pain of assailing, on evangelical grounds, the doctrine and practices of the sect known as the Plymouth Brethren. The whole controversy seems to us so very puerile, that we need only draw attention to it as another indication of the intestine convulsions that are shaking religious Protestantism to its foundations.

"Scepticism and Social Justice" is an enlarged reprint of a little work formerly published in Mr. Scott's well-known series of tracts. It contains a sketch of the aspect in which the controversy about the authenticity and the credibility of the Bible presents itself to an intelligent layman who has no time to study the subject profoundly at first hand. He challenges the clergy either to refute the attacks which have been brought on the received theology and Scripture history, or else to allow the sceptic to hold his own without placing him under a social stigma. It is not enough, Mr. Bastard thinks, to say that in the large centres of civilisation no social stigma attaches to the upholders of sceptical opinions. He is writing in behalf of those who live in country neighbourhoods, where thinkers are few, and where orthodoxy and ecclesiasticism are still rampant. It is a temperate, well-written, though not profound pamphlet, kindly and considerate to those from whom it asks, but perhaps asks in vain, equal kindness and consideration.

Mr. Bacon¹⁴ is an American living in Switzerland, who has contributed papers to various American periodicals for some time past. His collected volume, dealing on questions connected with the Church on the Continent, the Catholic reformation in Switzerland, the Old Catholic Congress, on the temperance reformation, &c., are better worth reading than are most volumes of connected essays.

¹² "Plymouth Brethrenism." By E. J. Whately. London: Hatchards. 1877.

¹³ "Scepticism and Social Justice." By Thomas Horlock Bastard. London: Williams & Norgate. 1877.

¹⁴ "Church Papers." By Leonard Woolsey Bacon. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

PHILOSOPHY.

MERTON COLLEGE, Oxford, must be a speculative society. It was thence, if our memory does not mislead us, that Mr. Wallace's "Logic of Hegel" issued some years ago; more recently it gave us Mr. Bradley's "Ethical Studies," and now in Professor Caird's "Philosophy of Kant,"¹ we have the work of one who was, it seems, some years ago a Fellow of the same community. It would seem that the statute by which Walter de Merton enjoined that no member of a religious house (*nemo religiosus*) should be admitted to the foundation has been modernised into a *quisquis philosophus*; but if so, we have no cause to complain of the results. For the three works which we have mentioned form together a real introduction to German philosophy; and whether German thought be valuable or not, it will at least be granted that it is desirable to make it as accessible as possible to English students.

The scope and standpoint of Professor Caird's volume is already indicated in its title-page. It is as no blind advocate of a system which has had its day that the writer discusses the philosophy of Kant. It is from the only standpoint from which a great philosophy can be with advantage studied,—the standpoint of historical criticism—that Mr. Caird approaches the exposition of Kant's views. "Kant's problem," he holds, "is simply the oldest of all problems, and the age of criticism begins with philosophy itself." The work therefore begins with an introduction in which the progress of philosophy from the scepticism of the later Greek schools to the dogmatism of Wolff is briefly but accurately traced. This historical survey is, we are inclined to think, the best part of Professor Caird's volume. Clearly written and effectively arranged, it will carry the general reader over many a difficulty through which the student can at times but barely grope his way. If there is a fault to find in the introduction, it is in the comparative brevity with which Descartes and Spinoza are discussed. Professor Caird no doubt had a reason for this; but even those, we fancy, who read his profound article on Cartesianism in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" would have gladly hailed a second exposition of the doctrines of Descartes, especially had such an exposition rectified what we consider the chief defect of that account, and traced with the same free hand which shows itself within the introduction the influences of Cartesian teaching upon general literature and thought. If, however, Spinoza be somewhat briefly treated, a lengthy chapter is devoted to the works of Leibnitz. Leibnitz, as Professor Caird points out, anticipated in some degree the results of Kant. But while holding that sensation is but confused thought and thought only distinct sensation, he failed to

¹ "A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Kant, with an Historical Introduction." By Edward Caird, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow, late Fellow and Tutor of Merton College, Oxford. Glasgow: James Maclehose. 1877.

apprehend the fluctuating nature of the boundary between the two ; he drew a fast division between them, and so produced a philosophy which Mr. Caird admirably characterises as "Reason speaking in the language of the understanding." The result was the philosophy of Wolff, with its superficial clearness of dogmatism and its analytic scholastic method. But

"Extremes meet, and the ultimate result of Wolff has only a nominal difference from the ultimate result of Hume. If the scepticism of the latter dissolved reality into an unconnected flux of sensations, the dogmatism of the former reduced it into an endless tautology of thought. . . . It was the merit of Kant to see that these two factors of knowledge have meaning only in their unity, and that 'conceptions without perceptions are empty, and perceptions without conceptions are blind.' By this essential insight he was led to a new integration of thought, by which Locke and Leibnitz were reduced into elements of a higher unity. The result was a last form of individualism, which was, at least potentially, something more than an individualism." (p. 120).

These words form, as it were, the text on which the remaining and the longer portion of Professor Caird's volume may be regarded as an instructive commentary. Beginning with an account of the pre-critical period in the career of Kant, our Glasgow Professor shows the mode in which Kant universalised the principle of Hume's demonstrations. With page 182 the problem of the Critique begins. The chapters which follow throw a mass of valuable light upon the work of Kant. The reader may, perhaps, occasionally complain that exposition and criticism, though in general discussed in separate chapters, are not always kept distinct from one another ; but this is a result the nature of the case makes almost unavoidable. Within our limits it is, of course, impossible to do more than note the general bearing of the criticisms which Professor Caird brings to the chief results of the Critique. Kant, he especially insists, must be taken as a whole ; and the statements of one part must be left to throw their light upon another. The *Æsthetic* must be interpreted by the *Analytic*, and this in turn by the *Dialectic*. The Critique is essentially a progressive work ; and the popular level upon which Kant starts is insufficient, unless corrected by the more rational results in which he ends. In particular, Professor Caird points out that the absolute distinction which Kant drew between the different faculties of mind and the different elements of knowledge leads to untenable and unphilosophical results. Kant, in fact, is under the spell of the ordinary theory of knowledge, in which we start with an individual, which is gradually, by a process of abstraction, made a universal. But, as the Professor points out, knowledge is really a process of gradual specification, in which, "beginning with that which we may describe either as the abstract individual or as the abstract universal," we end with the concrete individual or the concrete universal. Thus sense and understanding, analysis and synthesis, *a priori* and *a posteriori*, always go together and presuppose each other. "There is no movement of thought simply by identity or simply by difference, but always by both." And this Kant in his account of the third category partly saw. Had he carried out this line of thought, "he

would have merged formal in transcendental logic, and he would have seen that the triplicity, which he regards as the peculiarity of synthetic thought, is the characteristic of all thought." It was because Kant did not see this that he failed to solve the antinomies of the reason. For antinomy is not merely the accidental product of a false negative dialectic; it is the necessary law of thought in itself, from which it cannot in any region escape. "The whole history of intellectual progress is just the history of the development of a consciousness of difference into a consciousness of contradiction, and again of a consciousness of contradiction into a consciousness of the higher principle in the light of which the contradiction disappears" (p. 596). But amidst all his criticisms Professor Caird never fails to recognise the lasting consequences of the Critique. In the face of Kant, "Materialism" has become quite untenable.

"To explain time and space, psychologically or physiologically, is to explain them by phenomena which are known only under conditions of time and space. . . . If it were proved to-morrow that man is developed from an Ascidian ancestor, it would still remain certain that the consciousness which makes us men is independent of time and development; and the Darwinian theory, like every other intelligible view of things, presupposes time and space, and all the forms of thought that are necessary to an intelligible experience" (p. 399).

But we have already transgressed our limits. The indications we have given of the contents of Professor Caird's volume ought to be sufficient to lead all who have an interest in metaphysics to a study of the book itself. It is so clear and forcible in expression, and so full of insight and suggestive criticism, that it cannot fail to enlighten at once those who have and those who have not already made an acquaintance with the original Critique itself. Nor can we close without adding that the type and paper of the book reflect, in these days of hasty and inaccurate printing, the greatest credit upon Mr. Maclehose, the printer and publisher of the volume.

The words in which Professor Caird sums up the spirit of the philosophy of Leibnitz might serve, in the hands of a Hegelian, to characterise the "reasoned realism" of Mr. Lewes.² Mr. Lewes, such a thinker might remark, similarly represents the stage of "reason speaking in the language of the understanding." The writer of a stirring history of philosophy, which sought to show that philosophy is a mere *ignis fatuus*, which tempts the traveller to his ruin, has come to see that metaphysics is a need of life, only detrimental to the life of thought when it becomes metempirical, and goes outside experience to provide a basis for cognition. The subjective and the objective, which he originally placed in sharp opposition to one another, he has come to recognise as essential *elements* in knowledge and existence. A monistic theory, in which matter and mind, the physical and the mental, are regarded as merely different aspects of one and the same process,

² "The Physical Basis of Mind;" with Illustrations: being the Second Series of "Problems of Life and Mind," By George Henry Lewes. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

has taken the place of the sensational and positivist creed with which he started. Thus, our Hegelian critic would continue, Mr. Lewes has reached the level of the reason. He sees that theories and processes which in ordinary thought are separated must in a higher level of reflection be combined. The "greening of the spirit," is now a necessary factor to make knowledge possible. But, he would add, this standpoint of the reason is not expressed in terms of pure thought. The "old man with his affections" has not been altogether purified, and the new creed is still expressed in terms of the old. The figurative conceptions, the crude distinctions of the understanding, are still the vehicles through which the higher truths of reason are conveyed. And thus the contradictions in which the understanding revels stand side by side with the higher synthesis in which they find their unity.

"The Physical Basis of Mind" might be taken as at once the confirmation and the refutation of this criticism. For if, on the one hand, there are many instances of what such a critic would regard as imperfect statements, there is a directness and clearness of thought which does not always accompany the fuller theory. The new volume, in fact, is marked by all Mr. Lewes's customary vivacity of expression and felicity of illustration. Occasionally, indeed, the very simplicity with which Mr. Lewes states his views leads to an amount of repetition and diffuseness which might have been avoided, and in some cases it is not at once easy to perceive the continuity between one chapter and another. Throughout, however, the biological standpoint forms a connecting thread between the different points of Mr. Lewes's discussion. Every problem of mind, the writer holds, is necessarily a problem of life; and since life is "the functional activity of an organism in relation to its medium," it follows that no part of the organism possesses life when isolated from that synthesis of all the parts in which life consists. The work is divided into four sections, of which the first deals with the nature of life, the second with the nervous mechanism, the third with animal automatism, while the fourth and last discusses the theory of reflex action. The first of these sections contains an instructive criticism on Mr. Herbert Spencer's theory that function determines organism, and an interesting suggestion to extend Mr. Darwin's "struggle for existence" to the competition of tissues and organs.

It is, however, in dealing with the question of animal automatism that Mr. Lewes chiefly displays his strength. The biological standpoint easily shows that animal actions cannot, as Mr. Huxley would have it, be explained from purely mechanical principles. "A machine, however complex its structure, is constructed once for all; and although by exercise the machine may come to work more easily, it never comes to work differently—to readjust its parts and develop new capabilities. It has no *historical* factor manifest in its functions. It has no experience. It reacts at last as at first." The organism, on the other hand, displays a fluctuating adjustment in its parts—an adjustment which is due to certain vital processes or *sensitive guidance*. This sensitive guidance, Mr. Lewes goes on to explain, is not to be described as merely a mechanical process. Body and mind, movement and feel-

ing, are indeed only two sides of one and the same process—"a logical process is identical with a neural process"—but the objective explanation of a sensation always implies a psychical process. "Such terms as undulations, refractions, media, lenses, retina, neural excitation overtly refer to the material objective aspect of the fact, but they are themselves the modes of feeling by which the facts are apprehended, and would not exist as such without the 'greeting of the spirit'" (p. 348). Thus far Mr. Lewes stands, we think, on certain ground; but when he proceeds to show that sensation may exist without consciousness, so that "the neural process of sentience, whether conscious, sub-conscious, or unconscious, is always a state of the sentient exercise;" and also that between voluntary and involuntary action no absolute distinction can be drawn, we doubt whether a more comprehensive theory of the relation of mind and matter is not required than that which Mr. Lewes offers. Into this, however, we cannot at present enter; still less can we go on to the examination of the theory of reflex action which occupies the fourth part of the volume. We can only heartily commend a volume which is full of physiological knowledge and philosophic insight. Whether the biological basis be a sufficient foundation or not, it goes at least a long way to solve the difficulties over which Materialism stumbles. It is something to prove, as Mr. Lewes does, "It is the man, and not the brain, that thinks; it is the organism as a whole, and not one organ, that feels and acts."

Mr. Lewes's conclusion, that "a mental process is only another aspect of a physical process," is in some respects the basis of Mr. Grant Allen's "Physiological Aesthetics," though it is to Mr. Herbert Spencer, "the greatest of living philosophers," rather than to Mr. Lewes, that the writer expresses his obligations. The end of Mr. Allen's book is clearly stated by him in the opening chapter. "My object," he says, "is to exhibit the purely physical origin of the sense of beauty, and its relativity to our nervous organisation." This origin he finds in an impulse similar to that which gives rise to play. Just as the desire for pleasure leads us to exercise a fully nourished organ on other processes than those necessary for existence, so art is the result of an equally superfluous development of the passive aspect of our nature.

"When we exercise our limbs and muscles, not for any ulterior life-serving object, but merely for the sake of the pleasure which the exercise affords us, the amusement is called play. When we similarly exercise our eyes or ears, the resulting pleasure is called an aesthetic feeling. In both cases the pleasure is a concomitant of the activity of a well-fed and under-worked organ; but in the latter instance it is on the receptive side, in the former on the reactive. So that aesthetic pleasure may be provisionally defined as the subjective concomitant of the normal amount of activity, not directly connected with life-serving function, in the peripheral end-organs of the cerebro-spinal nervous system."

This we leave to the initiated. A second passage puts the matter somewhat more clearly—

² "Physiological Aesthetics." By Grant Allen, B.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

"The æsthetically beautiful is that which affords the maximum of stimulation with the minimum of fatigue or waste in processes not directly connected with vital functions. The æsthetically ugly is that which conspicuously fails to do so; which gives little stimulation or makes excessive and wasteful demands upon certain portions of the organs."

Mr. Allen, however, does not leave us with this abstract statement. His book abounds in illustrations drawn from every field of life and nature. The poet's metres and the picture gallery, the Scottish loch and Alpine pass, the colours of plants and the nests of birds, are brought in no less than the ballroom and the dinner-table to illustrate the nature of æsthetic pleasure. Mr. Allen rightly holds that in æsthetics the lower forms of the sentiment must be studied no less than the higher; and the physiology of the senses with relation to æsthetic pleasure forms a considerable portion of his book. The discoveries of Helmholtz are applied with skilful hand to state the conditions of the pleasure we experience in music. It is, however, mainly in regard to sight that Mr. Allen illustrates his theory of maximum of stimulation. Blackness is unpleasant because it gives no stimulation to the optic nerve; sameness in outline is unpleasant because it demands continuous excitation of the same muscles, combined with continued stimulation of the same retinal points. And it is only after the actual æsthetic pleasures have been noticed that Mr. Allen goes on to describe ideal pleasure, as this same pleasure "unconnected in thought with our own personality, and wholly cut off from actuality."

It will be obvious that Mr. Allen's book is one of great interest, not unworthy to be compared in some respects with a book we lately noticed for our readers, Fechner's "*Vorschule der Ästhetik*." Mr. Allen evidently possesses a real faculty of observation, and very considerable powers of concrete illustration. Whether his theory is altogether true or not we do not undertake to say; but that the physiology of æsthetics is an important element in a theory of art will probably be denied by none. Mr. Allen's derivation of art from the play instinct of children is at least as old as Aristotle (*De Poet.*, c. iv.), and not merely, as Mr. Allen makes it, "as Schiller hinted and Mr. Herbert Spencer has proved at length." But we doubt whether the idea of a "maximum of stimulation" does not carry with it presuppositions which lift the sphere of art above the mere hedonist basis which Mr. Allen gives it. It is a pity, we must add, that a book otherwise so valuable should be disfigured with many pedantic and unnecessarily technical phrases. In a second edition such terms might be with advantage simplified.

Mr. Clulow's religion is better than his philosophy.⁴ He argues earnestly but soberly against "those bone-like summaries of doctrine called catechisms and creeds, articles or confessions; the dogmatic types of their respective eras or authors, whose tendency is to dilute and impair the true while conserving more or less of fiction or error;"

⁴ "Sunshine and Shadows; or, Sketches of Thought, Philosophie and Religious." By William Benton Clulow, Author of "Essays of a Recluse." New edition, revised and enlarged. London: Williams & Norgate. 1877.

and he rightly maintains "the Bible will never be used aright till people come to apprehend that, applicable to the same rules of criticism as compositions in general, and hearing the impress of the times when its respective portions were produced, its worth as an embodiment of deep spiritual experience is independent of the question of absolute correctness, scientific, historical, or philosophical." Mr. Clulow's book is full of sound religious teaching of this nature; and even in philosophy his "Sketches" may be of considerable value in introducing certain minds to speculative questions. Mr. Clulow has appreciated the better and the lasting result of Bacon's teaching; and what he says about the influence of words, the need of unbiassed judgment, and the like, is admirable.

Dr. Laing, who is the author of "The Blessed Virgin's Root traced in the Tribe of Ephraim," has published an examination of Lord Bacon's "Philosophy."⁵ The result, we fear, leads us to suppose that Dr. Laing had better continue to investigate the Blessed Virgin's radical peculiarities. His work is too much mere declamation to be of any service to our readers. There are, we fancy, few who nowadays assign to Bacon the importance which a former generation conferred upon him. The attempt to affiliate the philosophy of Locke and Hartley, or the scientific discoveries of Newton and of Hunter, upon the "Novum Organum," is now made by few who take the trouble to ascertain the truth in matters of historical connection. But to say this, to criticise Bacon sharply, to grant that he misinterpreted the Aristotle whom he had never taken the trouble to understand, to allow that the inductive method which he introduced was, so far as useful, no way new, and, so far as new, untenable and misleading—all this is to approach the subject in a spirit different from that of Dr. Laing's examination. To Dr. Laing, Bacon is merely the philosophical counterpart of Luther, and the Baconian logic is as monstrous as Protestant free-thinking. "Rank nihilism," he tells us, "is the logical outcome of the pursuit of what is called science according to modern conditions. From the time of Lord Bacon downwards, through Hobbes, Locke, Hume, Stuart Mill, Mr. Herbert Spencer, and the self-styled 'scientifics,' there has been a marked progress, but it is a progress only in sterility." Much, however, as we dissent from the tone of Dr. Laing's work, and much as we object to its style, especially in its absolute use of the relatives "*who*" and "*which*," still his book is not without its side of truth. He sees that induction can never be independent of deduction, and that knowledge cannot be purely either *a priori* or *a posteriori*; while he is not altogether without grounds in referring to the popular English idea of a scholastic thinker "as being a man who spent his whole time in calculating 'how many angels could dance on the top of a needle.'" But these truths would have been more likely to obtain a hearing had Dr. Laing expressed his views with

⁵ "Lord Bacon's 'Philosophy' Examined." To which is added "The Mental Process of Experience: An Essay read at the Catholic Academy, January 1877." By the Rev. F. H. Laing, D.D. London: John Hodges. 1877.

more temperance, and recognised the fact that even Bacon was not without some apprehension of the inadequacy of sense-knowledge.

Mr. Long has applied the power of ready translation which he brought before to bear on Marcus Aurelius to produce an English version of the "Discourses of Epictetus,"⁶—"rather a great undertaking," as he not unjustifiably remarks, "for an old man who is now past seventy-six." It is not our province to compare the work with its original, but we can at least commend the volume for its clear incisive English, while we thankfully accept the Greek equivalents which Mr. Long has sometimes introduced. The translation is accompanied by an introduction, somewhat diffuse, as Mr. Long's works often are, and an index, in which "any person who has the necessary industry may find almost every passage in the Discourses in which the opinions of the philosopher are stated, and thus acquire a general notion of the philosophy of Epictetus."

Philosophy abroad has but few works to offer for the quarter. The most important is a volume by Herr von Hartmann dealing with the present tendencies of German speculative thought.⁷ The book consists of a series of essays, which discuss the most representative thinkers of the present day. The first of these essays deals with the Neo-Kantianism of Lange and Vaihinger, the second with the Schopenhauerianism of Frauenstädt and Bahnsen, and the third with the Hegelianism of Volkelt and Rehmke. The last essay is an expansion of a work which appeared some years ago under the title "Explanations to the Metaphysic of the Unconscious," and on this ground the present volume is described as a second edition of these "Explanations."

The criticism of the Lange-Vaihinger scepticism and subjectivity in the first essay we have mentioned forms perhaps the most interesting section of the volume. Vaihinger, it may be necessary to inform our readers, published some months ago a work entitled "Hartmann, Dühring, und Lange," in which the two first-mentioned thinkers were described as one-sided dogmatists, between whose rival systems Lange with his conception of philosophy as a mere product of our imaginative synthesis intervened as mediator. It is against this version of the "Philosophy of the Unconscious" that Von Hartmann now joins issue. His system, he seeks to show, is not an idealism as opposed to realism, but the higher synthesis of both, in what may be described either as an ideal realism or a real idealism. For the agnosticism which both Lange and his followers exalt, Von Hartmann has nothing but words of scorn. "The whole of modern natural science," he not unjustly says, "is science, only under the condition that the transcendental realism, under whose forms students of nature think the world, is

⁶ "The Discourses of Epictetus; with the Encheiridion and Fragments." Translated, with Notes, a Life of Epictetus, and a View of his Philosophy, by George Long. London: George Bell & Sons. 1877.

⁷ "Neukantianismus, Schopenhauerianismus und Hegelianismus in ihrer Stellung zu den Philosophischen Aufgaben der Gegenwart." Zweite erweiterte Auflage der "Erläuterungen zur Metaphysik des Unbewussten." Von Eduard von Hartmann. (Berlin: C. Duucker. 1877.

true ;" and he not unfairly points out the absurdity of Lange in regarding the synthesis of the imagination given in philosophy as a necessity of our nature, while granting that it is utterly indifferent whether this synthesis be true or not. But the writer would have done well to have omitted the dialogue in which Herr Vaihinger proposes to and is rejected by a lady who does not appreciate the theory which reduces all her charms to mere subjective states within her lover's mind. The remaining essays will be read with interest by those who wish to understand Hartmann's system and the present tendencies of German philosophy.

The Spinoza bicentenary has, of course, produced a quantity of literature concerned with the great Jewish thinker. Two works only have, however, reached us. The first is a German translation of the speech M. Renan delivered at the Hague on February 21,⁸ a speech which makes the astounding statement that Spinoza, who was born in 1632, and died in 1677, was, 200 years ago, lying on his death-bed in the *forty-third* year of his age. The second monograph is from the pen of Dr. Rothschild.⁹ The latter work contains a simple account of Spinoza's life; and a short but appreciative summary of his opinions. Dr. Rothschild, we are glad to see, defends the story of Spinoza's affection for Van den Ende's daughter, an episode which Van Vloten, we always thought, too summarily dismissed.

We have received three parts of a "monthly publication stating and explaining the aphorisms of the six schools of Indian philosophy, with their translation into Marathi and English."¹⁰ The numbers already issued deal with Jaiminîs Mīmāṃsā, and succeeding numbers are, it would seem, to take up the systems of Goutama, Kanāda, and Kapila. The work when completed promises to be a valuable collection of materials for a knowledge of Indian philosophy.

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

MR. EDWARD MAITLAND¹ is well known as the author of a successful novel, "The Pilgrim and the Shrine," and of other publications, for which we should suspect the public is rather select than numerous. He has now addressed himself to the Turkish question in a compact, well-printed little volume of over six hundred pages, entitled

⁸ "Spinoza: Rede am 21 Februar 1877, bei dessen zweihundertjähriger Todesfeier, gehalten im Haag." Von Ernst Renan. Autorisirte Uebersetzung. Von C. Schaarschmidt in Bonn. Leipzig: Erich Koschny. 1877.

⁹ "Spinoza: Zur Rechtfertigung seiner Philosophie und Zeit. Eine Denkschrift zum 200 jährigen Todestage." Von Dr. Rothschild, Rabbiner in Alzny. Leipzig: Erich Koschny. 1877.

¹⁰ "The Shaddarschana-Chintanikā; or, Studies in Indian Philosophy." Doona: Printed at the "Dnyan Prakash" Press. 1877.

¹ "England and Islam; or, The Counsel of Caiaphas." By Edward Maitland. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1877.

"England and Islam ; or, The Counsel of Caiaphas." The work contains a miraculous combination of opinions and views on all sorts of subjects, including vegetarianism, spiritualism, interest in animals, political Liberalism, and the Turkish question and Mr. Gladstone. Mr. Maitland seems to anticipate, in a union of England with Turkey against Russia, a sort of spiritual regeneration of Christianity, the Church of England(!), and Liberalism. Such passages as the following seem to point to some such consummation. England is to say to Turkey, among other things, "So (if we fail) will your ancestral soul and ours, the souls of your father Abraham and of our parent Christ, have lived and died in vain. Come, then, let bygones be bygones, and we will lay our minds together to set your house in order within and without, and so do all things in the 'unity of the spirit and the bond of peace,' that the world, wondering, shall say, 'See how these Pantheists love one another !' for the lesser names then will be merged in the greater." "Let us take a fresh departure. True Liberalism is ever true Conservatism. Even in the sphere of politics we cannot escape from the eternal verity, seen so long ago, that God created man in his own image, male and female. In politics Liberalism is the male, Conservatism is the female element." "I seem to see, with absolute vision, that at this very moment the soul of our common country is striving to find entrance to Mr. Gladstone's inmost heart, so long locked against her by the key of Ecclesiasticism. Long has England's soul been kept standing in the outer courts of the temple of that heart, seeking in vain an entrance to its holy of holies. Long has she been knocking and knocking without finding encouraging response. He, dwelling within amid a heap of ecclesiastical and other nicknacks, has hitherto caught the sound but faintly ; for the sound has been smothered, and his own ear dulled, by the unvitalised rubbish with which he has crowded his sanctuary." "While Mr. Gladstone's false self has remained at home with the chief priests and pharisees of sacerdotalism, his true, though unenlightened self has gone astray, and wasted his country's substance in riotous living with the wantons of Liberalism." It is impossible not to have a certain admiration of Mr. Maitland's enthusiasm and exuberance of utterance, though his work will operate rather as a blaze of fireworks (not always very symmetrical) than a limelight.

An agreeable series of letters from the neighbourhood of Constantinople,² written during the latter half of 1876 to a lady friend, forms one of the numbers of the series of German pamphlets on "Controversial Questions of the Day," edited by Herr von Holzendorff. The latter part of the correspondence extends over the time of the preparations for the Conference. The writer expresses it as the general opinion, that if England and Russia could heartily co-operate, effectual guarantees of good government could be obtained from the Porte.

Apart from all controversy as to the special or general policy of

² "Türkische Skizzen in Briefen an eine Freundin, 1876." Von Charibles. Berlin : Carl Habel 1877.

England at this crisis of the Eastern question, Mr. Freeman³ and Mr. MacColl⁴ must be held to have rendered a considerable service in collecting together in a succinct and readable form the main facts of the case, present and past, which do not admit of debate. Mr. Freeman has treated in a distinct work the subject of the Saracens, and the object of the newer work is to fix attention on the Ottoman Turks as distinguished from other Turks and other professors of the Mohammedan religion. He points out that there were circumstances in the comparative situation of the nations of Western and of Eastern Europe which always rendered the latter far less accessible to the dominating influence of such invaders as the Selaves and the Ottomans than the former were to the incursions of the Teutons. In the West, the influence of Rome was pervasive, single, and undivided. In the East, the world was indeed politically Roman, but intellectually Greek. Thus real organic unity in the East was from the first impossible, and the invasions of the Servians, the Bulgarians, and, later, of the Ottoman Turks, only resulted in the partial occupation, more or less permanent, of definite territory, the national elements of which remained always distinct from the elements which composed adjoining states. The Ottoman Turks, descending as they did from the followers of Othman and his son Orkhan, who, as wandering hordes, allied themselves with the Seljukian Turks about the beginning of the fourteenth century, founded the Ottoman Empire by throwing off their nominal allegiance to the Sultan. The institution of "tribute children" drawn from the subject provinces, and of the janissaries, contributed to consolidate their dominion, and their story henceforward to the present time is, first, that of successive conflicts in Europe and Asia with Servia, Bulgaria, Greece, Venice, Hungary, and Russia; and then a continuous liberation of previously subjected provinces, effected partly by unassisted revolts, and partly by military and diplomatic interference on the part of the Western powers and Russia. The work is, of course, clearly, and in parts brilliantly written, and brings into a focus all the attainable information on the subject with which it deals. It need not be said that Mr. Freeman regards the dominion of the Ottoman Turks as an unmixed evil wherever it prevails, and as inherently incapable of satisfying even the initial requirements of a national government. Mr. MacColl's book is a comprehensive and precise review, founded on personal investigations, of the existing condition of the subject provinces, and is very conveniently arranged for purposes of reference, the condition of the "Rayahs" being successively tested in view of all the essential requirements of civilised life--(1) security for life; (2) security for honour; (3) security for religious freedom, and (4) security for property. The last chapter passes in review, for the purpose of decisively condemning the conduct of the British Government, all the late contemporary elements of the Eastern question,

³ "The Ottoman Power in Europe; its Nature, its Growth, and its Decline." By Edward A. Freeman, D.C.L., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

⁴ "The Eastern Question; its Facts and Fallacies." By Malcolm MacColl M.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

such as the Consular delegation, the Andrassy Note, the Berlin Note, the Conference, and the final Protocol which preceded the war.

The purely legal and constitutional side of the question relating to the compulsory examination and medical treatment of prostitutes has been treated by Professor Sheldon Amos⁵ in an elaborate treatise, which follows a strictly comparative method, and contains a copious Appendix, "giving the text of laws and police regulations as they now exist in England, in British dependencies, in the chief towns of Continental Europe, and in other parts of the world; a precise narrative of the passing of the English statutes; and an historical account of English laws and legislation on the subject from the earliest times to the present." It was in this *Review* that the medical inefficiency and inhumanity of the foreign system, which forms the prototype of the English Contagious Diseases Acts, were first publicly exposed, and the subject has been from time to time recurred to. The description of the subject, both in and out of Parliament, has since been a good deal perplexed by allegations, on the one side, of actual medical and philanthropic successes attained in this country, and, on the other side, of special abuses which have attended the administration of the system in England. Professor Sheldon Amos's work travels along a line quite independent both of medical success or failure, and of good or bad administration of the law. It is the purpose of his work to describe the licensing system in this and other countries merely as a legal and political fact, and to predict the logical consequences of its operation, whether as affecting public liberty, public morality, or the attainment of laudable philanthropic ends. The method of the work is to take in turn all the essential facts and institutions of which the licensing system consists,—such as registration, periodical surgical examination, police supervision, brothels, and certified hospitals; and describe in somewhat minute detail the mode in which, in different countries, each of these is called into being or supported by law and police regulations. At each point the direct bearing of the law on the important ends above adverted to is distinctly pointed out. Great pains are taken to trace the relationship of the English to the Continental method, and a special chapter is devoted to this topic. The work contains copious extracts from the foreign regulations, and from the most recent foreign treatises, especially those of Mireur, Jeannel, and Lecour. The general argument of the writer is, that even supposing the medical theory on which the licensing system reposes to be a true one, the carrying out of it involves, on the face of it, an amount of injustice, cruelty, and immorality exactly proportioned to the amount of medical success sought for; and for any area beyond the narrowest and the most easily manageable, complete medical success, if attainable at all, would mean, both for men and for women, moral and political suicide. The English Acts are conclusively shown to follow the foreign system almost letter by letter as far as was compatible with a formal deference to the re-

⁵ "A Comparative Survey of Laws in force for the Prohibition, Regulation, and Licensing of Vices in England and other Countries." By Sheldon Amos, M.A. London: Stevens. 1877.

quirements of the English constitution, and with the necessity of securing an easy passage through both Houses of Parliament.

There is no doubt that Mr. James Paterson has written a very able and useful work on the "Liberty of the Subject,"⁶ and such criticism as it is open to is far more properly addressed to its form than to its substance. Mr. Paterson succeeds in making almost the whole body of English law—excluding, indeed, the wide subjects of property, contract, and some parts of constitutional law—revolve round the centre of the liberty of the subject; and it is no small gain to attach, at last, a definite meaning to this much used and abused expression, "to rescue it," as Mr. Paterson says, "from the vague and rambling thoughts that too often accompany it in the street, the market, and the senate, and reduce it to a language and method which will make the citizens of all countries more akin." The work is a very erudite one, always tracing the history of a class of laws when it is accessible; and yet severely practical, giving at every point the most recent and technical statutes, and the result of the judicial cases decided upon them. The main question which the book as a whole raises is, whether it is helpful, either to a student or a practitioner, to approach the complex body of English law from the starting-point of the liberty of the subject? In one sense, all laws are invasions of an abstract liberty; and when this is confessed, it does not appear that the mere preservation of liberty can ever be accepted as the central object of any large class of laws; while no law is a good law if the liberty of one is impaired a jot further than is needed for the general and lasting advantage of all.

We have two treatises on the evils of drink, proceeding from two very different quarters, and dealing with the subject in very different ways. The author of one treatise, "The Discipline of Drink,"⁷ is the Rev. T. E. Bridgett, of the Congregation of the Most Holy Redeemer; and the author of the other, "The Devil's Chain,"⁸ is Mr. Edward Jenkins, M.P. The "Discipline of Drink" professes to be "an historical inquiry into the principles and practice of the Catholic Church regarding the use, abuse, and disuse of alcoholic liquors, especially in England, Ireland, and Scotland, from the sixth to the sixteenth century." It is no disparagement to the *bona fides* of the work, as a genuine effort to fix attention on an enormous and growing evil, that one main purpose of the work is to show that the Roman Catholic Church in England has from the earliest times recognised and grappled with the national tendency to inebriety; but that from the time of the Reformation, when the power of the Church was crippled, the evil began to grow enormously; and the first legal restrictions on the free sale of intoxicating liquors were made in Edward the Sixth's reign. In the

⁶ "Commentaries on the Liberty of the Subject and the Laws of England Relating to the Person." By James Paterson, M.A. In two vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

⁷ "The Discipline of Drink." By the Rev. T. E. Bridgett. With an Introductory Letter to the Author by His Eminence Cardinal Manning. London: Burns & Oates. 1876.

⁸ "The Devil's Chain." By Edward Jenkins, M.P. London: William Mullin & Son. 1877.

Appendix, an interesting account is given of existing Catholic organisations for promoting temperance. Such are the "Confraternity of the Sacred Thirst and Agony of Jesus and of the Dolours of Mary, to repress intemperance;" the "League of the Cross," a total abstinence association; the "Salford Diocesan Crusade," consisting of the Total Abstinence League and the Association of Prayer; the "Crusade, or Catholic Association for the Suppression of Drunkenness;" the "Holy Legion of Prayer for the Suppression of Drunkenness, and especially to ask God's blessing on all societies engaged in this holy work;" "Saturday-night Association in Honour of our Blessed Lady;" the "Holy War against Drunkenness;" "German Temperance Association." Cardinal Manning's "Introductory Letter" contains wise and just counsel, and the work gives some curious historical details as to the early use of intoxicating beverages in this country, and the general abuse of alcohol by the Teutonic races. Mr. Jenkins rests his argument against over-drinking on the exhibition of a series of ghastly occurrences, forming the rapidly-shifting scenes of a loosely-strung tale, the only real connecting link between the different scenes being that drink has brought about the miserable disasters with which every page is crammed. Everybody drinks, and nearly everybody drinks himself to death, or worse. Coroner, policeman, clergyman, Methodist minister, gentleman, lady, rich man, poor man, captain, undertaker, and nearly every subordinate character in the piece, make up together a drunken, reeling world, out of which every form of crime, vice, and misery immediately springs. The horror of the book is that the separate incidents undoubtedly recall well-known facts, and yet the whole is such a burlesque of any existing society as, even for a gravely didactic purpose, to be intolerable.

The Report⁹ furnished by Mr. M'Laren and Mr. Beaumont to the Clothworkers' Company on the weaving and other technical schools in Belgium, Switzerland, Germany, and France, contains a quantity of useful information in a very compact space. The authors strongly commend the industrial schools for girls and young women which are found at Brussels, Berlin, Vienna, and Prague. They justly add, that it is greatly to be regretted that such schools do not exist in this country. "They would supply a want which is greatly felt here, especially by that class of girls and women who look upon the position of a governess as their only means of earning a living. They have the ability and the taste to become designers, but they need the technical instruction which at present it is almost impossible for them to obtain. They want also the recommendation of having studied at some such school to induce manufacturers to employ them; but if it were known that they had such a training as the German girls receive, they could easily obtain remunerative employment in many ways."

We have received the half-yearly report for the latter half of 1876

⁹ "Report to the Worshipful Clothworkers' Company of London on the Weaving and other Technical Schools of the Continent." By Walter S. B. M'Laren, M.A., and John Beaumont. London: Rivington & Co. 1877.

of the Italian Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce.¹⁰ A special account is included of the registration system now in use in England for ascertaining and tabulating the causes of death. It is interesting to find a far clearer account of the English system given than Englishmen could easily supply themselves.

The popular economic treatises¹¹ of David Hume have been translated into German by Dr. Niedermüller. This is a proof how England leads the way even in the antiquities of economical research.

A new number (the 268th) of the series of "Popular Scientific Treatises"¹² is supplied by Dr. Stammler on the "Position of Women in the Old German Law." As in the case of the other numbers of this valuable series, the subject is exhaustively handled in the most condensed form. A good deal of attention is given to the well-formulated practice, to which the early German codes bear constant witness, of buying a wife from her parents for a stipulated price. According to the laws of the English Ethelbert (from 560 A.D. to 616 A.D.), if a man violated another man's wife, he was liable to pay for her marriageable value, and also, out of his own property, to purchase another wife for the man he had wronged. The laws of the Burgundians, of the Visigoths, and of the Saxons are full of reference to these usages. Dr. Stammler further notices the peculiar ideas that prevailed in early times as to the special privileges and immunities a wife enjoyed while lying-in, and the penalties that generally attached to the offence of insubordination to her husband. The husband does not seem to have acquired the out-and-out ownership of his wife's property, but to have had, as under the French Community system, the right of administering it for the common family advantage, and without the power of alienating immovables. On the husband's death the guardianship of the widow passed to his nearest male relative, but she enjoyed far more independence than an unmarried woman. This work ought to be translated into English.

Dr. Baron's pamphlet on "Inheritance"¹³ is a highly scientific treatment of the subject. He contrasts the ideas of the St. Simonians, of M. Louis Blanc, and of Mr. Mill, and, on the whole, is of opinion that the fault of modern legislation is to lose sight of inheritance as an independent notion of high moral value, and to merge it in succession to property.

It has been a useful task to reprint, from the "Foreign Relations of the United States, 1876," two reports by Mr. Andrews, Minister-resident of the United States at Stockholm, on the "Revenue from Spirits and the Civil Service in Sweden"¹⁴ and on "Pauperism and

¹⁰ "Annali del Ministero di Agricoltura, Industria, e Commercio Anno 1876." Secondo Semestre, Numero 85. "Statistica." Roma. 1877.

¹¹ "Nationalökonomische Abhandlungen von David Hume." Uebersetzt von Dr. H. Niedermüller. Leipzig: Roschnz. 1877.

¹² "Die Stellung der Frauen in alten deutschen." Recht von Dr. Stammler. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

¹³ "Angriffe auf das Erbrecht." Von Dr. J. Baron. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

¹⁴ "Report from Mr. Andrews on the Revenue from Spirits and on the Civil Service of Sweden." London: John S. Levey. 1877.

Poor-Laws in Sweden and Norway.”¹⁵ As a general rule, for admission to the civil service in Sweden, a person must at least have passed one or two examinations at the university; but for appointment to subordinate places in the post and customs departments, it is only required that the applicant shall have graduated at one of the high schools, “of which there are thirty, averaging about twenty teachers to each.” The examinations seem to be very thorough, Mill’s work being used as the text-book on Political Economy. In respect of the relief of the poor in Sweden it seems that, since 1871, relief must be granted to a minor under the age of fifteen, or person who, “in consequence of old age, or defect in body or mind, is incompetent to acquire what is absolutely requisite for sustaining life, and lacks means of his own and support and care by another.” In other cases relief can only be granted on principles which the “poor-district” responsible for the care of its own poor may and must prescribe, in such a way as to make the prevention of pauperism a main feature of its policy. It would seem that the study of Mr. Mill’s works in the schools is beginning to bear fruit. Previous to 1871 relief was granted as a matter of course to every applicant.

The method pursued in the somewhat original treatise entitled “*The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity*,”¹⁶ is one deserving of all praise, and, if extensively and faithfully used, may be expected to lead to very fruitful results. The “Jukes” are a pseudonym for a real family, various members of which have attracted the writer’s attention when engaged in the service of the Prison Association on special circuits of observation of county jails in 1874 and of the state prisons of the New York State in 1875. The method of inquiry may be described as that of comparative human physiology and psychology. The ethical history of every member of the family for as many as five or six generations is analytically scrutinised and briefly tabulated, and all the outward circumstances of biographical importance are noted. The result is to afford a series of more and more confidently asserted generalisations with respect to proclivities to crime and pauperism. Such are that “hereditary pauperism seems to be more fixed than hereditary crime, for very much of crime is the misdirection of faculty, and is amenable to discipline, while very much of pauperism is due to the absence of the vital power, the lines of pauperism being, in many cases, identical with such lines of organic disease of mind or body as insanity, consumption, syphilis, which cause the successive extinction of capacity, from generation to generation, till death supervenes.” This conclusion is what might have been expected from deductive reasoning.

We have received the exhaustive and minutely classified report of

¹⁵ “Report from Mr. Andrews on Pauperism and Poor-Laws in Sweden and Norway.” London: John S. Levey. 1877.

¹⁶ “*The Jukes: A Study in Crime, Pauperism, Disease, and Heredity*.” By R. L. Dugdale. With an Introduction by Elisha Harris, M.D. New York: G. P. Putnam. 1877.

the Normal, Model, High, and Public Schools of Ontario for the Year 1875,¹⁷ prepared by the Minister of Education.

Mr. Dana Horton's treatise on "Silver and Gold,"¹⁸ though intended primarily for the American public, and dealing more especially with pressing American problems, is a work of considerable general interest, and a contribution of value to the discussion of the subject in its largest aspects. The depreciation in the value of silver in India, the changes in the monetary system of some of the chief Continental countries, and the standing problem of resumption of specie payments in the United States, are facts which clearly indicate that the topic has an international quite as much as a national bearing. And this affords the key to Mr. Dana Horton's mode of handling the subject. He is in favour of securing, by a comprehensive system of treatises, a bi-metallic currency for all nations. He holds "that the injury done by the demoralisation of either metal within the borders of a single nation depends upon the less or greater disturbance, through the displacement of metal, of the equilibrium hitherto maintained, and the amount of exchangeability of existing money thereby temporarily or permanently destroyed." The book is an extremely interesting one from every point of view. It examines minutely the existing monetary situation of the United States, and gives an exact account of all the steps taken in England in reference to the currency since the reorganisation of the coinage in 1717.

We have much pleasure in calling attention to Professor Gumersindo de Azcarate's treatise on "Self-Government,"¹⁹ as an exhibition of Spanish liberal opinion in the field of abstract political science. The writer is already known by his works on "Comparative Legislation," by his "Social and Economical Studies," and by his translation of Lord Mackenzie's "Roman Law." The present work deals intelligently, succinctly, and eruditely with all the primary topics round which modern politics gather, such as the advantages and disadvantages of personal government, the test by which the morality of revolution is to be decided, the possibility of constitutional reform, the conditions of parliamentary government, the good and evil of centralisation, the value of the institution of jury trial, and the meaning and limits of the so-called "prerogative of the crown." In reference to the last topic, the writer quotes Mr. Gladstone's remarks in the *Contemporary Review* for June 1875 on the influence of the throne on English politics. The writer displays at every point a thorough conversance both with the historical aspects of his subject, and with the most recent authorities upon it in other countries. It is to be hoped this work may be accepted as a sign of a Spanish revival of speculative activity in political thought.

¹⁷ "Annual Report of the Normal, Model, High, and Public Schools at Ontario for the Year 1875." By the Minister of Education. Toronto. 1877.

¹⁸ "Silver and Gold, and their Relation to the Problem of Resumption." By S. Dana Horton. New edition. Cincinnati: R. Clarke. 1877.

¹⁹ "El Self-Government y la Monarquía Doctrinaria." Por Gumersindo de Azcarate. Madrid: Ade San Martin. 1877.

In his laborious examination of "*Grotius's Theory of Punishment*,"²⁰ Herr Pfenniger rightly assumes that any exhaustive and exact consideration of the subject implies the analysis of a number of leading moral and political terms, such as revenge, justice, state, individual, and the like; and any view advocated by such a man as Grotius must be looked at in connection with the remarkable period at which he lived, and the peculiar ethical and political circumstances by which he was surrounded. For the first quarter of the seventeenth century, when Grotius wrote, the European world was shaking itself free from dominating ecclesiastical influences in philosophy, just as it had, in the previous century, freed itself from the same influences in religion. Grotius, again, through his friend Oldenbarnevelt, was brought into close connection with political life, and his utterances must be interpreted with reference to this fact. It was also a day of active moral controversy between the Arminians and their opponents, and Grotius claimed for the State the right of deciding matters of ecclesiastical order. Thus Grotius wrote in a highly composite character, and with responsibilities upon him of a very mixed kind. When he speaks, then, of punishment being "the evil of suffering which is inflicted in return for the evil in action," a definition vague and indeterminate in itself admits of being interpreted in view of strict political necessities. Herr Pfenniger works out the course of this interpretation, though it must be confessed that Bentham's method is a simpler and shorter one.

A portly tome in scarlet and gold, and with the Prince of Wales's arms and monogram upon it, prepares the reader's mind by its outward form for Dr. Russell's²¹ loyal tone within. The merits and demerits of his style are well known to a wider public than is commanded by those who do not write from time to time as newspaper correspondents; and there is no fresh characteristic to remark upon, unless it be the minute fidelity and the strict attention to the details that captivate the common mind, which have led him to record the Prince's blue jacket and white trousers, or other raiment, day after day, even on shipboard. The result of such an elaborate observation and description is, that many who would read no other volume giving information about India will find that their love of hearing about royalty has brought them face to face with many facts about India and other parts of the world visited by the Prince. But, on the other hand, these facts are carefully selected ones. Nothing unpleasant was allowed to come to the surface in India, and, of course, nothing unpleasant has to be narrated. Mr. Fawcett's objection in the House of Commons to the Indian peasant being taxed for the Prince's tour is "unfortunate," and against "the weight of authority;" our early doings in India were "British enterprise," and so on. But all this could not be otherwise in a book written by one of the royal suite,

²⁰ "*Der Begriff der Strafe. Untersucht an der Theorie der Hugo Grotius.*" Von Heinrich Pfenniger. Zurich. 1877.

²¹ "*The Prince of Wales's Tour: A Diary in India.*" By William Howard Russell. London: Sampson Low, Marston, & Co. 1877.

and written under circumstances which make it necessary for the writer to warn the reader that the opinions and expressions occurring in the book are to be ascribed to none but the writer himself. The whole thing is pleasantly got up, is exceedingly good for what it is, and is likely to be of service, as has already been said, to that large public who will not swallow information unless it is gilded by some connection with wealth, rank, or show. The illustrations cannot be in any way praised. They are chiefly scenes intensely uncharacteristic of the journey, and without artistic ability, being little more than pictures of the Prince himself in and out of boots, on and off elephants, and in various costumes. One of them has a dash of humour—a caricature of a Highland piper running away from impossible serpents. The whole thing is unworthy of Dr. Russell's fame, and is essentially snobbish.

In the stirring events of the East we are apt to lose sight of questions and schemes which, affecting populations as numerous, and perhaps even more helpless and suffering than those which groan in Europe under Mohammedan tyranny, are of immense and pressing importance. It is long since England and most other European nations expressed their firm resolve that slavery should cease, and it has seemed to some that Europe has contented itself with that declaration. England, with all her self-gratulation about the abolition of slavery, has been content to call herself the ally of slaveholding nations, dyed with the blackest guilt of the slave trade; and English people need much information before they will rouse themselves to make at least as great an effort as their forefathers made to rid themselves of complicity in the crimes of slavery. The Brussels Geographical Conference, of which M. Emile Banning²² was a member, will probably prove to have been a new point of departure towards this great end. The facts there collected, the plans for the opening of Africa to less hazardous exploration, as well as to missionary and commercial enterprise, the opportunity for travellers and geographers to become personally acquainted, and so to have better understanding together, the general appeal to popular attention, all combine to mark out last autumn as a most important date for African history. An establishment has now been satisfactorily founded by Englishmen on Lake Nyassa, in a good climate, a fruitful country, among willing tribes, checking by its very presence one of the great streams of slave exportation, and well situated to form a centre of communication between the Zambesi and the Nile. The result of the consultations at Brussels has been to determine that stations will be established on an oblique line corresponding almost exactly with Captain Cameron's route, and detailed plans and funds are so far already in hand that we may hope before long to see fruits of the truly royal effort of the King of the Belgians. M. Banning's book is of great interest. The variety of type, the intellectual vigour,

²² "Africa and the Brussels Geographical Conference." By Emile Banning. Translated by R. H. Major, F.S.A. London; Sampson Low, Marston, & Co. 1877.

the advanced civilisation of the negro race in many parts of Africa, are well depicted by him. To many readers, the idea of light-coloured, pretty women; of men whom Livingstone was ready to back for "shape of head, and generally in physical form too, against the whole Anthropological Society;" of a negro who reduced the speech of his tribe to a definite alphabet; of negro courts of justice of three degrees, before which causes are skilfully argued; and of the existence of many of the industrial arts in Central Africa, will be quite new, because they have been buried in the too ponderous volumes of travellers. For all this, and for a repetition of the horrors of the slave trade, it would be well if the interested, and even more well if the ignorant and callous, would turn to this book.

The district of Seonee lies between the Nerbudda and Nagpoor, and is a plateau of some 4000 square miles. Its resources have been considerably developed by Sir Richard Temple, and the description of it in the volume before us²³ is now somewhat out of date. But, great as would be that drawback in the case of ordinary books of travel, in this case it is not of much consequence, for Mr. Sterndale writes in a manner that would make his adventures interesting at any time. It is not merely that he has, for good reasons, thrown his own hunting exploits and those of his friends into the form of a fictitious narrative, but that he has eliminated from them that purely personal element that usually so overpowers all others that only very near and dear friends of the hunter can possibly rejoice that he prints his tales. More than that, Mr. Sterndale so interweaves perfectly credible hunting stories, and creditable ones too, with interesting talk about the habits of the beasts and birds, with popular tales and traditions of the natives, with varied human interests, and with scraps of botanical knowledge, that no better book that deals with hunting or with the life of an Indian official "up country" could be put into the hands of boy or girl. This is much to say of a book written by a sportsman about sport. It is not usual to find in the sportsman's creed that "the life of God's creatures was not to be taken without just cause or need—for food, for defence, or for the protection of life and property." "No hunter was more cautious of preserving the lives of his followers than he was, and he would sooner face a tiger himself than risk the chance of exposing a single beater." His hero is a magistrate too, and many a short and clear description of the relations of the dominant race and the natives occurs by the way, and prepares for a just judgment in India or at home on Indian matters. The last chapter is a scene during the mutiny of 1857, written in a worthy English spirit, as distinguished from the spirit of indiscriminate fury and vengeance only too common. The Appendix contains a topographical and historical sketch of the Seonee district, a table of its flora and fauna, and an account of the aboriginal and immigrant inhabitants of the plateau, their language, religion, social rites, and

²³ "Seonee; or, Camp Life on the Satpura Range." By Robert Armitage Sterndale, F.R.G.S. London: Sampson Low, Marston, & Co. 1877.

history. The aborigines are Gonds, of whom there are twelve tribes; the immigrants, Rajpoots, Pathans, Ponwars, and various others. Among the Gonds the women are definitely taller, stronger, and better formed than the men, who are Mongolian in type, dark, and of small stature. Their character as servants stands very high, they being faithful, honest, truthful, obedient, though suspicious of strangers and "peculiarly open to cajolery." How very many such books are needed before English people will begin to know how ignorant they are of India!

"I have written this book at the suggestion of a few friends, from the very meagre notes jotted down in a small pocket-diary." Mr. Cowley Lambert²⁴ makes the heart of his too-confiding reader sink at once. By this time surely a traveller might have learned that the suggestion of a few friends is not sufficient excuse, if that is all; nor is even the fact that when he wanted to go shooting in Cashmere he did not find a book to tell him all he wanted to know. If there had been such a book he would not have gone, because what these sportsmen all want is to go and kill a few poor beasts that other sportsmen have not killed. Mr. Cowley Lambert advises others to go in his track if they have three months—and apparently £300 or more—to spare; but, on the other hand, he says the shooting is not so good there as it used to be. He got no ibex, they being the object of his ambition. If any one feels inwardly compelled to go to Cashmere to shoot, let him inform himself well about Cashmere, its history, and its people; let him learn some geology, zoology, mineralogy, botany, and cultivate general interests; and then, if on his return home the same inward monitor "or a few friends" drive him to write a little book, perhaps it will be more interesting than this one.

The third eighteenpenny part of the series of well-illustrated sketches of London street life by Messrs. J. Thompson and Adolphe Smith²⁵ contains three short papers on street doctors, street advertising, and Clapham common industries. Each has a "permanent" photographic illustration, and is interesting as bringing into notice byeways of social life which are as little thought of as they may prove to be transient. It is well for us to get such vivid little pictures of how whole classes of our fellow-citizens live, while we are considering how to spread comfort and health and moral light around, and to workers and writers of a future day such a collection as this will be of incalculable value. It seems that street doctors flourish on the fact that the poor often do not like to be treated by the parish doctor or at the hospital, or are too busy or too far away to seek gratuitous advice, or too ill and weak. For these "provident dispensaries" would be invaluable. Among the agents of street advertisement there appear to be two classes. "Boardmen" look down upon "Bill-stickers," but the latter are the more independent. Clapham industries are chiefly concerned with

²⁴ "A Trip to Cashmere and Ladak." By Cowley Lambert, F.R.G.S. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

²⁵ "Street Life in London." By J. Thompson, F.R.G.S., and Adolphe Smith. London: Sampson Low, Marston, & Co. 1877.

photography and donkey-letting. It is to be remarked as worthy of all praise, that these pictures of London life are free from the patronising caricaturist spirit, so repulsively pervading even popular and useful writers on such matters.

Two successive numbers of this popular science series deal with excessively diverse subjects. The first, by Professor Dr. Willkomm,²⁶ is full of interesting matter about the history and statistics of the names, cultivation, and use of the fig, olive, orange,—including lemon and citron,—and date. For the fig he claims the highest antiquity of cultivation; for the olive extreme longevity,—believing that some trees now in the garden near Jerusalem probably date from the Christian era. For the date he claims the honour of having been an object of worship. Where it grows water is to be found, and cities came to be founded; from its early communities could get all the necessities of life; and so Dr. Willkomm says it came to be worshipped as a symbol of the light and sun-god. Its oldest name is "El," the strong. For much curious matter this pamphlet may well be sought. The next "Heft," which treats of the phenomena of nightmare, is not so interesting. Dr. Cubasch seems to feel called upon to do battle with an idea that nightmare is a species of demon. Now this is certainly not common in England, whether it be so or no in Zurich, whence he dates; but still it is possible that, having firmly convinced himself that it arises from a want of free access of air to the mouth and nostrils of the sleeper, he might be quite as desirous to destroy the usual idea among us that it is a result of indigestion. He accounts for many stories of possession and unlawful intercourse with demons as being mere nightmare.

The third volume of this excellent little series²⁷ contains in the earlier half of it matter which is much more suitably defined as "for girls" than the latter half or than the former volumes. Such matter is careful and really sensible description of the duties of the female servants of a house, cooking, laundrywork, sick-nursing. . . But drainage, ventilation, the water supply, the care of personal cleanliness, directions what to do in cases of accident, are at least as much masculine as feminine subjects; and intemperance, we may happily still say, is not so much a woman's sin as a man's. The way in which a little physiology and a little science are conveyed in plain words, and in a manner likely to stimulate the reader to further inquiry and study, is worthy of high praise. The discourses on the morals of servants, too, are simple and straightforward, though possibly they might be more effectual if they admitted the very patent fact that employers' morals,—even as to their relations with their servants,—are by no means ideal as yet, while the habits of society must present a most puzzling picture to any simple-minded girl or boy who first enters on a life of domestic service, and must make the standard of

²⁶ "Sammlung gemeinverständlicher wissenschaftlicher Vorträge." Von Rud. Virchow und Fr. von Holendorff. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

²⁷ "Domestic Economy for Girls." Book III. Edited by the Rev. E. T. Stevens, M.A. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

"truthfulness, honesty, modesty, faithfulness, politeness," a very complex problem.

Mr. Bevan²⁸ continues the useful work begun in the eight volumes describing British manufacturing industries, this time publishing two volumes of facts and statistics concerning the workers in those industries. Mr. Bevan notes how difficult it is to find conveniently and easily any succinct and satisfactory information about our workers, and records his opinion that they are spoken and written about too much from a political point of view. While gladly welcoming Mr. Bevan's contribution to "working class" literature, and recognising the approximate success of his painstaking labour, we may doubt whether it is possible for any class to be too closely associated in the minds of the rest of the community with political questions and interests, since these alone must, when broadly considered, be felt the questions and interests which destroy class distinctions and bind the nation into one whole. If all were thought of as members of one body politic, there would be fairer laws as between employer and servant, as between women and men, as between children and their parents in matters of education and maintenance. But that necessary consideration of every class by all others from a political point of view is greatly stimulated, and is, indeed, rendered possible only by the dissemination of all possible information about all classes; and when the labourer and the aristocrat are described with equal impartiality, and tabulated, we shall be approaching very nearly to the inauguration of the ideal commonwealth. Meanwhile, it is very good that a couple of handy little books should help us to find out the numbers of men, women, and children working at any given industry, the effects of that work on their health, the precautions taken to improve away any deleterious effects, the legislation on the subject, what constitutions suffer from what forms of work, what wages are now and have been paid, and many other things which Mr. Bevan has here set forth. He has examined into mining, metals, chemicals, ceramics, glass, paper, textiles, clothing, food, locomotion, and such non-classifiable things as chimney-sweeping and trades unions. Excellent maps illustrate both volumes.

It is not possible to compress into a few lines anything like an adequate notion of the already highly-compressed essay on "The State of the Dwellings of the Poor in the Rural Districts of England, with special regard to the Improvements that have taken place since the Middle of the Eighteenth Century, and their Influence on the Health and Morals of their Inmates," which gained for Dr. Edward Smith²⁹ the Howard Medal of the Statistical Society in 1875. It is a book on which it would be well if every owner of cottage property were compulsorily examined before he was allowed to enter on his landlord's duties. It makes it clear that no man has a right to think much about

²⁸ "Industrial Classes and Industrial Statistics." By G. Phillips Bevan, F.G.S. London: Edward Stanford. 1877.

²⁹ "The Peasant's Home, 1760-1875." By Edward Smith, F.S.S. London: Edward Stanford. 1876.

the profits or privileges of a landlord of cottagers, except as the performance of a duty to human beings, whose health and happiness lie largely in his keeping, brings profit and happiness in itself. Dr. Smith distinctly says that such property cannot be made to pay directly at so much per cent. at present. He says that "the early steps in the improvement in the condition of the rural labourer must come from those above him," and that they will pay in the end, "not on a principle of eye-service either on the part of the benefactor or the benefited, but in the resulting moral elevation of both parties." The modes in which it has been sought to improve the condition of the labourer in various places and at various times, the newest schemes and theories, Dr. Smith's own recommendations—all these must be read in the compendious-little volume before us.

It is a very good sign of the times to see women trying to work out for others some of those problems of domestic management which have been left too long in the unfruitful obscurity of after-dinner chats and "morning calls," and laughed at as "women's talk about servants and babies" by the lordly half of the community, who thought that any woman's perplexities were foolish and easy of solution. They are not easy of solution, and will not be solved until all concerned interest themselves in them. The nation is beginning to see that the children are worthy of even masculine consideration, and now that prosperity has increased habits of luxury, it is possible that the lack of servants, and the resultant difficulty in being luxurious, may bring us to face the domestic question. It is really a large one. Men desire more dainty houses and service than ever; women are equal to them in their desires; both are striving after a wider cultivation for women, and many of both sexes wish to see women more variously employed; and the women of the lower classes—seeing life at home and in the colonies opening to afford them greater choice of occupation—are less willing than ever to serve in families. Mrs. Caddy³⁰ points to one step towards the solution of this problem. She dares to suggest that boys should wait a little upon themselves. Her courage fails when she arrives at men. Then she sketches an ideal house, where ladies could do most of the work with unsoiled fingers. But she scarcely allows for, let us say, London dust and smoke and fog. She has not solved the question. But she has done what she could, and ought to be thanked for her contribution to the discussion.

³⁰ "Household Organisation." By Mrs. Caddy. London: Chapman & Hall. 1877.

SCIENCE.

SO many elementary books have endeavoured to place the leading ideas of geological history before the general reader, that an exposition of the "Life History of the Earth," by Professor Nicholson,¹ challenges more than ordinary notice. Professor Nicholson is favourably known as having successfully gathered much of the best information which was previously scattered in other good books into manuals of zoology and palæontology. Those works showed no indication of originality, and therefore, perhaps, we have no right to expect new thought in this. But when an attempt is made to explain the principles of palæontology, it is no unreasonable thing to expect that something shall be said upon the subject which will at least bring the reader's knowledge abreast of modern research and the best thought of others. Professor Nicholson's ideas on this subject are the ideas of the last generation, only redeemed from absurdity by a feeble reference to the doctrine of Homotaxis. And in place of a discussion of the laws which determine the succession of life on the earth, he gives some clearly written chapters on the most elementary facts of the occurrence of fossils in the strata, which may be elementary geology, but ought not to have been called the principles of Palæontological Science. It might have been expected that the hypothesis of evolution would have received some elucidation from fossil life; but the author appears to be unable to realise the nature of the problem with which the educated portion of mankind is permeated. He adopts evolution, not because he can demonstrate it, but because he can "upon no other theory . . . comprehend how the fauna of any given formation is more closely related to that of the formation next below in the series, and to that of the formation next above, than to that of any other series of deposits" (pp. 372, 373). Unless we greatly mistake, this relation is perfectly independent of descent. As well might one say, "On no hypothesis but evolution can we understand why there is one group of life in India, another in Australia, and a third in Africa." Yet it is conceivable that by changes in the relative level of land, these three groups of life might come in succession to occupy the same geographical area. As the individuals died they would become covered up in the accumulating deposits. And though the outgoing group would be more or less mixed with the incoming group, there would be no evidence of descent from each other in the superimposed life groups, or need of organic evolution to explain the connection between them. There is probably no principle of palæontology better understood by the average well-taught student than this is; yet no ray of imagination of such changes has illuminated the author, for he goes on to say—

¹ "The Ancient Life History of the Earth: A Comprehensive Outline of the Principles and Leading Facts of Palæontological Science." By H. Alleyne Nicholson, M.D., D.Sc., M.A., Ph.D., F.R.S.E., F.L.S., Professor of Natural History in the University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

"On the other hand, there are facts which point clearly to the existence of some law other than that of evolution, and probably of a deeper and more far-reaching character. Upon no theory of evolution can we find a satisfactory explanation of the constant introduction throughout geological time of new forms of life, which do not appear to have been preceded by pre-existent allied types."

To the ordinary mind facts of this kind present no difficulties, being obviously consequences of the changed areas enforced on groups of animals, owing to the constant modification of the outlines of land and water in the succession of geological time. For if the organisms in the Red Sea were to come to occupy the eastern part of the Mediterranean, it would probably occur to no one but Mr. Nicholson to examine the previously formed Mediterranean deposits in expectation of finding the genesis of the newly introduced animals. Yet the problem of the introduction of a succession of life groups in the strata is of this kind, and the cause which introduces a new life province inevitably replaces it by another group. All the nonsense which the author adopts with regard to the supposed "Breaks in the Geological Record," originates in the same inability to reason from the distribution of life at the present day back to its distribution in past time. It being apparently easier to conceive of a break in the succession of life as resulting from denudation, than as due to the superposition of life provinces which were distinct from each other at the time they were fossilised. The larger part of the volume is devoted to what the author names *Historical Palæontology*, in which a short account is given, half geology, half natural history, of the several periods of geological time. But the palæontological knowledge manifested is of the most ordinary sort, and for the most part such as was accessible in other books. Nor has it appeared desirable to the author to point out the characteristics of life in the several periods, or to compare the geological periods with each other, or to show how the types of life have been modified in the succession of time, or to show how little life has been changed since the several genera now living first made their appearance to the eye of the palæontologist in primary or secondary strata. Each chapter is followed by a considerable list of books relating to the formation of which it treats. They give the volume, at first sight, a look of great learning, but in clarity it may be supposed that the author has but imperfectly assimilated the information they contain; otherwise we should marvel how he could have learned so much, and could teach so little. In the preface we are told that the book is written primarily for students, but the students must be an easily contented race.

"Our Summer Migrants"² is a series of light, well-informed papers, many of which are reprinted from the "*Field*." They give some account of the habits and migrations of about fifty birds, the majority of which leave no representatives in our islands during the winter. Each species

² "Our Summer Migrants: An Account of the Migratory Birds which Pass the Summer in the British Islands." By J. E. Harting, F.L.S., F.Z.S. Illustrated from Designs by Thomas Bewick. London: Bickers & Son. 1875.

is illustrated by an excellent woodcut portrait in profile; and, where necessary for correct identification, the distinctive features of plumage are explained; but though the song, the nest, the eggs, and local changes in distribution of species in modern times are all noticed, the book is chiefly occupied with the geographical distribution and dates of arrival and departure of the several birds in different parts of the country. The ranges of the species are clearly given, but the author does not justify the promise of his preface to point out why they come. Perhaps there would be no task in natural history more difficult, for the observations are too few to found on them conclusions which should have the value of laws. Most of the species go further north than our islands, though some, like the nightingale, only reach the south-west of Britain, hardly anywhere extending to the primary rocks of the north and west. Many, like the white wagtail and the meadow pipit, range to Iceland and Lapland. Most of them extend over Europe, and winter in Asia Minor, Palestine, Egypt, or other parts of North Africa; and not a few appear to extend thence to the east and south-south-east as far as Northern India, Japan, or even Borneo. Some of the species which go to Africa reach as far south as the Cape of Good Hope, some travelling by the east coast and others by the west coast. Others, like the swallow, have a wide distribution over both Africa and Asia. It is impossible not to believe that the migratory habit has been slowly acquired, and to suspect that it is probably a consequence of the migration of man or of animals that the birds followed, though those migrations were probably enforced by the changed conditions of climate produced by slow depression or elevation of land. So many peoples have come into Europe by the directions which these birds take, that an obvious relation of commensalism would explain the fact that the species have varying limits of distribution. The book might have been improved by being furnished with a few appendices, in which could have been tabulated the main facts of the range of the species, of their stay with us, of nidification, &c. Like all Mr. Harting's books, it is pleasantly written and is well printed.

The term "zoology" is somewhat loosely used and variously understood according to the pursuits or attainments of scientific men. Professor Newton's little manual is altogether the best conception of the science; and, judged by that standard, we must regard Dr. Andrew Wilson's "Zoology,"³ as not treating of zoology at all, but of comparative anatomy. It is not on that account less welcome, for nothing so clear, so well conceived, so full of information, so calculated to arouse interest and stimulate thought, and yet so well adapted for the beginner, has hitherto been written. It may be regarded as founded on Rolleston's "Forms of Animal Life," with perhaps some suggestions from Huxley and Martin's "Elementary Biology." But while it is more scientific and more useful in some respects than the latter book, it is

³ "Chambers's Elementary Science Manuals." "Zoology: A Description of Types of Animal Structure." By Andrew Wilson, Ph.D., Lecturer on Zoology and Comparative Anatomy in the Edinburgh Medical School. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers. 1877.

entirely without pretence. It does not discard scientific terms, as is too often the custom even in good elementary books, but so uses them that they add to the learner's knowledge. The book is evidently the work of an able man and a good teacher, who has found out practically what young students can learn and what they wish to be taught. The volume extends to only 150 pages, and is divided into seven chapters, which give an account in sufficient detail of seven types of life. Commencing with the amæba and passing in succession to hydra, hydrozoa, sea anemones, the fresh-water mussel, the common lobster, and the frog, the animals are considered from many points of view—such as the several details of structure, the functions of the organs, and development; while incidentally interesting questions come up for exposition, such as homology, alternation of generations, and classification. A little physiology is introduced wherever practicable; and an attempt is made to show the nature of the relation which exists between types of animals. There are fifty useful woodcuts illustrating the text. Occasionally curious little pieces of information of a detailed kind occur, such as this—

“One famous anemone (*Actinia mesembryanthemum*), first possessed by Sir John Dalzell in 1828, produced 276 young in six years; this animal, known as ‘Granny,’ being still alive, and having occasionally produced young in large numbers. Between 1828 and 1851 Granny produced 344 young anemones, and in 1857, in one night, gave birth to 240 young.”

The little volume concludes with questions for examination.

Any one who has studied, or even taken an interest in, the grouping of animals, will be grateful to Mr. Pascoe for his “Zoological Classification.”⁴ It is rare for any one to go through so much thought and research as is involved in a classification of the genera of the animal kingdom; and rarer for this to be accomplished by a naturalist whose judgment is not thwarted by thralldom to theories. Most modern classifications are likely to be chiefly interesting as a means of demonstrating how the pursuit of truth may be neglected by substituting a formula, such as evolution or development, for research and reasoning on the sum of the facts of the structures and functions of animals. But in this little book we seem to go back to the idea of science as a world of fact, such as Linnæus and the older writers adored, before it had become overgrown with the romance of hypotheses which have stereotyped the minds of old men, and abolished the necessity for thought in the young. Probably no two naturalists would agree in accepting all the author's classifications seeing that they range from the lowest moving protoplasmic matter, undefined by structure, nucleus, or shell; for which Hæckel has formed the class Monera, up to the human species. To ourselves they appear to represent different degrees of research, and to be less valuable when dealing with extinct than with living groups. They are all founded ‘more or less on the

⁴ “Zoological Classification: A Handybook of Reference, with Tables of the Sub-kingdoms, Classes, Orders, &c., of the Animal Kingdom, their Characters, and Lists of the Families and Principal Genera.” By Francis P. Pascoe, F.L.S., &c. London: John Van Voorst. 1877.

classifications which have been elaborated by Cuvier, Owen, and other of the great masters of zoological and anatomical science; but other views, especially those of Professor Huxley, are often referred to, and occasionally made use of. The author recognises seven sub-kingdoms, which are subdivided into thirty-seven classes. The sub-kingdoms are the Protozoa, Cœlenterata, Echinodermata, Vermes, Arthropoda, Mollusca, and Vertebrata. The most interesting points in the introductory table are the location of the sponges in the Cœlenterata; in the Echinodermata the class Crinoidea includes the orders Cystoidea, Crinoidea, and Blastoidea; while the class Stellaria includes the Ophiuroidea and the Asteroidea; the class Holothuroidea is subdivided into the orders Apneumona and Pneumonophora. The class Vermes is perhaps the least satisfactory of the great groups, for it seems a stretch of faith to unite the Polyzoa with the Scolecida, Annelida, and Rotifera. The Tunicata and Brachiopoda both remain in the mollusca with Lamellibranchiata, Cephalopoda, Gasteropoda, Heteropoda, and Pteropoda. Each sub-kingdom, class, and order has a short introduction giving the chief characters of the several groups which seem to the author most valuable for classification. To the account of the order follows a grouping of the typical genera arranged into families. These families appear to us often to be needlessly subdivided, through an insufficient recognition of the anatomical and physiological sequence which accompanies certain modifications of structure. There is a constant and well-needed protest against the unnecessary multiplication of generic names. But the same complaint must be made against needless changes in the nomenclature of larger groups; for it seems to some writers as though names were science, instead of being dust and smoke, and, for them, a necessity to encrust familiar facts with a nomenclature of their own in order to realise a consciousness that science has been advanced.

"Garden Receipts"⁵ is a sort of pocket cyclopædia of all things which relate to garden management, or rather garden protection. It is arranged alphabetically, beginning with American blight, and ending with Worms on lawns; and consists of short practical articles, which extend in all to about 150 pages. The prevailing idea of the book is destruction—ants, all sorts of aphides, apple-tree scale, asparagus beetle, cabbage grub, caterpillars, celery fly, cockchafers, cockroaches, crickets, carwigs, house flies, herbarium insects, and insects in general, mealy bug, millipedes, mole crickets, onion fly, orchid beetle, pear-tree slugs, potato beetle, and so on all through the alphabet, are severally accused of the various high crimes which the gardener knows it is their nature to delight in committing; and all are sentenced to receive, according to their susceptibility to its influence, arsenic, arseniate of copper, tobacco, boiling water, or whatever is found to cause them to cease from troubling. Similarly the vegetable pests come in for their share in the destruction as noxious things. But as

⁵ "Garden Receipts." Edited by Charles W. Quinn. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

though to relieve the monotony of killing, there are at intervals short articles on whitewash, thermometers, stings, burns, ponds, putty, perfume jars, and a variety of subjects directly connected with garden requirements.

Starting with the maxim that "man is the marriage priest of the garden," Mr. Burbidge in "Cultivated Plants"⁶ writes elaborately and well of all that concerns the propagation of plants with a view to their improvement. The knowledge of the whole horticultural world has been carefully gleaned to enrich the author's experience, and all is set forth in an admirable and scientific manner, which will commend itself to the reader whose interest in flowers and fruit extends to the mysteries of their production, as well as to the scientific cultivation of plants. The book consists chiefly of two parts. In the first part the means for the improvement of plants are discussed in a general way; and in the second part a survey is made of cultivated plants according to their natural orders, with suggestions for the improvement of each kind, the explanations being aided throughout by useful woodcut figures. There are, of course, chapters on seeds, seed saving, and seed sowing, which point out, among other things, the advantages of selecting the largest and finest seed gathered from the finest plants. Then there is a full exposition of the methods of propagation by layering, cuttings, grafting, and budding; and the introductory portion concludes with practical chapters of great interest on hybridising and cross-breeding, to which the author has given the fullest discussion, not only from the practical but also from the philosophical aspects of the question. In the second or systematic part of the book, the arrangement of the natural orders is alphabetical. In addition to the botanical and horticultural expositions, this part of the work enumerates facts of general interest. Thus the rice-paper of the Chinese artists is prepared from the piths of *Aralia papyrifera*. The flowers of *stephanotis* hold the flies which enter them prisoners till fertilisation is effected, when the hairs on the inside of the tubular flower lose their stiffness, and the insect escapes. Birch-wine is prepared from the sap of the birch by tapping the trunks in the spring. In all cases where the plant is of general interest, such as the dahlia or pine-apple, a history of its introduction precedes the general description of the improvements effected by cross-fertilisation. All through the part of the book which treats of the species there are suggestions as to the direction in which further experiments may be made. In conclusion, there is a propagator's calendar, in which the plants are classified and enumerated, which should receive attention from month to month.

In Germany evolution has diffused itself more generally than in our own country. It may be said that the number of British thinkers who have aided in researches which tend to make the hypothesis acceptable to the thousands who do not think, but look up to authorities in science for guidance as though they were a new kind of infallible priesthood,

⁶ "Cultivated Plants; their Propagation and Improvement." By F. W. Burbidge. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

is infinitesimal. But in Germany it has more or less infected all departments of thought, and appears to flourish even when the facts which it should make intelligible do not admit of satisfactory demonstration. Dr. Fischer⁷ in the "Theory of Evolution," which is a pamphlet of less than 150 pages, endeavours to give a statement of the whole subject, not only from the physical, but also from the psychological point of view. In the first chapter, organic evolution is followed out on the basis of differentiation from a primitive cell, and variation of the individual in its development is contrasted with the generic and ordinal modifications of the group to which it belongs, as in all writings on the subject. The second chapter discusses the development of the nervous system, and the concomitant function of sensation in organised beings. The third chapter treats of the sensations arising from variously modified nerve vibrations. The fourth chapter considers the perceptions as arising from the sensations, but the author's exposition is somewhat clouded by the way in which the soul is brought in to assist in the process. The fifth chapter is devoted to the evolution of the imagination, while the sixth chapter regards the logical processes as evolutionary manifestations. The last chapter examines the development of the will and the ethical nature of man. Here the author considers we have especially to find out whether there has been a development of the moral nature of mankind corresponding to the physical development, and accordingly makes a survey of the moral and religious characteristics of various savages, of Chinese, Hindus, Greeks, and Romans. And, finally, the author regards the Christian religion as the culmination of development, which may be likened to an ethical grain of mustard seed.

There has always been some little difference of opinion upon the subject of the cause of the flow of great currents of hot and cold water in the sea; and in the unsettled state of opinion, Mr Jordan⁸ urges the claims of gravitation, under the name *Vis-inertiæ*. Unfortunately the author's views do not admit of experimental demonstration. He considers that the attractive forces which produce the tides must also draw the water from the temperate regions towards the equator, and that this is the cause of the flow of cold currents towards the equator. The main object of the pamphlet is to confute Dr. Carpenter; and a number of facts are given which are regarded as establishing the author's contention, but he finds it easier to convince himself than others. He labours under a haziness of idea which makes it difficult to understand the exact object with which he writes. It would not seem to be the advancement of scientific truth, for he allows the prepossessions which fill his mind to blind him to the obvious truth of

⁷ "Ueber das Gesetz der Entwicklung auf psychisch-ethischem gebiete. Auf naturwissenschaftlicher grundlage mit rücksicht auf Ch. Darwin, Herbert Spencer, und Th. Buckle." Von Dr. Engelbert Lorenz Fischer. Würzburg: Wilhelm Keller. 1875.

⁸ "Remarks on the Recent Oceanic Explorations and the Current-creating Action of *Vis-inertiæ* in the Ocean." By William Leighton Jordan, F.R.G.S. London: Hardwicke & Bogue. 1877.

the views of others, as well as to the no less obvious fallacy of the view which he cherishes.

It is not often that a geographical monograph is produced on any country which is so acceptable as that treating of the country of Balochistan.⁹ There is hardly a subject among the multitude of which it treats upon which it does not make important additions to the knowledge which was easily accessible. The book is divided into eight chapters, of which the first two give a description of the country and people of Persian Balochistan and Kalat. The next four describe the several provinces and the tribes which dwell in them; and the last two chapters give the history of Balochistan down to 1876. Balochistan is a country of few towns, generally barren, and peopled for the most part by nomadic races, who speak a language resembling Persian, and are supposed to have come originally from Arabia. Besides the Balochis there is a numerous people called Brahuis, who are supposed to be Tartars; they speak a language which is Dravidian, and has no affinity with the Indo-European language of the Balochis. The other tribes are the Rhind, who have a tradition that they came from Aleppo, and are now greatly subdivided; the Lumris and Jokias, the Jats who are an agricultural people, and the Dehwars who dwell in villages in the country round Kalat, and speak Persian. There is also a Hindu population, settled in the large towns and ports, who carry on the little trade of the country. Altogether there are about fifty principal native tribes divided among the four provinces. Cleanliness seems to be imperfectly understood, at least among the Balochis, who are described as rarely changing a garment till it drops from the body with old age and dirt. They feed largely on coarse bread and buttermilk, and in some districts camel's milk is obtained, as well as rice, dates, and salt fish; most dishes being flavoured with asafetida. The Baloch smokes and chews opium and bhang, but, in harmony with his Mohammedan profession, takes neither spirits nor wine. The people have no written literature, though there are popular ballads handed down by oral tradition. They have blood feuds, which, however, are usually terminated by the interposition of the women after a few persons have been slain. They are ardent sportsmen, and train greyhounds with great care. Slavery is general, and the slaves are said to have the roots of their hair destroyed by a preparation of quicklime, in order to deprive them of a desire to revisit their native land. The map which accompanies the volume is carefully constructed, and gives a large amount of information.

The present quarter seems to be as poor in medical literature as the last; indeed, no book of any weight has appeared in this department since our last review. The new volume of the *Report of the Army*

⁹ "The Country of Balochistan; its Geography, Topography, Ethnology, and History; with a Map, Photographic Illustrations, and Appendices, containing a Short Vocabulary of the Principal Dialects in use among the Balochis, and a List of the authenticated Road Routes." By A. W. Hughes, F.R.G.S., F.S.S. London: George Bell & Sons. 1877.

Medical Department for the year 1875¹⁰ appears without the invaluable annual survey of hygiene from the pen of Dr. Parkes, to which we have so long been accustomed. Dr. de Chaumont fills his place, but disarms criticism by explaining that he was called unexpectedly to the task, and performed it therefore scantily and with haste. We shall anticipate from Dr. de Chaumont a valuable report in future years. A careful investigation into the causes of ague and malaria at Tilbury by Surgeon-Major Faught, with drawings of microscopi fungi from the drinking water. The volume contains also reports on several East Indian Stations.

We are very glad to receive this reprint of Dr. Theodore Williams's lectures on Climate,¹¹ which appeared in the weekly journals of last year. We are glad because these lectures created at the time of their delivery a great deal of discussion, and were in some quarters condemned, and even acrimoniously condemned. Now we, on the other hand, regarded the lectures with much favour, and we will say why we so regarded them. We prefer conclusions founded on some facts to conclusions founded on no facts at all, while, on the contrary, many of those who opposed Dr. Williams appeared to do so only, and indeed could only have done so, from a preference for conclusions without facts. To those who have not followed the discussion we may explain, that Dr. Theodore Williams found in his father's case-books a very great, probably an unparalleled, collection of cases of pulmonary consumption. These cases were laboriously collected for more than one purpose, but, among others, for the purpose of estimating the effects of climate on this disease. In this way the histories of 243 patients were investigated, and it was found that notes of 386 winters spent at health resorts were included in them. Now it may fairly be said, that, if this be a small number to reason upon, at any rate it is a much larger number than any previous observer has scheduled. Dr. Williams would be the first person to say and to realise that such a basis of fact is far too small to support any permanent conclusion, but surely it is a very good beginning, and we do not see that Dr. Williams ever speaks of his figures in any more confident way. Once more the little book is very welcome, because the author is the first person who has realised that this most practical and pressing difficulty is one which must be settled by facts, and who has therefore set an example to others, both of method and of making a beginning. The method before Dr. Williams's time consisted in a study, not of patients, but of weather-glasses and thermometers, which always ended in the conclusion that the locality in which the observer resided must be the very best for the consumptive, and if not, so much the worse for them. Such assertions are easily shaken, and no one is more angry when they are shaken than their constructors. We know

¹⁰ "Army Medical Department Report for the Year 1875." Vol. XVII. London. 1877.

¹¹ "The Influence of Climate on Pulmonary Consumption; being the Lettsomian Lectures for 1876." By C. T. Williams, M.D. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

nothing whatever of Dr. Theodore Williams except from his book and from his general reputation, but we welcome his work as of a positive kind, and as presenting a method in action which alone can lead to any permanent results.

Drs. Lewis and Cunningham¹² are indefatigable in their inquiries into the diseases of India, and the present report is the first part of an inquiry into the nature of leprosy, that classical and none the less terrible disease. Of its morbid anatomy our authors will speak hereafter; at present they deal only with the clinical aspects of the disease. They deny its contagiousness, and assert its heredity. Compulsory segregation, therefore, they regard as unnecessary and impracticable.

The same two active pathologists have investigated the affection, or group of affections, called the Delhi boil or Oriental sore¹³ of Tilbury Fox. They decide that the Oriental sore is a kind of lupus, and that it may depend upon the character of the drinking-water. They find no evidence of its parasitic origin.

This is something more than a second edition;¹⁴ it is an edition revised by another hand, and largely increased by new matter. It is not for us to depreciate articles contributed to the Quarterly Reviews; on the contrary, while many such articles are written and printed only with the purpose of setting a new subject clearly before the public, certainly some others of them are records of research or of thought which have a permanent value. Undoubtedly Dr. Wynter's essays belong to the former type, but if he thought fit to collect them, we shall not complain. Perhaps, too, they deserved a reissue, as some chapters, such as that on the history of non-restraint, put conveniently before the public that which could not otherwise be easily known. But we cannot pay even this trifling compliment to the added matter. The editor has no doubt corrected some of those errors which the late author would have corrected himself as well or better had his life been spared. Besides such simple corrections, however, the editor often bestows his tediousness upon us in a paragraph, a chapter, or a section which we could well have spared. He concludes the volume with a section on "Mazeland, Dazeland, and Driftland," which, we must say, we have not read, but of which we entertain a very poor opinion nevertheless. We indicate its presence, however, as those for whom the title is not enough, as it is for us, may find in it the marks of genius.

There is always something unsatisfactory in the dedication of a treatise to a symptom such as headache, which arises under so many and such various conditions. A treatise on vomiting or on cough would be equally unsatisfactory, and we are not sure that Dr. Day has by the execution of his task reconciled us to the undertaking. When

¹² "Leprosy in India." A Report by T. R. Lewis, M.B., and D. D. Cunningham, M.B. Calcutta. 1877.

¹³ "The Oriental Sore." A Report by T. R. Lewis, M.B., and D. D. Cunningham, M.B. Calcutta. 1877.

¹⁴ "The Borderlands of Insanity." By A. Wynter, M.D. Edited and Revised by J. M. Granville, M.D. London: Renshaw. 1877

Dr. Liveing wrote his classical treatise on Migraine, he wrote not upon a symptom, but upon a particular affection, which he described completely, and in all its relations to kindred affections. Dr. Day,¹⁵ however, following his one symptom, leaps from one disease to another in a dictionary fashion, making his work "very unconnected reading." At the same time, the volume contains a great deal that must be useful to the general practitioner, and could only have been written by an observant and intelligent physician; and we are glad to see, too, that Dr. Day does not fall into the now common error of neglecting therapeutics. He gives, on the contrary, close indications for treatment in all his chapters, and, in his desire for accuracy in these points, he includes an Appendix of excellent, but very simple, prescriptions, which could scarcely be considered abstruse by a medical pupil. Any medical man could write such prescriptions; the question of difficulty is to know when to apply them, and Dr. Day does his best to teach us such discrimination. Like all so-called practical men, and like most men who write prefaces contemptuous of hypothesis and invocative of facts, Dr. Day fills his pages with speculations and theories, often of a very doubtful kind, and he tries to divide headaches into a number of varieties greater than is judicious, or greater, at any rate, than he succeeds in justifying. He is thus led too often into hair-splitting diagnosis, fanciful conceptions, and even into repetition. After all, however, as we have said, the little volume deals with a symptom of very general interest, and of much importance, and deals with it in a temperate and fairly adequate way. No practitioner could fail to read it without obtaining many a hint of value to him in his daily work.

Dr. Henle of Gottingen has issued the sixth part of his admirable anatomical "Hand Atlas"¹⁶ for use in the dissecting-room, of which in its previous numbers we have already spoken in such high terms. The plates in scale, execution, and usefulness are still far better than anything of the kind at the disposal of the English student. We repeat, however, that the atlas would be very useful to students ignorant of German, and its price is very moderate. The present part deals with visceral anatomy, and concludes the work. It contains eighty-three beautiful and original illustrations of visceral anatomy, many of them coloured, and costs only five shillings and threepence. The whole atlas can be had for something less than a pound sterling. It is much handier in form than the first edition, and if it has not a large sale in British Medical Schools, it can only be because its existence or its merits are imperfectly known.

¹⁵ "Headaches; their Nature, Causes, and Treatment." By W. H. Day, M.D. Churchill. 1877.

¹⁶ "Anatomischer Hand-Atlas." Von Dr. J. Henle. Braunschweig: Viewig. 1877.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

THE most important of the historical publications of the quarter is a new and enlarged edition of Von Hellwald's "*History of Civilisation*."¹ That a work of this class should have reached a second edition in little more than a year after its original publication is a very remarkable evidence of its value, since such a success for a book of this kind is something quite different from what it is for an evening paper or a book of colourless religion. The author is a soldier as well as a scholar; and this fact probably explains in some degree a certain amount of opposition with which the work has been received in professorial circles in Germany. We, however, welcome without reserve this bold sketch of the development of the human race, which is painted with a large brush and a firm hand. One must not look in Herr v. Hellwald's work for a detailed account of any people or period; but he who is fairly acquainted with any section of the world's history may learn from Herr v. Hellwald how that section fits into the great framework of the universal story, and will find much that is both new and convincing in assignment of cause and effect. It is not possible in our limits to give a criticism of so vast a work; we can, however, say that it affords ample evidence of immense labour, and of great philosophic judgment. We read with special pleasure the chapters which treat of the Semitic peoples of Western Asia, of the early inhabitants of Northern and Eastern Europe, and of the Renaissance and Reformation. The following passage is interesting at the present moment—

"There can be no question whether the Russians or the English are the more civilised people. But it is just as certain that the highly civilised Britons understand but poorly how to bring their Asiatic subjects up to their own degree of civilisation; while the Russians, with their inferior culture, obtain far greater results with the Asiatic races, whom they manage to assimilate to themselves in a wonderful manner. They can, of course, raise them only to that degree which they themselves possess; but the *little* which they actually confer on them is more than the *much* which the English try unsuccessfully to apply. Under the Russian ægis the progress in culture of the Asiatics is indeed slight and slow, but is constant, and is adapted to their natural gifts and to their disposition as a race: they oppose, on the other hand, British civilisation, and do not understand it."

The author wisely attributes the success of the Russians to the Asiatic strain which exists in their blood. To their enemies, the Turks, he gives full credit for religious tolerance, a fact admitted by all sound writers, and by none more frequently or more emphatically than by Mr. E. A. Freeman. Herr v. Hellwald is careful to bring his work down to the most recent date, and not infrequently refers to events or publications of 1876. In his remarks on our own days, he speaks of

¹ "*Culturgeschichte in ihrer natürlichen Entwicklung bis zur Gegenwart.*" Von F. v. Hellwald. Zweite Auflage. Augsburg: Lampart & Co.

the influence of the press with considerable disapproval. He may be to a certain extent actuated by professional feeling in this ; but we fail to find any injustice in what he says, and are very glad to meet an author who has the courage to assert that the press has faults as well as virtues. For many years past writers and speakers have almost invariably spoken of it as an absolutely perfect institution, sent directly from heaven, and destined to remove every blot, every discomfort, every wrong from the surface of the earth. No man and no institution can long bear unmingled praise ; and there are points on which the press in Europe—like the working-man in England—has suffered by the fulsome eulogies bestowed upon it. We notice, not without pleasure, the very decided tone in which the author rejects anything like finality. Struggle, he maintains, is the constant condition of progress. As his greatest countryman has it—

“Erringen muss der Mensch: er will nicht ruhig sein.”

We are not to believe in the absolute perfection or permanence of our ideals, any more than in those of others that, in past ages, have been found wanting and have passed away. It is rare, and therefore specially agreeable, to be able to credit a German work, as in this case, with a good index. We said that the author brings his work down to to-day ; we might have said that he goes far beyond the present. We close our notice with a translation of the striking conclusion of the work—

“Science has torn asunder the veil of the future, and has even gazed upon the end of mankind. At the beginning of this book I led the reader into the yet lifeless earth; the end of it brings us back to the beginning. *Like the extinct animals of long past periods, so man is but a transitory phenomenon upon earth.* Though in the infinitely distant future, yet infallibly (so runs the sentence of science) all organisms, and man himself among them, will disappear simultaneously with the consumption of carbonic acid and of water ; the contest of the powers of nature, the struggle for existence among living creatures will finally cease. When once the reaction of the fiery core of the earth against its crust shall have attained its end by gradual reduction of temperature, and the action of water and air upon the firm body of the earth is fettered by chemical combination or by absorption, *then the eternal rest of death and equilibrium will reign over the earth ;* then the earth, deprived of its atmosphere and of its life, will circle in moon-like desolation round the sun as before ; but *man, his culture, his struggle and contest, his creations and ideals will have passed away. Whither ?*”

Messrs. Chatto & Windus have brought out a translation by Mr. Hueffer of the work of Guhl and Koner on Greek and Roman life.² Adorned and made clear by half a thousand capital wood-engravings, this is one of the handsomest volumes that have lately issued from the press in London. It can also justly boast the more substantial merit of being a learned and comprehensive work on its subject. It is not a dictionary of antiquities, and indeed is not even

² “The Life of the Greeks and Romans ; Described from Antique Monuments.” By E. Guhl and W. Koner. Translated from the third German edition by F. Hueffer, with 543 illustrations. London : Chatto & Windus.

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arranged alphabetically. First the Greeks and then the Romans are taken, and their buildings, furniture, and modes of life are thoroughly discussed, beginning with their temples, and ending with their articles of dress, and funeral customs. It is a book of which we need say only that it is exhaustive, just, and clear.

In Mr. Bass Mullinger's "Schools of Charles the Great"³ we have the essay which won the Kaye Prize at Cambridge in 1875. As the prize consists only of four years' interest on £500 in the 3 per cents., and as the winner is required to publish his book at his own expense, it seems to us that his victory must occasionally be somewhat dearly bought. The prize-money would not go far towards the production of this comely book of 200 octavo pages, unless it had a fair sale on its merits. Mr. Mullinger may indeed reasonably expect such a success, and he has wisely enlarged his original essay, with the permission of the examiners, one of whom, by the way, he styles "his Lordship the Bishop of Truro," in a spirit of effusive respect which must have caused Dr. Benson to blush, and this in so early a stage of that prelate's well-earned promotion (Feb. 1877), that Mr. Freeman would have been positively annoyed by the premature homage. The essay itself is a fairly good one. When a learned work is written by a young man, it is apt to be dreadfully learned; and we are not surprised to notice in Mr. Mullinger's book a wealth of names and authorities which is almost dazzling. The subject of the essay is one of great interest, especially for us Englishmen; it is also one of which very little is generally known among us. Starting with these advantages, the writer has worked honestly, has collected all the available information, and has presented it in a very readable form. He carries us rapidly through the history of early Christian education until he reaches the time of Alcuin. This great Englishman, who continued the work of his fellow-countryman Boniface in furthering the culture of Germany, is described at length. We are told what books there were in the library at York for him to read; and Mr. Mullinger is so conscientious as to devote a considerable space to some books that are not found in the catalogue of the library. The main body of the essay is devoted to Alcuin's life at Aachen and at Tours, and to an examination of his attainments and his teaching. The author gives us an amusing specimen of his Greek: "*Hippocrita* Græce, in Latino simulator. *Hippo* enim Græce falsum, *chrisis* judicium interpretatur." Shorter notices of Rabanus Maurus, Lupus Servatus, and John Scotus (Erigena) complete the volume. We find one unimportant but droll slip of the pen. Something is described as being to Bede "a cardinal article of faith—a kind of thirteenth commandment." How many commandments does Mr. Mullinger recognise? or does he add the *two* of the new dispensation to the *ten* of the old? Mr. Mullinger's essay is interesting, and will be found useful by all who wish to study the period of Charlemagne.

We have received the first volume of Dr. v. Weech's "History of

³ "The Schools of Charles the Great, and the Restoration of Education in the Ninth Century." By J. Bass Mullinger, M.A. London: Longmans & Co.

the Germans since the Reformation,"⁴ which brings the narrative down to the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and forms a quarter of the whole work. This book is abundantly adorned with very excellent woodcuts, from which fact we presume that it is intended to be a popular work. The narrative strikes us as being too condensed and deficient in incident for such an object. It is, however, well written, and, as a book on German history, rather than as one of German history, it deserves commendation. We shall be glad to revert to it when we receive the later portions.

The third volume of Mr. Franck Bright's "English History"⁵ brings us down to the accession of the present sovereign. This concluding portion of the work fully sustains the reputation gained by the earlier volumes; and the author may be congratulated on having produced the best history of England for teaching purposes to be found in our language. Indeed, though he himself devotes his work to the public schools, we see no reason for such modesty, and should not be afraid to say that it is the best general complete history of reasonable size. Mr. Green's book has had a well-earned success; but its readers will have observed that it is rather a commentary on the history of England than a history, and that while it is most interesting and instructive for those who already have a knowledge of the subject, it is of little value to those who do not know the facts. Mr. Franck Bright's third volume begins with the accession of William and Mary, and therefore comprehends the most changeful period of our constitutional history. The work appears to have been done with a painstaking hand and a judicial and conscientious spirit.

Mr. E. E. Morris, who was the original editor of the "Epochs of Modern History," many of which have been discussed in these pages, has at length made his own long-promised contribution to the series.⁶ We observe that his preface is dated from Melbourne, and we fancy we remember a similar circumstance in a book recently sent to us by Mr. Pearson. It is a very pleasant thing to notice that our colonies are acquiring as teachers men who have position and repute in the mother-country, because it is a sign of healthy vitality in our Empire. It is creditable to men of this stamp to go out, because a man who has earned a reputation is no longer in his first youth. The ties of kindred, of friendship, of long association, have taken a fearfully deep root, and it costs indescribable pangs to sever them. There is a divine *Heimweh*, a yearning to exchange the spoken word with some loved ones, to look on some field remembered from boyhood, or on the sorriest nook of an Oxford College, of which Mr. Pearson or Mr. Morris could probably tell us much. And the acquiring such men is

⁴ "Die Deutschen seit der Reformation." Von Dr. Friedrich v. Weech. Band I. Leipzig: Ferdinand Lange.

⁵ "English History for the Use of Public Schools." By the Rev. J. Franck Bright, M.A., Historical Lecturer in Balliol, New, and University Colleges, Oxford. Period III. Constitutional Monarchy, 1689-1837. London: Rivington & Co.

⁶ "The Age of Anne." By Edward E. Morris, M.A., Head Master of the Melbourne Grammar School, Australia. London: Longmans & Co.

also creditable to our colonies—is, indeed, exceptionally creditable to them. The young and prosperous Anglo-Saxon communities are generally keen enough about education, but their zeal is mainly for primary education. The name of the United States is proudly associated with the cause of popular education; but, for their wealth and size, they are deficient in opportunities of higher education, and have rarely attracted men from Europe to be their teachers or professors. And it is no disrespect to the United States to say that a few Englishmen or Germans might be scattered among their colleges with advantage. Indeed, it can hardly be disputed that their own highest teachers—even that remarkable circle at Boston—are relatively the worst paid of American workers, and almost the worst paid of the world's teachers. All honour, then, to our Australian fellow-subjects, who, having universities of their own which they wish to support, and of which they are proud, are yet large enough in mind to invite and pay good men from the mother-country. To return to our immediate subject, we can speak very favourably, as others have done before us, of Mr. Morris's book, which is a history of Queen Anne's reign. He disclaims, with becoming modesty, any attempt to write anything that is new on the subject. From this he was debarred both by his opportunities and by the purpose of his book. He has, however, given us what would, a few years ago, have been an absolute novelty, and what is still rare, namely, a school history which is interesting and lively. He has chosen to enlarge on the broader and more engrossing features of his period, at the expense of the sughter and drier facts, and in this we think him wise. There is not one among the poorest of the old school histories which does not give far too many facts. Our author has also made his book decidedly biographical, using every effort to make the personages *real* to the student. We notice, in particular, his sketch of that half-madman, half-genius, the Earl of Peterborough. Marlborough's wars and the Spanish campaigns of the War of the Succession are very lucidly drawn. Mr. Morris also devotes considerable space to the discussion of the social condition of the people under "good" Queen Anne, and of the literature of that Augustan age in England and France. As he himself is the first to proclaim, he is much indebted under this latter head to Macaulay and Thackeray. We have been able to detect only one or two small slips, such as placing the end of Parma's siege of Antwerp in the year after Elizabeth's death; and this is almost a compliment in the case of a book which must have been revised at a distance of some thousands of miles from the printer. Subject to our previously expressed doubts as to the principle of dividing history, we believe that this will be found a very excellent and very popular schoolbook.

The sixth volume of the new series of the *Wellington Despatches*⁷ covers some ten months which end shortly before the death of George IV., and almost shortly before the termination of the Duke's Ministry.

⁷ "Despatches, Correspondence, and Memorandum of F. M. Arthur, Duke of Wellington, K.G. Edited by his Son. Vol. VI. July 1829 to April 1830. London: John Murray.

It is a volume of unusual interest, and one which would increase, were that possible, the Duke's reputation as a man of honour and common sense, and as an indefatigable doer of his duty. The period covered by these despatches was one of great difficulty. The Duke was serving a miserably weak king, who was suffering from very bad health. He had to protect himself against constant intrigue and underhand opposition from the king's brother, the Duke of Cumberland, and from the Russian Embassy. Affairs at home were in a state of comparative calm, the emancipation of the Catholics having been just carried. Ireland, however, was a little more troublesome than usual, as is her wont immediately after the grant of a long desired boon. But abroad there was disturbance or difficulty on almost every side. Queen Maria had just been acknowledged in Portugal. The Polignac Ministry were on the point of destroying their master's throne, and were meanwhile desirous of trying their hands at war. The Russians had just forced the treaty of Adrianople upon the Turks. The kingdom of Greece was being created, and there was the same difficulty in providing a king for it which we saw fifteen years ago. The late King Leopold was the English candidate, and would have had the post, but that he was alternately supported and opposed by the King, his father-in-law, who had all the vacillation so common in weak men. The papers on Russian affairs are perhaps the most interesting in the volume, and they are singularly so at the present time, because they afford a very striking instance of the manner in which history repeats itself. The Emperor's love of peace, and the difference between what he says and what he does, are mentioned in 1829-30 almost as often as in 1876-77. Thus Lord Aberdeen, the Foreign Secretary, writes (August 1829)—

"There was a more than usually earnest endeavour (on the Russian ambassador's part) to impress me with the desire of the Emperor not to give us just ground of offence. I could not help telling him that if General Diebitsch arrived at Constantinople we should not feel much better satisfied, even if he made a fresh protestation of moderation and peace at every step; and that we were in the habit of looking to the performance rather than to the professions of persons with whom we had to deal."

And Wellington himself writes in the same month—

"These observations drew from Prince Lieven the usual reproaches of a want of confidence in the honour of the Emperor, to which I answered that I did not sit there to manifest confidence in his sovereign or in any sovereign, but to watch over the interests of this country. . . . I repeated the wish that the blockade of Enos should not be announced. Prince Lieven was very warm in his reply, and said that if the Emperor was threatened, he must take measures for his own defence. I answered very quietly that I had made no threat, that I had no authority to threaten, . . . that I had done no more than entreat them not to notify a blockade which, if notified, would certainly not be respected by this country. . . . The conversation ended by their withdrawal of Enos from the notification."

And again—

"I confess that it makes me sick when I hear of the Emperor's desire

for peace. If he desires peace why does he not make it? . . . The wisest thing Metternich ever did was to arm Austria as soon as the Turkish war commenced. If he had not done so, Austria would have been attacked as soon as the Turkish war should be brought to a conclusion. I don't believe one word of the desire for peace of a young Emperor at the head of a million of men who has never drawn his sword."

This attributing a desire for war to the young Emperor Nicholas *because* he had "never drawn his sword" is very characteristic of the great Duke. It is also very true to nature. The virgin Silesian campaign of Frederic the Great was prompted, as he himself informs us, by the desire of making people talk about him; and only a few days ago General Grant told the City of London, almost to his own surprise, that though a soldier he had never felt any sort of fondness for war, and never advocated it except as a means to peace. The following extract reminds us of something which we have lately heard about a Russian lady—

"She (Madame) and M. de Lieven have knocked at every door, . . . and every description of faction and party, in order to break down the existing Administration. To attain the object, all is fish that comes to her net. She wants to attain this object, not from any personal dislike to me or any of its members, not because we entertain any notions hostile to the Russian Government, but because we are an *English* Administration, and because she knows that we have the discernment to see what they are about, and the will to oppose them, if necessary, and the firmness to execute our purpose."

There can be no doubt that the publication of his correspondence has enhanced the great Duke's reputation as much as a similar proceeding injured that of Napoleon I.

The Early English Text Society is continuing its useful work with unflinching vigour, and, we believe, with increasing success. Mr. Lumby edits an old English translation⁸ of the Latin poem "De Die Judicii," which is generally attributed to Alcuin or Bede, together with some smaller poems from the MSS. of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. The second part of the fifteenth-century version of the "Romance of Guy of Warwick"⁹ has been edited by Professor Zupitza of the University of Berlin, with the same carefulness and learning which he bestowed on the earlier part of the poem. Dr. Morris¹⁰ completes his four-text edition of the Northumbrian and Midland translation of "Cursor Mundi." Mr. Furnivall¹¹ brings out the somewhat uninteresting "Emblemes and Epigrammes" of Francis Thynne, "Lancaster Herald" at the close of Elizabeth's reign, a writer whose chief merit is his early appreciation of such men as Spenser, Gascoyne, and Camden,

⁸ "Be Domes Dage." Edited by J. Rawson Lumby, B.D. Published for the Early English Text Society. London: Trübner & Co.

⁹ "The Romance of Guy of Warwick." Edited by Dr. Julius Zupitza. Part II. Published for the Early English Text Society. London: Trübner & Co.

¹⁰ "Cursor Mundi." Edited by the Rev. Richard Morris, M.A., LL.D. Part IV. Published for the Early English Text Society. London: Trübner & Co.

¹¹ "Emblemes and Epigrammes." By Francis Thynne, A.D. 1600. Edited by J. T. Furnivall, M.A. Published for the Early English Text Society. London: Trübner & Co.

and who is best known by his "Animadversions" on Chaucer, already published by the Early English Text Society.

Mr. Froude has published a third volume of his "Short Studies,"¹² most of which have already appeared in various magazines. The first paper is perhaps the most interesting. It is a *résumé* of the "Annals of St. Alban's Abbey," and it gives a capital view of the relations between the ecclesiastical corporations and the citizens previous to the Reformation. "Society in Italy in the Last Days of the Roman Republic" contains a graphic narrative of one of the most astounding *causes célèbres* which we have ever read. "Sea Studies" is the title of an essay on the religious thought contained in the plays of Euripides, and is so named because it was written during a sea-voyage. A similar investigation of the religious feeling at Rome under the Empire is found in "Divus Cæsar." A paper on "Lucian" touches on the same subject, and contains a vigorous translation of the well-known dialogue in which the gods listen to Damos and Timocles while they discuss the existence of gods. Lastly, three papers treat of social or political problems of our own country and time. They are on the "Revival of Romanism," the "Uses of a Landed Gentry," and "Party Politics" respectively, and we have read the last named with particular interest. In "Leaves from a South African Journal," with which the book ends, the author gives us a lively description of some of his recent experiences at the Cape. We need not say that a book by Mr. Froude cannot be other than instructive and interesting.

"Ancient Streets and Homesteads"¹³ is a handsome volume, full of charming sketches of English scenery, by Mr. Rimmer of Chester. We take some exception to the grammatical construction of the title; and we fail to perceive any good reason for the Dean of Chester's preface, which, after recommending Mr. Rimmer's drawings (which was quite unnecessary), merely proceeds, with the agreeable candour of a good-natured friend, to point out how the book would have been better if its views had always agreed with the Dean's, and if it had contained certain things which are omitted. It is clear that a volume of 350 pages cannot describe minutely the whole of England—not even were it written by a Dean. After this slight grumble, we can honestly go on to speak in very favourable terms of this handsome book. The sketches, which have been made in all parts of England, from Carlisle to Chancery Lane, and thence to Penzance, are well selected and beautifully executed; and we think that even Mr. Rimmer must be highly satisfied with the excellent interpretation of his drawings by Mr. J. D. Cooper, who has engraved them, although we know how rarely it happens that the designer is contented with the engraver's work.

¹² "Short Studies on Great Subjects." By James Anthony Froude, M.A. Third Series. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

¹³ "Ancient Streets and Homesteads of England." By Alfred Rimmer, with an Introduction by the Very Rev. J. S. Howson, D.D., Dean of Chester. With 150 illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co.

From Berlin we receive a small book which professes to treat of the moral teaching of the Talmud, and of the ruin which the Jews are contriving for the German Empire.¹⁴ It consists of a hundred pages of dull extracts abusive of the Jews from the "Deutsche Landes-Zeitung" (a not very well-known journal issued by the publisher of the present work), preceded by 130 pages of stupid tirade against the same nation. Of these, a large portion is devoted to abusive generalities on commercial matters, while some forty or fifty pages at the beginning are filled with offensive extracts professedly from the Talmud. We have not taken the trouble to verify them, because, even if they are authentic, there is nothing in them that is not to be matched from almost every ancient book of history or morality. We must, however, observe, that although they are decent, nay, pale and colourless by the side of the selections from the handbook of the Anglican clergy of the Holy Cross with which we have been regaled of late, they argue a great taste and quick eye for dirt on the part of the collector. This attack on a race which has won an extraordinary position in Europe under great difficulties is so vile and absurd as to be quite beneath contempt. Were it not so, the subjects of the German Empire, for whom the writer interests himself so zealously, might perhaps be annoyed by the fact that, in order to convey a filthy insinuation against the Jews, he asserts that nearly the whole population of North Germany are becoming markedly Jewish in type and feature, and this in spite of the small number of the Israelitish inhabitants. The writer is of course anonymous; we should probably do him no wrong in attributing to him the baffled malice either of an excommunicate Hebrew or of an unsuccessful gambler.

Dr. Mehlis publishes, in the excellent series of Virchow and V. Holzendorff,¹⁵ an interesting lecture on the Rhine. He traces the history of that wonderful valley from the time when, as he maintains, the Germans from the north-east drove the Kelts out of it southwards and eastwards to seek settlements on the Danube and in Italy, leaving their memorial behind them in such names as Mainz, Bonn, and even Rhine, which, it seems, signifies *path* or *highway*. He shows how the Romans made it a great basis for the subjugation of Germany from the west; and how, on their failure, the Germans pushed forward and made it their border-ground with the Romans; and he relates in a most lively style how civilisation was brought to the Germans from the south when the two races were thus side by side. To-day one may see the ruins of the wondrous aqueduct near Mainz. The Roman taught the German to build the *wall* and the *gate* (Mauer, Pforte: *murus, porta*); to use *oil, wine, salt, cheese, butter, and cakes* (oel, Wein, Salz, Käse, Butter, Kuchen: *oleum, vinum, sel, caseus, butyrum, coctum*). Tacitus expressly says—"Proximi ripae vinum mercantur. Cibi simplices: agrestia poma, recens fera, aut lac concretum"

¹⁴ "Die Sittenlehre des Talmud und der zerstörende Einfluss des Judenthums in deutschen Reich." Zweite Auflage. Berlin: M. A. Niendorf.

¹⁵ "Der Rhein und der Strom der Cultur in Kelten- und Römerzeit." Von Dr. C. Mehlis. Berlin: Carl Habel.

(Ger. 23). To the Roman the German owes his first steps in culture, for under him he learned to *write a letter under a master in a school* (schreiben, Brief, Meister, Schule: *scribere, breve, magister, schola*). Dr. Mehlis's sketch is very interesting and very instructive.

We have received another issue of the same series (which we have had to praise so frequently), in the shape of a criticism of Lessing's "Nathan der Weise" by Herr Trosien.¹⁶ It is a fairly good essay, which discusses more particularly the religious theories laid down in this much-abused, much-praised, much-effecting drama.

We welcome from Vienna the first part of a history of the "French Literature of the Seventeenth Century,"¹⁷ by Herr Lotheissen, who is already favourably known by his sketch of social France during the revolutionary period. The portion of the work which we have received contains an admirable introductory sketch, criticisms of Malherbe, Regnier, D'Aubigné, D'Urfé, Guez de Balzac, and Voiture, and a vivid description of the famous circle of the Hôtel Rambouillet. All the chapters are good, and the last named is perhaps the best. The sketch of D'Aubigné, his remarkable writings, and his still more remarkable career, is of very great interest. Herr Lotheissen is less flattering, and therefore, in our opinion, more just, to Malherbe than most critics have been. On the other hand, he speaks with unusual commendation of D'Urfé, whose "Astrée," dull and artificial as it may now seem, was certainly an epoch-making book. Herr Lotheissen adds to the careful labour of the best German critics a vigorous and lively style. We have found this history a most engrossing work, and shall look for the remaining parts with eager interest.

Mr. Henri van Laun is also bringing out a work on French literature,¹⁸ of which the first volume was recently noticed in these pages, and the second¹⁹ is now before us. We are free to confess that we find it a little disappointing after the perusal of Herr Lotheissen. There is far less labour in Mr. van Laun's book, and less original judgment. It is, however, only fair to say that he treats of a much longer period on a smaller scale, and that his aim has been to produce the first respectable account of his subject in the English language, rather than to put forth views of bold originality or profound learning. And he has undoubtedly written a good book, telling us something sensible about every author in a manner that is bright and lively. He will not add much to the knowledge of those who know, but the general reader and the student will find in him a pleasant companion. There is at present a tendency, which we regret, to produce books on literature for persons who have not read the authors discussed—nay, we might say, for the express purpose of saving such persons the trouble of reading them for themselves. Mr. van Laun certainly did not

¹⁶ "Lessing's Nathan der Weise." Vortrag von E. Trosien, Gymnasial-Direktor. Berlin: Carl Habel.

¹⁷ "Geschichte der französischen Literatur im XVII. Jahrhundert." Von Ferdinand Lotheissen. Erster Band, Erste Hälfte. Wien: Carl Gerold's Sohn.

¹⁸ "History of French Literature." By Henri van Laun. Vol. II. From the Renaissance until the end of the Reign of Louis XIV. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

write with this view, yet for whom else was it worth while to cumber his book with brief translated extracts from such authors as Molière or Racine, whose works are found everywhere, and are not difficult to read? A person who requires a short passage from Fénelon's "Télémaque" to be translated for him may well be excused if he omits the study of French literature entirely. We note, by the way, a small error in translating. When Madame de Sévigné, in her famous letter on the proposed marriage of "la Grande Mademoiselle" (de Montpensier) and the Duke de Lauzun, wrote of the Princess as "le seul parti de France qui fût digne de *Monsieur*," she did not mean "the only match which could be worthy of *that gentleman*" (what gentleman?), but the only match worthy of *the Duke d'Orleans*, who, being the eldest (and only) brother of the King, was ordinarily styled *Monsieur*, as was, at a later date, the next brother of Louis XVI., who afterwards reigned as Louis XVIII. The translations are, however, generally accurate and good.

Within the last few years great attention has been most deservedly bestowed upon the memory of Simon de Montfort. Mr. Blaauw, Dr. Pauli, and Professor Stubbs have enlarged the knowledge of the world on the subject; and quite recently we had to notice a slight but useful biography of our greatest reformer by Mr. Creighton. Mr. Prothero has now produced the most ambitious book about him which has yet appeared in our language.¹⁹ It is most fitting that such work should be done, for there is no more important and pregnant period in English history than the later years of Simon's life, while his character and career are not less noble than the boon of self-government which he procured for—or rather, restored to—the English race. Mr. Prothero has related his facts with accuracy and generally formed his opinions with justice. The book is, however, longer than it need be, owing to a habit which the author has of balancing unimportant arguments and suggesting feeble reasons with great expense of words. Thus King Henry's disgraceful imputation as to his sister's conduct before marriage was hardly worthy of three or four pages of refutation; and if it did require refutation, the fact that her first child was born eleven months after her marriage is none. And we are unable to see how the provision in Magna Charta, that the proceedings of the Council are not to be considered null if some of the barons are absent, shows that the idea of representation is apparent in that document, though the author devotes a couple of pages to that proposition. To notice smaller faults, we do not like the frequent mention of "Henry of Almaine" without any explanation of that title; we do not think that 42,000 marks in the reign of Henry III. were equal to £15,000,000 of our money, or, in other words, that £357 would be the equivalent of a mark 600 years ago; we dislike in any one but a schoolboy who has just passed through his German declensions such a form of the

¹⁹ "The Life of Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, with Special Reference to the Parliamentary History of his Time." By George Walter Prothero, Fellow and Lecturer in History, King's College, Cambridge. London: Longmans & Co.

possessive case as "the *queens* uncle," "*Richards* arrival," and wonder how Mr. Prothero would write *Charles's* wain, or *St. James's*; and we detest to see the otherwise blank last page of an English book marred by such words as "Explicit Vita Simonis de Monteforti Comitis Leicestriæ." In spite, however, of our discontent at these small faults, we can add that the author has produced a good and useful book, and has given us the best biography of Simon de Montfort to be found in English.

An interesting sketch of the life of Franz von Sickingen,²⁰ by Herr J. Maenss, has reached us. It is short and well written, and gives a clear picture of this extraordinary man, whose career in the most civilised part of Germany only 350 years ago seems almost incredible to us. Fighting indifferently for or against the Emperor, or on his own account; now under the ban of the Empire, now its most powerful and most favoured subject; the friend of Hutten, and a zealous convert to Luther's doctrines-- a man of whom all these things can be said must be worth studying; and Herr Maenss has given us an excellent opportunity of doing so. This sketch belongs to the well-known series of Virchow and Holzendorff.

Our next volume is also a biography of a Protestant, but Thomas Erskine, the subject of Dr. Hanna's work,²¹ is a very different man to Franz von Sickingen. Mr. Erskine, who lived from 1788 to 1870, was a Scottish country gentleman whose career contains little or no adventure, the most striking circumstance about his outward life being that he had the wisdom to pass a good deal of time on the Continent. If his outward life, however, was unimportant, he appears to have been a spiritual friend and adviser of a very considerable circle. His ministrations, if we may use the word, were carried on chiefly by letter; and Dr. Hanna has with modesty and good sense published these documents with the slightest possible addition of necessary comment. We cannot conscientiously say much to increase the sale of a collection of letters which merely inculcate a narrow form of Calvinism; but to those who attach value to the exposition of such theories, this volume, which contains Mr. Erskine's correspondence down to his fifty-second year, will be a welcome boon. It is a well-edited book, and it contains the well-expressed views of an accomplished and sincere man. Mr. Erskine was very intimate with the family of De Broglie, the name of which strikes too often on our ears just now; and the present Duke's mother, who was Madame De Staël's daughter, translated into French his "Remarks on the Internal Evidence for the Truth of Revealed Religion," a book which had a great success under King George IV. of happy memory. He also marked himself favourably by supporting the Rev. J. Macleod Campbell, of Row, who was "deprived" by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland in 1831, for reasons which, it is admitted, would not cause the expulsion

²⁰ "Franz von Sickingen." Von Johannes Maenss. •Berlin: Carl Habel.

²¹ "Letters of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, from 1800 to 1840." Edited by William Hanna, D.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas.

of a minister to-day. We repeat that this book has no value for the general reader, but that those who are keenly interested in Scottish religious matters will find it of interest. The editing is remarkably well done.

The English translation of Liszt's "Life of Chopin"²² brings to our notice one of the most absurd books which we have lately seen. The translation is offered to Jan Pychowski, who, it seems, is "a composer of true, deep, and highly original genius," in a dedication of some four-and-twenty lines, of which the last few run thus: "The high moral worth and manly rectitude which distinguish you, and which alone render even the most sublime genius truly illustrious in the eyes of woman, almost force these inadequate and imperfect words from the heart of the translator. M. W. C." Here we naturally yearn for slow music, hearing which we might reflect on the relations of the sexes, and possibly speculate on the sex of M. Walter Cook. Franz Liszt, as is well known, has long belonged to an order the sex of which has been called in doubt. The author's biography consists of 212 pages, of which the first 142 are devoted to vague sentimentalities about Poles (especially Polish women), Chopin's mode of playing, the lives of artists, and other interesting but scarcely relevant subjects. We are referred to page 62 for a chapter on the early life of Chopin, but we fail to find in it the slightest mention of his life. We are therefore not surprised when at length, at page 143, we come to his birth. Chopin lived only thirty-nine years; and as the whole subjects of art, Poland, women, &c., were disposed of in the first 142 pages, the remaining 70 pages are naturally sufficient for this brief career. We have recently had a remarkable exposition of what the ecclesiastical mind allows itself to contemplate, imagine, or dwell upon; we are, nevertheless, a little astonished to note that Liszt, who is, we believe, a Roman Catholic priest, uses such words as "luscious," "hour," "languid fire," "caress," "flexibility of form," in his remarks on Polish women; and that he describes George Sand's relations with Chopin as "a courageous struggling with his disease, to save him from death, to bring him back to life." We are disposed to think the translation is incomplete, because the preface promises us "glowing sketches of Heine, Meyerbeer, Delacroix, Mickiewicz," and others, which we do not find in the text. Were they there, the glow would probably be unwholesome.

When the earlier volumes of Mr. Blanchard Jerrold's "Life of Napoleon III." were noticed in these columns, it was observed that the work was not likely to raise the reputation of the late Emperor. A third volume²³ has now appeared, which contains the record of the Presidency of the Republic and of the first year of the Empire; and of this portion of the work we are equally unable to speak very highly. Mr. Jerrold has, doubt-

²² "Life of Chopin." By Franz Liszt. Translated from the French by M. Walter Cook. London: William Reeves.

²³ "The Life of Napoleon III.: Derived from State Records, from Unpublished Family Correspondence, and from Personal Testimony." By Blanchard Jerrold. In 4 vols. Vol. III. London: Longmans & Co.

less, had a very difficult task ; he holds a brief for the imperial family. We use the phrase in no unkindly sense. It is not to be supposed that Mr. Jerrold is a hireling, or that he has swallowed his own opinions ; he is an admirer of Napoleon III., and, as such, is one of a large number of sincere, wise, and honourable men. At the same time, his work is not independent. His title-page declares that he has had the advantage of unpublished family correspondence and of personal testimony ; in other words, the late Emperor's representatives have placed at his disposal such documentary and oral evidence as they deemed fit for publication. And we would again say that in these words there is no intention of the slightest sneer. No act of Napoleon was wiser, more honourable to himself, or better received by the French nation than his marriage, in announcing which he cleverly said—

“The people have not forgotten that for sixty years (he might have said more than eighty) foreign princesses have only ascended the steps of the throne to see their race scattered or proscribed by war or revolution. One woman alone appears to have brought good fortune, and to have lived, more than the rest, in the memory of the people ; and this woman, the good and homely wife of General Bonaparte, was not of royal blood.”

The lady whom the Emperor then chose more than fulfilled his prophecy, that she would be “the ornament of the throne, and in the hour of danger one of its most courageous defenders.” Her political influence, it is more than probable, was ill-directed ; but in every other respect she proved herself worthy her lofty destiny. More than once or twice she gave proof of noble courage, and never more than in the dignified patience and wise resignation with which she has endured reverses and bereavement. It must, however, be borne in mind that this august lady is a widow still in the freshness of her loss, and that in a position in which friendship is hardly possible. We can, therefore, scarcely expect that she would be an impartial adviser of her husband's biographer, even were her rank compatible with her being a mere adviser. We have recently seen a task similar to that of Mr. Jerrold performed by Mr. Theodore Martin ; and, delicately as this elegant writer steered his course through the obstacles which beset him, no one can say that his book was altogether satisfactory. Undoubtedly his relations with the Queen gave him much information and much aid, which could not have been received under other circumstances ; at the same time, in reading his book, one is sensible of a bias which, though it never perverts the truth, nevertheless excites a feeling of opposition. Mr. Jerrold's work is not nearly so well done as Mr. Martin's. His task was certainly more difficult. Everybody respected the Prince Consort, and the only question as to his reputation which could arise was that of the degree of excellence with which he was to be credited. Napoleon III., on the other hand, having occupied a position of far greater power, naturally had far more enemies. There were many who had felt the weight of his hand. There were many who regarded him with that peculiar rancour which Frenchmen too often feel towards

their political opponents. By these, and by others—as, for instance, by nearly all the inhabitants of North Germany—he had been pursued through his whole public life with unrestrained enmity. Our own Kinglake marred a historical work, intended and destined to enjoy a permanent value, by the more than philippic severity with which he assailed him, and denied him even the everyday virtue of personal courage. Mr. Jerrold is then perforce an advocate for the defence, and may fairly claim indulgence for occasional bitterness and bias. There is, however, throughout his work an excessive quantity of a spite which we must term, for want of a better word, feminine. It is especially noticeable when Thiers, Changarnier, or the Orleanists generally are mentioned. For instance we read (p. 162)—

“ ‘The Legitimists would vote with pleasure for the candidature of the Prince De Joinville’ (for the Presidency of the Republic), Donoso Cortès (Spanish ambassador at Paris) wrote at this time, ‘if the Prince would engage beforehand to bring back Henri V. But he refuses to make this engagement.’ In other words, the Prince was ready to swear fidelity to the Republic, but only for the benefit of his own House.”

That is to say, according to Mr. Jerrold's reasoning, that a man's refusal to commit crime A, proves him guilty of an intention to commit crime B. Again, in alluding to the earlier career of De Morny, it is absurd to omit all mention of his remarkable origin, which was an essential factor in the composition of the Second Empire. Such partiality is as unworthy of a book of history as is the angry censure of very subordinate persons, a specimen of which is found at page 139, where a police agent is named in order to receive severe castigation. The book also shows signs of haste in its preparation. On page 135 we read of the “sailors of Strasburg,” who are probably a gallant race, hardened by exposure to the storm-vexed billows of the Upper Rhine, among whom the Swiss would naturally seek recruits for their navy. Twice in the space of twenty-five pages (pp. 219 and, 242) we find quoted the not very brilliant or conclusive remark of “an enemy” on the 2d December: “Is this the ending of a mediocre man, or the beginning of a man of genius?” That Gallicisms should occasionally occur in such a book is only natural and pardonable.

It is still too soon to write the history of Napoleon III. He was, as we have said, well hated in many quarters. There are still living many who suffered at his hand imprisonment or exile, or—hardest of all to bear—obscurity. Of these, many now occupy positions of authority and influence in France, and can make their bitter voices well heard. A great weight of blame for the recent disasters of France rests, and will always rest, upon the Emperor; but now, and for some time to come, his name has to bear more than its just share of that obloquy. In reading Mr. Jerrold's third volume we are once more struck by the extraordinary changes of opinion which are so common among French politicians, and by the strange intolerance with which their opinions are supported, and, when possible, enforced. Not a few of the names which fill the French

journals of to-day are found in the discussions and transactions of 1849-52; and though the matter of their treatment was different, their manner was much the same then as it is now. In these very days men cannot but be reminded of the period immediately preceding the *coup d'état* of 1851. The prospect to-day, however, is far more hopeful than that of 1851. There is now a powerful Republican section, which is conservative and moderate, whereas twenty-seven years ago the only moderate men were among the discredited Orleanists. That Prince Louis Napoleon re-entered France in 1848 with a distinct intention of attaining power at any price, we do not believe. He was ambitious, and doubtless ready to take advantage of any opportunity that might offer itself, and even hopeful of such an opportunity; but as a man of theories, as a man of dreamy and irresolute nature, he can hardly have been eager for violent action. There is a great deal of intrigue to be observed in his conduct as President, but there are equally signs of a desire to be loyal. And there are few who have much to say in favour of the Assembly with which he had to act. There must have been a *coup d'état* ere long, even if Napoleon had not precipitated matters in 1851. The relation of Assembly, President, and army were in a condition of tension which could not last. The difficulty was that which must happen sooner or later in every constitution where there are absolutely co-ordinate authorities, deriving power from the same source; a difference arises, neither side will give way, and a dead-lock must ensue. And a dead-lock is apt to lead to heroic remedies among a fiery and sensitive race like the French. The same difficulty which caused the *coup d'état* in 1851 caused the impeachment of Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, in 1868. The President finds himself in antagonism with the Chamber or Chambers. An Englishman, thinking of the relations between Crown and Parliament, will at at once say, "The President must yield." But no. In France then, and in the United States then and now, the President could say to the Chambers, "I was elected by the people, and represent them as fully as you do." In case of another such difficulty the United States would probably amend the Constitution, and ordain that the President should be elected by Congress. In France that improvement has been made, though it would seem that the President still regards his authority as fully equivalent to that of the body which created him. It need hardly be noted that among ourselves, common sense remedies, as it so often does, the faults of our theories. While Crown, Lords, and Commons are perfectly co-ordinate in principle, the two former powers wisely recognise the immense weight which its popular election gives to the last-named body. There is a cynical indifference, and even at times a cynical laugh, in Mr. Jerrold's account of some of the steps of the *coup d'état*; and a similar irreverence is to be noted in his account of some of Napoleon's fatal companions. It will have been gathered from our previous remarks that much that is disagreeable has been gilded over in this work, and much omitted; but more surprising than the gilding

or omissions is the occasional plain mention of facts that are neither important nor pleasing. Among such we place the Emperor's relations with the other sex, which are stated here with a firmness which is quite unnecessary. The Emperor's family are handled rather severely; and it is needless to say that Prince Napoleon is especially denounced. And, in truth, that prince's career has been one which it is not difficult to assail. It is a little interesting to note that both of the sovereign houses of France, the Bourbons and the Bonapartes, have had a younger branch in more or less active opposition. After Mr. Jerrold's inadequate account of the great political events, his description of the courtship and marriage of the Emperor strikes upon us as an idyllic relief, and his volume ends in a blaze of uniforms, stars, and lace. His book will not greatly enlighten the world, and it certainly will not fix the reputation of the well-intentioned man whom it commemorates; but the reader will find in it a lively, though partial, narrative of a most exciting career and of an interesting man.

"The Life of Pope Pius IX.,"²⁴ by the Rev. A. Mills, the first portion of which is now before us, will not be found a very valuable contribution to European history. This book follows not inaptly "The Life of Napoleon III.;" for that the Emperor's relations with the Pope contributed mainly to his fall is as certain as that a separation from the Clericals would add enormously to the strength of the Bonapartist party to-day. Mr. Mills has given us merely an unreasoning panegyric of the feeblest kind, one which is suited to the minds only of the most bigoted and least intelligent members of his communion. It is perfectly unauthoritative; and, though it is largely made up of quotations of what various persons said or wrote, there is scarcely a reference in the book. The Pope's wonderfully amiable, wise, and charitable disposition; the bursting grief of the populations which he had to quit on each promotion in his earlier life; the hateful and criminal characters of Mazzini, Garibaldi, Victor Emmanuel, the people of Rome, and of all who disagreed with the Pope, and the dreadful fates which they have met or will meet in this world, to say nothing of the hereafter; the conspicuous virtues of Ferdinand of Naples and other supporters of the Pope; the invariable triumph, either present or to come, of the Papal cause in every difficulty; such is the matter of Mr. Mills's pages, not one of which casts any light on the Pope's history, or heightens his reputation with any reasoning men. The following extract, describing the state of revolutionary Rome in 1848, while the Pope was at Gaeta, is a fair specimen of the book:—

"Rome, for the time, was as a city struck with the plague, a leprous place, cut off from all society with the healthy and the living. The rule of Mazzini was a usurpation of violence, which was allowed to endure only whilst Europe sharpened her weapons. It vanished before the chivalry of

²⁴ "The Life of Pope Pius IX." By the Rev. Alexius Mills. Vol. I. 1792-1868. London: D. Lane.

Christendom, as the vapours of corruption before the face of the sun; and those leaders (the modern Scipios and Gracchi) of the deluded wretches, whom they left to ruin and death, sunk like lead into their first obscurity, and all the deeper on account of their short, unnatural elevation. 'O Rome, Rome! God is my witness, that each day I raise my voice in prayer that thy scourge may cease.' Thus spake the Pontiff during the possession of the Eternal City by Garibaldi and his 'red' associates. But after the prayer came the solemn declaration from the same devout lips, 'Simon, son of John, can die; but Peter, the Rock, is immortal.'

This extract suggests two reflections. Firstly, we note how singularly alike clergyman generally write. The resemblance is doubtless based on the fact that they all write as they preach. Who, for instance, is not reminded of the pulpit by the threefold repetition in the first sentence of this passage? A more important observation to which the Pope's words give rise is this, that the Papacy has gained strength in this generation, and the policy of Liberal Europe with regard to it has perhaps been wrong. Twenty years ago it was constantly urged on the Roman Catholics that the Papacy would gain by the loss of the temporal power; that the Pope, as sovereign of a petty state, held a less dignified position than he would hold were his only claim that of the chief of the Roman Catholic world. Those who gave this advice were by no means desirous of increasing the power of the Papacy. The Pope knew this, and smiled at their counsel. Events, however, have brought about these conditions by force, and with what result? The Pope has lost his temporal power, and he has gained in power and influence, as the Liberals foretold. Since his first spoliation in 1859, the Pope has forced the Syllabus on the world, has pronounced his own infallibility contrary to the wish of the most eminent Roman Catholics, has brought down one great empire, and has waged a long and not altogether unsuccessful war with one if not two others. What do the Liberal Cassandras say? Would it have been better to leave the Pope in his old station, in which he had less influence and no material power, and in which he felt his responsibility as one who had something to lose?

BELLES LETTRES.

[ESSRS REMINGTON are no doubt aware that there is no necessary connection between a book properly brought out and an ill-told story. Messrs. Remingtons' stories, so far, have been about as badly told as their volumes have been well bound. Here, for instance, is "Avondale or Avondale,"¹ which is little else but a mass of verbiage. There is nothing in particular to find fault with, except its

¹ "Avondale of Avondale: A Political Romance." By Uttère Barre. London: Remingtons. 1877.

want of point. We are introduced to cabinet ministers and noble lords, but they are all mere puppets. And yet "Avondale of Avondale" is by no means the worst of political novels, which every one somehow seems to think they can write. But a political novel is really and truly the most difficult of all novels. It requires a great knowledge of the world, and, above all, epigrammatic power, to which the author of "Avondale of Avondale" can make not the slightest pretence. He has imposed upon himself too difficult a task. • He might succeed, we think, if he were somewhat less ambitious.

Mrs. Newton Sear's "Kismet"² is decidedly better, simply because it does not aim so high as "Avondale of Avondale." But in this case, too, wordiness is the besetting fault. The writer is betrayed by her fluency. • Some of her descriptions, however, are marked by power, which, with cultivation, might some day produce really good work.

The third of Messrs. Remingtons' novels is perhaps the best, but yet it is very far from good. One infallible mark of weakness is long description. Here, again, we come upon page upon page of description, where dialogue should have been given instead. What we want in a novel is character individualised—character having a personality of its own. Now character can be best represented either by dialogue or by action. We do not require to be told that so-and-so is a good man or a witty man; we want to feel his goodness and to hear his wit. The author of "Marriage and Married Life,"³ like the author of "Kismet," can certainly describe persons, and especially women; but it is from the surface, and not from within.

We now come back to the old-fashioned novel. A really good novel is, say what severe moralists may to the contrary, very delightful. It is, we might even grant, a concession to the weakness of the flesh. Now "Winnie's History"⁴ is a really good novel for idle people, especially ladies. It possesses the first requisite of a novel—it is amusing. We are glad to see that this fact has been recognised in other quarters. "Winnie's History" has been praised, and very rightly praised, by our contemporaries. It is a pleasant, healthy story, full of poetry and humour. We need not dwell any further on its merits, as they have been so fully acknowledged elsewhere. We are inclined just now to play the devil's advocate. We want to point out to the authors of the three novels which we have just noticed how much superior "Winnie's History" is to their own productions, and why it is so, and yet at the same time to show them that "Winnie's History" is, as we have no doubt the author knows quite well, very far from a work of the highest art. Now, in the first place, the author of "Winnie's History" understands what character means. She recognises the fact that each

² "Kismet: A Novel." By Mrs. Newton Sears, "Author of "Blonde and Brunette," "My Wedding Dress." London: Remingtons. 1877.

³ "Marriage and Married Life: A Novel." By Isha. London: Remingtons. 1877.

⁴ "Winnie's History." By M. C. M. Simpson, Author of "A Long Summer's Day." London: Hurst & Blackett. 1877.

person must be individualised, and that the speech put into their mouth belongs to them and to nobody else. Secondly, she makes us feel that she knows the kind of people about whom she is talking. She surrounds them with a certain air, a certain style, which belongs to their society, or, if we may for once use the slang phrase, "set." Now this is what so many novelists fail to do. For instance, the author of "Avondale of Avondale" may, for anything we know to the contrary, be a peer of the realm or a Cabinet minister himself, but he does not make us feel at home with his characters. A man may mix in the highest circles, and yet be utterly unable to describe his friends. On the other hand, a man may never leave his native provincial town, and yet instinctively from his artistic power be able to grasp those refinements of character, and to paint those delicate shades and moods of thought and habits of mind, which all contribute to make up those much misunderstood words, "lady" and "gentleman," in their best and largest sense. Now, to do this, we need not say, is the most difficult achievement in art; and it is because Miss Simpson is so good an artist that she deserves so much praise. Her characters move, so to speak, in their own proper atmosphere. And yet Miss Simpson, as we have already hinted, comes very far short of being a great artist. Let us for a moment put her to the test. In the second volume there is a chapter called "A Peep into Bohemia." It is a difficult, not to say a dangerous, subject for a lady to touch. We have nothing to say against Miss Simpson's treatment of the theme. Her account is clever, but that is all. She fails to make Mademoiselle Mélanie of the Bêtises Theatre live. She dresses her very prettily, and puts her in pretty attitudes. But we require a great deal more than this from such a siren or vixen, as the reader may choose to think her. It is not enough to say, as Miss Simpson does, "Mademoiselle Mélanie was sparkling with fun, and the stories she told him of her adventures in Russia convulsed him with laughter." The reader wants also to hear some of the fun, and, like the hero, to be convulsed with laughter. Again, it is not enough to be told that in the evening "Mademoiselle Mélanie appeared in a new piece full of the most delightful extravagancies. Mélanie surpassed herself—she acted with a *verve* and *abandon* which carried her audience by storm. She was applauded vociferously, and buried in bouquets at the close." Now any newspaper reporter can tell us this, but it is only the artist who rises above mere description, and gives us a direct dramatic representation of the actress, as she did appear on the boards. After these remarks, we trust the authors of the first three novels will understand what we meant by our criticism upon their works.

"Heaps of Money"⁵ is another novel, which may almost rank with "Winnie's History" for its interest, general truthfulness to both nature and human nature, and its sketches of scenery. There is also a good deal of quiet humour too in it, of the Jane Austen type. One

⁵ "Heaps of Money." By W. E. Norris. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

of the best chapters is perhaps "My Brother-in-Law, Lord Sturdham." The sketch of Lord Sturdham is quite worthy of Mr. Anthony Trollope when at his very best. Every one will, we think, take a liking to Linda. Mr. Howard is a far more difficult and complex character, but he may be pronounced, on the whole, to be a decided success.

"Juliet's Guardian,"⁶ may be recommended to ladies. It contains, amongst other similar things, accounts of first balls, visits to bonnet-shops, and plenty of lively tittle-tattle. By some means or another a dissertation upon kisses has got into the third volume of "John Lexley's Troubles,"⁷ which would, we think, have been far more appropriate in Mrs. Cameron's novel. And here we may notice that Mr. Bardsley has evidently taken some pains with the dialect of his lover characters. The book requires, however, a great deal of pruning. There are many good things in it, but they are buried up in verbiage. Some of the sayings, too, are shrewd, and show a close observation of human nature.

In spite of its highly sentimental tone, "A Bride from Rhineland"⁸ should receive a few words of praise. The author evidently loves the Rhine, and the picture of Rüdelsheim is both truthful and beautiful. "Vivienne"⁹ also is somewhat too sentimental for our taste. Ladies, however, may prefer it to a more realistic novel. The author of "Proud as Lucifer"¹⁰ shows descriptive power of a really high order. We have seldom read so good a description of a country market-town as Mr. O'Farrell gives us in his opening chapter. Everybody, we should imagine, would recognise somebody or something in Cornborough. "Proud as Lucifer," we should say, is a first venture. If so, the author will probably distinguish himself as a novelist of country scenes. His character-drawing, however, is here and there wanting in firmness.

We now come to two novels by far the most carefully written and elaborated of any which we have had, and both of which demand far more space than we can possibly give them. The first is Mr. Allardyce's "City of Sunshine,"¹¹ We are afraid, however, that it will not attain the popularity which it so thoroughly deserves. Novels about India are only popular among Anglo-Indians. As far as we are able to judge, the book is certainly well written, and contains much matter for serious reflection. "The Adventures of Nevil Brooke"¹² is also connected with India, and also contains much that is worth reflecting upon.

⁶ "Juliet's Guardian." By Mrs. H. Lovett Cameron. London: Chatto & Windus. 1877.

⁷ "John Lexley's Troubles." By Charles W. Bardsley. London: Chatto & Windus. 1877.

⁸ "A Bride from Rhineland." London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

⁹ "Vivienne." By Rita. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

¹⁰ "Proud as Lucifer." By Burke O'Farrell. London: Chapman & Hall. 1877.

¹¹ "The City of Sunshine: A Novel." By Alexander Allardyce. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

¹² "The Adventures of Nevil Brooke; or, How India was Won for England." By Christopher James Riethmüller. London: George Bell & Sons. 1877.

Both books may be recommended to those who do not generally read novels, but wish to know something about our great empire in the East.

Our two next and last novels have the true circulating library ring about their titles, "*Love's Young Dream*,"¹³ and "*The Way Women Love*."¹⁴ The first may be recommended to all lovers of the sensational. It is a fair sample of a well-known school of fiction, written chiefly, we believe, by ladies for ladies. The two last volumes "*Of the Way Women Love*" are decidedly the best, and the best scenes are those connected with the stage. We think the author, whilst he—or perhaps rather she—was about it, might as well have burned the husband as the wife.

The poetry this quarter is worse than usual, and this is saying a good deal. Mrs. Pfeiffer¹⁵ is writing far too fast. It was but the other day that we noticed a volume of poems by her, and now we have another volume containing several thousand lines. Her last volume of poems, more especially the sonnets, gave great promise, which, we are sorry to say, is not realised in the present work. But no poet could hope to produce a really great poem in so short a time. We often, it is true, hear of a poem being written at a sitting, or in so many days or weeks, but what really does this mean? Nothing more than that the mechanical portion took the poet so long. How long the poem had been growing in his brain, and gradually developing itself into form and colour, is another question, which the poet himself probably could not answer, much less anybody else. Mrs. Pfeiffer should remember, with Buffon, "*Le génie est une longue patience*." Of course there are many pretty bits in "*Glân-Alarch*," but prettiness is not poetry. Perhaps to say that poetry is pretty is the severest condemnation which can be uttered. We have in "*Glân-Alarch*" too much facile commonplace. Such a phrase as "wealth of sunbright hair and amber beard" might be found in any schoolgirl's first novel. One or two of the descriptions, such as that of the flowers at page 23, and that, again, of autumn at page 35, with "its shower of red leaves," are considerably above the average of the poetry of the day. The song, too, at page 44, and several of the speeches, are striking, but on the whole we are disappointed. We trust that Mrs. Pfeiffer will yet fulfil the promise which her earlier work gave.

Mr. John Dryden Corbet,¹⁶ of whom we have never before heard, sends us the first volume of his collected works. We can best describe it by saying that it is a thick volume of nearly five hundred pages, and that it must have been after reading some such trash that Plato came to the resolution to exclude all poets from his Republic. Here

¹³ "*Love's Young Dream : A Novel*." By F. E. M. Notley, Author of "*Olive Vase*," "*Mildred's Wedding*," &c., &c. London : Tinsley Brothers. 1877.

¹⁴ "*The Way Women Love : A Novel*." By E. Owens Blackburne. London : Tinsley Brothers. 1877.

¹⁵ "*Glân-Alarch : His Silence and Song*." By Emily Pfeiffer. London : Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

¹⁶ "*The Collected Poems of John Dryden Corbet*." In two volumes. Vol. I. London : Provost & Co. 1877.

is a specimen from, 'The Lay of the Crimea,' describing the Balacava charge—

"Back sad, not shamed, they go ;
 Steed and rider lie both
 Where gore mingles with froth,
 And the captain, though loth,
 Lifts a signal of woe."

It is useless to say a word to a person who can write such doggerel and think that it is poetry. Mr. Corbet promises to inflict another volume upon the unoffending world.

Mr. Alcmár's poems¹⁷ are, as bad as Mr. Corbet's. Indeed, we do not know which is the most foolish, Mr. Corbet's description of the Balacava charge, or Mr. Alcmár's account of the battle of the Alma. Here is a stanza from Mr. Alcmár, and readers may judge for themselves—

"But see ! where England's stately Guards
 From the cloud are fast emerging ;
 Now side by side with Scotland's pride
 With stunning cheers are charging."

We ourselves are inclined to give the palm of imbecility to Mr. Alcmár, on account of his superior bad rhyme.

If our memory does not deceive us, Mr. Domett¹⁸ in his "Ranolf and Amohia" gave promise of really great things. He is an ardent admirer of Mr. Browning, and his admiration has led him into what most people would regard as strange vagaries, such, for instance, as the opening lines of a poem called "Cripplegate"—

"And Milton's grave, which is it ?

Pew-opener, say !

'Twas to Cripplegate Church a visit

We paid one day.

But 'Indeed, I scarce can tell,' she said ; 'somewhere, I know,
 Beneath that row of pews ; quite hidden though.'"

The generality of critics would probably pass the old criticism, "Had you no alternative but to write this or go to the galleys ?" And yet it would be most unfair to dismiss Mr. Domett with a sneer. There are many passages in his book which, when we have got at their meaning, and overcome the first shock caused by the quaintness of the language and the style, show that Mr. Domett is really a subtle thinker like his master, Mr. Browning, but he has so obscured the thought that the world will never take the pains to make it out. In this very ode to Milton there is much which is noble in sentiment, much that is original in thought, and much, too, with which we thoroughly sympathise ; but it is couched in such a quaint diction, that it will repel rather than attract the generality of readers. To admirers of Browning we may,

¹⁷ "Blanche of Bourbon, and Other Poems." By H. Alcmár. London : Thomas Hookham. 1877.

¹⁸ "Flotsam and Jetsam : Rhymes Old and New." By Alfred Domett, Author of "Ranolf and Amohia." London : Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

however, strongly recommend "*Flotsam and Jetsam*." They will find in it many beauties and many subtleties worthy of the master himself. Amongst the happiest pieces are a "*Valentine*," "*A Kiss*," and some lines sent to Mr. Browning himself. The last are particularly good, full of force and originality. The quaintness of diction, we may add, will soon disappear, and it will be found that beneath lies real dramatic power.

Mr. Patterson¹⁹ has evidently worked with real diligence at his "*Robespierre*." He brings to the task intelligence, poetical feeling, and much cultivation. Yet we are afraid that he has been ploughing the sand. His preface to the drama is to us far more interesting than the play itself, but that is only saying that it is far easier to be a good critic than a middling poet. Here, for instance, is a remark which is too often forgotten, "If any one aspire to rival Shakespeare in his marvellous mastery of language, so terse and pregnant, so rich and picturesque, he need not seek to do so by copying the idioms of the sixteenth century." As Mr. Patterson remarks, this is to confound "the perishable with the immortal; it is to copy what would have had no place in Shakespeare's writings had he lived in the present age." It would, we think, be a great aid in the cause of sound criticism if Mr. Patterson would reprint his preface in a separate form.

Amongst reprints we have to acknowledge Mr. Seton's edition of "*The Select Dramatic Works of Dryden*."²⁰ We hardly think such a work was necessary. If Mr. Seton would only give us an edition of Dryden's Satires, such as the Rector of Lincoln College has given us of Pope's Satires, he would be conferring a real benefit to literature. We have also to acknowledge "*Birthdays with the Poets*,"²¹ a useful present to a young girl, and two more volumes of the new and splendid edition of Tennyson.²²

Mr. Tom Taylor²³ has also published a collection of some of his plays. We have no doubt that they will be as popular in the closet as on the stage. To ourselves they are utterly unreadable. The most interesting part of the volume is the preface. Mr. Tom Taylor writes with the tone of an injured man. He complains that certain critics have called him an adapter. We shall certainly not enter into the squabble between Mr. Tom Taylor and his critics. Those, however, who wish to see the question discussed should by all means read a trenchant little book called "*The Dramatists of the Day*," which consists of a series of letters reprinted some two years since from our contemporary the "*Athenæum*." The question of

¹⁹ "*Robespierre: A Lyrical Drama*." By R. H. Patterson. London and Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

²⁰ "*The Select Dramatic Works of John Dryden*." Edited by J. L. Seton. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1877.

²¹ "*Birthdays with the Poets*." London: Basil Montagu Pickering.

²² "*The Works of Alfred Tennyson*." In six octavo volumes. Vols. III. and IV. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

²³ "*Historical Dramas*." By Tom Taylor, M.A., Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: Chatto & Windus. 1877.

adaptation or plagiarism or "conveying," or whatever Mr. Tom Taylor and his friends may like to call this new process of authorship, possesses a much wider interest than does the mere quarrel between Mr. Tom Taylor and his critics. Mr. Tom Taylor would apparently shelter himself under Molière's plea, "*Je prends mon bien où je le trouve*," and we are quite ready to grant him the full benefit of the saying. Shakespeare borrowed his plots and characters and thoughts from all quarters. Milton was a wholesale plunderer. Yet no one accuses Shakespeare of being an adapter, or Milton of being a plagiarist. The fact is, as Landor remarked, they are more original than their originals. This is the precise point. Mr. Tom Taylor has yet to learn that he is neither Molière, nor Shakespeare, nor Milton. What is permissible and laudable in them is not permissible or laudable in him. But the question of originality goes much wider and much deeper than Mr. Tom Taylor appears to think. It is not a question whether Mr. Tom Taylor took the plot of this play from that source, or borrowed the plot of another from somewhere else. These are paltry matters. It is from quite a different point of view that an author's originality should be regarded. "The value of a work of art," says Hegel, "rises in the ratio as thought is more deep and comprehensive, and in the ratio as that thought is more vividly expressed." If we apply this test to Mr. Tom Taylor's plays, we shall at once see why we cannot for one moment apply the term original to him. He is not an artist in the true sense of the term. He is an industrious compiler and a maker of situations; but of the *mens divinator* there is not a trace in his work. He never enlarges the horizon of our thoughts. Of poetry there is not a spark in his book. There is a substitute for it, it is true, which is about as much like poetry as Britannia metal is to silver. Thus "*Jeanne Darc*" commences with a song, which we suppose we must call a May Song. But there is nothing of "the mighty ravishment" of spring in it. It is a wooden, sir, song, jingle. Yet this stuff, and much more like it, is applauded and hailed as poetry by the countrymen of Shakespeare, and Milton, and Beaumont and Fletcher, and Herrick. Yet the fact does not prove that Mr. Tom Taylor is a poet, but simply the degradation to which dramatic writing has fallen. The mob applauds Frith, and policemen have to guard his pictures; but this does not prove that Frith is a painter. So, too, of Mr. Tom Taylor. His successes as a dramatist do not prove that he is one. The public loves sensation and strong situations. Mr. Tom Taylor gives them plenty. He roasts an actress before their eyes. Of course this, to use the vulgar saying, pays. Mr. Tom Taylor has gained his end. Nothing more has to be said, except one word, and that word is not ours, but Joubert's: "Artist! if thou causest only sensations, what dost thou with thy art that a prostitute with her trade and the executioner with his cannot do as well as thou? If there is only body in thy work, and that it speaks but to the senses, thou art but a workman without soul, and all thy skill is in thy hands."

A work from the Oxford Professor of Poetry ²⁴ should possess an attraction for all Europe. Oxford, whatever may be her failings and her shortcomings, is still to many a second Athens. She is still, in spite of all that may be said against her, "the garden of great intellects." She has done much during the last twenty years to lighten men's thoughts. Her voice has been heard in the din of politics. She has to a great extent moulded the present generation. We have only to ask ourselves how vast would have been the difference if such men as Jowett, Pattison, Matthew Arnold, Congreve, Freeman, Morley, Harrison, Beesly, and Bridges had never written a word. Among the poets upon whom modern thought has chiefly stamped itself, she claims Matthew Arnold, Clough, and Swinburne. Painting and architecture have received fresh life from her breath. Few can estimate how deep is the debt to Oxford that men like Burne Jones and Morris owe. Pater and Ruskin have influenced art to the ends of the earth. Such were our thoughts as we took up Sir Francis Doyle's "Lectures on Poetry." But Sir Francis Doyle has nothing to do with modern Oxford. His work breathes the spirit of forty years ago. It is hard to see for what purpose the book is published. Its University traditions, its anecdotes, and its old jokes may make the volume interesting—interesting is the only term we can apply—to a former generation of Oxford men; but Sir Francis Doyle should remember that there are others besides old University men who will look with something more than interest to the utterances of the Oxford Professor of Poetry. There are living poets who have never drunk of the waters of the Isis, who would wish to know what the University which has nourished so many great spirits has to say on the most important of all subjects. They will be wofully disappointed if they expect to find any help from Sir Francis Doyle. Indeed, Sir Francis Doyle seems to know that some apology is needed for the appearance of these lectures. There is throughout the book an uneasy tone, as if the lecturer felt that he was not in sympathy with the aspirations of the day. Of Sir Francis Doyle's style we need say nothing, for it is not style in the sense which we speak of Mr. Pater's style or Dr. Newman's style. And he appears to have taken no pains to have given it even the very slightest polish. Commonplace observations, hackneyed quotations, old jokes, meet us in every lecture. But what strikes us most is the tone of flippancy and the singular bad taste which is so often displayed. Such a sentence as, "It was God, I suppose, who created the Alps, and they have hitherto ranked among His successful operations" (p. 347), sounds to us very strange on the lips of an Oxford Professor of Poetry. But throughout the lectures there is a straining to be comic. For our own part, we should say that all styles are good except the comic. We infinitely prefer the dull to the comic. The dull man seldom offends against good taste, but the comic man always

²⁴ "Lectures on Poetry." Delivered at Oxford. By Sir Francis Hastings Doyle, Bart., Professor of Poetry in the University. Second Series. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

does. We may forgive the poor hack who has to spin out so many columns of would-be wit for the comic papers, but we cannot forgive an Oxford Professor of Poetry. The bad taste, too, is equally conspicuous. We will give but one example—"As to the so-called English hexameter, with its six false quantities, to my Eton ear and eye in every line I hate it" (p. 129). Surely Sir Francis Doyle might have allowed us to find out for ourselves that he possessed the "Eton ear." Sir Francis Doyle would not, we suppose, call our attention to his Parisian accent or his Hanoverian German. His attack upon Mr. Bright is in still worse taste. We will merely say, that if Sir Francis Doyle will study the history of the Society of Friends, he will learn that they have laid down their lives for the cause which they believed to be true as nobly and as cheerfully as the bravest soldier. Sir Francis Doyle's lectures on Shakespeare are, perhaps, the best things in the book. But the lecturer's attitude towards the German commentators on Shakespeare is much of the same kind as that of a former rector of Lincoln College, who wished all the German books at the bottom of the German Ocean. On the other hand, Sir Francis Doyle's own poems are the worst things in the book.

Mr. Axon²⁵ has published a valuable little work on the public libraries at Manchester, which gives all needful information on the subject. We perceive that Mr. Axon calls attention to the great want of a catalogue of subjects at several of the libraries. This, we may remark, is the great want of the magnificent library at the British Museum. From the absence of such a catalogue half of the usefulness of the library is lost. We do hope some steps will be taken to remedy this great want.

Dr. Blakiston²⁶ appears to be a most amiable and well-intentioned man. As a rule, though there are one or two very great exceptions, we find ourselves agreeing in his main views. But amiability and good intentions must not be confounded with literary power. Dr. Blakiston's style never once rises above that of a most commonplace young country curate's sermon. He indulges in the tritest remarks. He pours forth an eternal flow of twaddle. We have no wish to be severe upon him, though, if ever a man invited severity, Dr. Blakiston certainly does. We would rather address him in the language of a distinguished French critic, "These useless explanations, these too continuous statements, present the uniform whiteness of a long wall, and cause us the same weariness." Dr. Blakiston's book, which is occupied with what should be the most interesting of subjects, is in fact as wearisome as the most weary, prosy, religious tract. We would further say to Dr. Blakiston, "To write a book and to write a work are two things. A literary work is produced

²⁵ "Handbook of the Public Libraries of Manchester and Salford." By William E. A. Axon. Manchester: Abel Heywood & Son. London: Simpkin, Marshall, & Co. 1877.

²⁶ "Modern Society in its Religious and Social Aspects." By Peyton Blakiston, M.A., M.D., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

by means of art—a book by means of ink and paper.” Of literary art Dr. Blakiston possesses not the faintest conception. Had he done so, he never could have put Robertsohn’s vigorous and truthful remarks on the scurrility of a certain portion of the English press by the side of his own bald, feeble stuff. We believe that a great deal of the irritation which is felt by many of the younger minds of the present day towards the clergy and clerical minds like Dr. Blakiston’s is caused by such goody-goody books as the present work. Men do not like being addressed as if they were a parcel of fools. Such a namby-pamby style as Dr. Blakiston’s produces upon many quite a different feeling to that which the author intended. This is deeply to be regretted. Dr. Blakiston means well, and his sentiments do credit to his heart.

About a year or two ago, Mr. Jacox,²⁷ having filled his commonplace book with all that he could scrape together upon and about Shakespeare, flung the collection at the public with the title of “Shakespeare Diversions.” Since this Mr. Jacox has had time to fill another commonplace book with quotations, stories, and anecdotes about Shakespeare, and he again flings the collection to the public. Mr. Jacox’s second series of “Shakespeare Diversions” is neither better nor worse than the first. It is simply a heap of quotations. All are fish that comes to Mr. Jacox’s net. He quotes anybody. Plato, Miss Braddon, and Homer, are all the same to him, and are of the same value. His classification of authors reminds us of Lord Dudley’s list of the Latin poets—Lucretius, Bobus Smith, and Virgil. We open Mr. Jacox’s book at a venture, and find a dissertation on the statue of Hermione. This leads Mr. Jacox to the further question whether the statues of the Greeks were coloured. Now an essay on this point, written by a scholar and an artist, would be of the deepest interest. But in Mr. Jacox’s hands the subject becomes a mass of twaddle and anecdote. We are told how Mrs. Siddons looked in the statue scene, and of a compliment that Martini paid to Etty. Then we have a quotation from Molière, and then one from Browning, and so the ball is kept rolling. Of course there will be plenty of people who will be delighted with this stuff, and imagine that they are reading Shakespeare. In the same way there are plenty of people who never open their Bible, but who will read any halfpenny trashy tract, which they imagine is the same thing.

We have from time to time called attention to the Clarendon Press series of select plays of Shakespeare.²⁸ It is without the slightest doubt the best edition of Shakespeare for both the student and the general reader. None, in our judgment, comes even second to it.

²⁷ “Shakespeare Diversions.” Second Series. From Dogberry to Hamlet. By Francis Jacox, B.A., Author of “Cries from All Corners,” &c. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

²⁸ Clarendon Press Series. “Shakespeare’s Select Plays” “As You Like It.” Edited by William Aldis Wright, M.A., Bursar of Trinity College, Cambridge. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1876.

Every one who wishes to really have the best text, a good introductory notice to each play, and sound critical notes, should possess this edition. It is not only a marvel of scholarship, but a marvel of cheapness and hardiness. The worst of most cheap editions is that they are so badly got up, and badly finished from a mechanical point of view: they have no headlines, and no references. The valuable edition of Epictetus by Long, lately published by a well-known firm, is utterly spoilt by the difficulty which is encountered from the want of headlines. Any one who has had the slightest experience knows how, in the case of Shakespeare, this difficulty is doubly aggravated by the want of proper marginal references. Life is so short that we cannot afford to waste it in hunting for passages. Anything which economises that shortness is really a blessing. And it is no small boon that the editor of the Clarendon Shakespeare has conferred upon mankind, that we can find any passage without the slightest difficulty in his edition. We can now only repeat the general praise which we have given to this series. Criticism upon Shakespeare must be like poetry,—first of all good sense, though it may be many other things besides. Now Mr. Aldis Wright is pre-eminently gifted with good sound sense. He possesses the judicial mind, without which a commentator is no critic, but a mere retailer of second-hand knowledge. Some editors can never hold their notes, so to speak, in hand. Their notes master them, instead of their mastering the notes. Mr. Aldis Wright is not a mere retailer of other men's learning. He sits in judgment, and, of two or three opinions, does not leave us in doubt which is the best, but pronounces his verdict upon them. Further, his notes are marked by original research. Nothing can be better than his annotations upon "broken music," "irk," "roynish," "not to seem senseless of the bob," "warp," and "blue-eye." On all these he has something to say which is to the point. There is, however, one note which we think is not quite so precise as it might be. It deals with a question which perhaps the real Shakespearian scholar would treat with infinite disdain,—the meaning of the word "batlet," or rather "batler," as the first folio reads in Act II. Sc. 4, l. 46. There would appear to be two instruments with very similar names, if not the same names, used however for two very different operations in connection with washing clothes—one for beating the clothes in the "buck," that is to say, for knocking or "possing" the dirt out of them in the water; the other, with the help of a rolling-pin, for mangling or smoothing the clothes when dry, taking the place, in fact, of a hot iron or a mangle. The question is, and it is a very small question, which instrument did Shakespeare mean by his "batler" or "batlet"? We have no doubt that Mr. Wright clearly understands the point, but his readers will hardly do so, and might be inclined to think that the "battling-steear," quoted from Robinson's "Whitby Glossary" was connected with his "batlet," or "battledore," which is used only for mangling. The question, as we have said, is a very small one. Schmidt, we perceive, in his Shakespeare-Lexicon, says

"*Batlet*, a small bat to beat linen when taken out of the buck," but he gives no authorities.

And here let us take the opportunity of noticing the second part of Schmidt's great work.²⁹ Like the first part, which we noticed some time since, the second portion is equally full. Nothing seems to escape the author. Even Sackerson the 'ear is duly entered. Will Squele "the Cotswold man," and even Tom "who carries logs into the hall," are mentioned. One or two slight slips occur. Thus it sounds rather odd under "Samingo" to hear of "Mr. Silence;" and the explanation that a toad is a "puddock" will be more intelligible to Scotch than English ears. But as a rule, the explanations and definitions are admirable. The scientific names of the birds and flowers are given, so that the reader is left in no doubt. Upon one or two words we may venture to make a few observations. Dr. Schmidt's definition of "mell" in a well-known passage is hardly sufficient. It conveys a far stronger meaning than he indicates. The last word has by no means been said upon "peonied;" or rather "pioned." The quotation which Dr. Schmidt gives from the "Edinburgh Review" is by no means satisfactory, and, as far as we can learn, is not so thoroughly borne out by facts as could be wished. Upon this point, however, we speak with reserve. We wish that the writer in the "Edinburgh Review" could be induced to be more precise, and give us the exact locality where the word is to be heard, so that independent investigators might make researches for themselves. Our own endeavours to procure any light on the subject have hitherto failed. The whole matter requires a far more thorough discussion than it has yet received. In the meanwhile, we fall back upon Mr. Aldis Wright's admirable note. It is thoroughly judicial in tone. We most certainly, until fresh evidence is brought forward, agree with Mr. Wright that there is no authority for saying that "twill" means reed; and further, that "it is very questionable whether these two participles ("pioned" and "twilled") are derived from the names of flowers or plants at all." Under "Twilled," we perceive that Dr. Schmidt falls into the error of supposing that "twills" is a provincialism for "reads." It may be so; but, as far as we are aware, no satisfactory evidence has been produced. We should advise Dr. Schmidt to read Mr. Aldis Wright's excellent observations on this word, as well as on "pioned." As a rule, however, Dr. Schmidt's explanations are marked by sound judgment. Nothing can be more sensible and judicious than his comments on such words as "tender-hefted," "rooky" or "roky," and "run-aways." Of course he will find in all these cases critics who will disagree with him. Everything has two handles, but probably in all these difficult cases Dr. Schmidt has got hold of the right one. Further Dr. Schmidt gives us a list of corrections to his first volume. In these he has received considerable help from Mr. Fleay, one of

²⁹ "Shakespeare-Lexicon: A Complete Dictionary of all the English Words, Phrases, and Contractions in the Works of the Poet." By Dr. Alexander Schmidt. Vol. II. M—Z. London: Williams & Norgate.

the ablest and acutest of our modern Shakespearian critics. From this list we learn that Mr. Fleay holds that the cuckoo-flower in a well-known passage in "King Lear" means either the cuckoo-pint or "cuckoo-smock." This last word, we may remark, is a misprint for ladies-smock (*Cardamine pratensis*). Probably Mr. Fleay is right in his last conjecture, though Mr. Beisly, in his excellent work on Shakespeare's flowers, thinks that the ragged-robin is meant (*Lychnis flos-cuculi*). But the question is of very little importance. Further, we perceive Mr. Fleay hazards the opinion that "faint" in the well-known passage in "The Midsummer Night's Dream," "faint primrose beds," means making faint. We had always imagined that the epithet referred to the pale colour of the primrose, to which Shakespeare more than once alludes. As Dr. Schmidt so often quotes Mr. Fleay, we are surprised that he does not, under "Scarre," even allude to Mr. Fleay's most ingenious explanation of this very difficult passage. A word or two more by way of criticism. In his very useful list of composite words, Dr. Schmidt, we perceive places cowslip under "Lip." This is likely to mislead the reader, for cowslip has no more to do with lip, than buttercup or butterfly have to do with butter, or Oxford with ox. Further we notice that, as Dr. Schmidt does not include the word amongst his errata, he still holds to his old opinion that daffodil in Shakespeare means a snowdrop. (p. 273). In conclusion, let us congratulate Dr. Schmidt on having accomplished so great a work. We could indeed have wished that it had been an Englishman instead of a German who had undertaken the task, and raised what is really the noblest monument to the memory of our great poet. Few but those who have been engaged in a similar task will be able to appreciate Dr. Schmidt's labours. No work is so severe as that of the dictionary-maker. As Scaliger said—

"Omnes
Poenarum facies hic labor unus habet."

No other work, too, is so badly paid. No other work brings so little honour. Dr. Schmidt must not look for either money or place. He will often see his labours used by others without any acknowledgment, and will see others reap fame from his toil. But to him will belong the credit of having written the first dictionary of our greatest poet. The end of his work is the work itself.

Since the English Dialect Society has removed its headquarters from Cambridge to Manchester, it has certainly lost none of its activity. Its last volume³⁰ is decidedly the largest glossary which it has published, perhaps the largest which ever has been published. Mr. Peacock has made a clean sweep, certainly, of all the commoner words in the district which he has undertaken. We are glad to see that he has so thoroughly carried out the advice of Mr. Skeat. Lin-

³⁰ English Dialect Society. Series C. Original Glossaries. "A Glossary of Words used in the Wapentakes of Manley and Corringham, Lincolnshire." By Edward Peacock, F.S.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

colnshire has long wanted a glossarist. The glossary at the end of Thompson's "History of Boston" is very far from satisfactory, being in a great measure a mere second-hand compilation. The late Mr. Brogden's "Provincial Words of Lincolnshire" was far better. And here we may inquire what has become of Mr. Brogden's long-promised supplement? We hope that it has ~~not~~ suffered the fate of Mr. Allen's Glossary of Ropsley Provincialisms. Mr. Peacock, we trust, will see after this supplement, which, we have good reason to believe, supplied many omissions in the original edition. And now for Mr. Peacock's own volume. And here we may take the opportunity of saying, that it is the business of the reviewer of a glossary, at the present stage of collecting, not so much to point out what the glossarist has put in, as what he has left out. Again, to judge a glossarist by the same standard of excellence that you would judge Grimm or Littré is absurd. The collector of words makes no pretence to be a philologist. He is merely a collector of words, and nothing else. By-and-bye the Grimm will arise. It would be just as sensible to judge the stone-masons who worked at the Parthenon by the same standard as Phidias. What is wanted at the present moment on the part of the reviewer is not a slashing review, abusing the glossarist for not doing what he has never attempted to do, and what, further, he should not attempt to do, but a careful estimate of his labours in detail, correcting his definitions when wrong, and pointing out his omissions. To do this properly requires something more than general knowledge. But enough. Lincolnshire ought to be an excellent hunting-ground for the glossarist, if it retains only a small portion of the qualities which Henry VIII. said it possessed. Such a district should be the paradise of word-hunters. Nor has Mr. Peacock failed to do it justice. Our business, however, is with his omissions. He is often not full enough in his explanations. For instance, if the phrase "Come thy ways" simply means, in the Isle of Axholme, "make haste," instead of conveying with it, as it does in the High Peak of Derbyshire and in many parts of Yorkshire, an affectionate and quite pathetic appeal, which Hunter has remarked in Drayton's line—

"Where Aire to Calder calls, and bid her come her ways,"

Mr. Peacock should have noticed this fully, and not confined himself to the mere statement in his text. Again, if "coot" means in the Isle of Axholme, as Mr. Peacock would seem to imply, only the waterhen (*Gallinula chloropus*), and not the true bald-headed coot (*Fulica atra*) of the naturalist, this should be distinctly noted, and attention called to the fact. Mr. Clough Robinson, in his Glossary of Mid-Yorkshire, which we noticed in our last Number, says that the waterhen and the coot are there called the "water-crow." We believe that we have somewhere seen it stated that the water-ousel (*Cinclus aquaticus*) is in some counties called the "water-crow," but we write under correction, as we are at a distance from any library. Again, we perceive from Mr. Peacock's pages that the waterhen is in

the Isle of Axholme called the dab-chick, the *Podiceps minor* of the naturalist. We are not in a position either to contradict or confirm the statement, but if this is a fact, it should be especially emphasised, and not merely casually noted. The provincial names of birds are, from some cause or another, always imperfectly registered in our glossaries. We do hope that some member of the English Dialect Society will take up the hint which we threw out a short time ago, and give us a full glossary of the provincial names of our birds. It is sadly needed. Mr. Peacock's short list cannot possibly do justice to the birds in his district. In other respects his glossary seems to be very full. We say "seems," for nobody who has not known the district for many years, and has not made the provincialisms of the district his especial study, is a fit judge. This we have not done; but we do happen to know a good deal about Lincolnshire, and something about the neighbourhood of Mr. Peacock's own district. One or two more small criticisms. We notice several misprints, which should have been corrected before the book was issued, such as "Sinner" (p. 4) for Skinner, and "Rischolme" (p. 16) for Rischolme. Further, it would be well if Mr. Peacock did not quote himself quite so often. There is a class of bills in the City known among business men as "pig upon bacon." We have a little too much pig upon bacon in Mr. Peacock's glossary. These are, however, very slight defects. Mr. Peacock has evidently done his work conscientiously, and with a real love for his subject; but, as we have often had occasion to observe, no one person can possibly collect all the words in a district. We trust, therefore, that Mr. Peacock will not rest content with his labours, but, following the example of his fellow-labourer in the North, Mr. Atkinson, give us at some future time a supplement. In the meantime, we heartily commend his present collection, especially to all Lincolnshire men, who will find it worthy of their county.

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OCTOBER 1, 1877.

ART. I.—HINDU SOCIETY AND ENGLISH RULE.

1. *The History of India from the Earliest Ages.* By J. TALBOYS WHEELER. London. 1876.
2. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture.* By JAMES FERGUSON. London. 1876.
3. *Village Communities in the East and West.* By Sir H. S. MAINE. Third Edition. London. 1876.

IF India has ceased to be a land of romance, it is still a land of mystery. The age of adventure and magic affluence has given place to an age of philanthropic experiment, of energetic commercial development, and of settled unheroic government. The conscience of England is turned Eastwards, as its enterprise was in the last century. But as we were then unscrupulous, we are now ignorant. Our sense of responsibility has not yet led us to a patient study of those unsensational details which are the necessary elements of the question in which we profess to feel so deep an interest.

We have undertaken to effect from without, and quickly, for Indian society all that is done for English society by a thousand organisations inwoven in its fabric, the happy growth of ages.

[Vol. CVIII. No. CCXIV.]—NEW SERIES, Vol. LII. No. II. T

We have not only to provide for military defence, to suppress crime, and administer justice. Government action has covered India with railways. The huge system of canal irrigation, the maintenance of roads and communications, public works of all kinds, from townhalls to village drains, every department and every grade of education, the hospitals and the jails, are all the care of Government. It has assumed the duties of industrial and scientific research. If the country is free from the difficulties of a poor-law, famines are periodic, and we have undertaken to provide adequate relief. It may safely be said that even in the Presidency towns none of the municipal institutions which we have fostered with such care could exist for a day without the constant supervision and co-operation of Government. Again, Government is not merely in theory and fact owner of all the land, but interferes between the various classes of sub-proprietors to an extent hardly intelligible in this country. The higher officials are everywhere the recognised leaders of society, native as well as European, while non-official Englishmen of every class, as members of the ruling race, have with natives a certain indefinable prestige and authority. From this rapid survey of the functions of Indian administrators it will be seen how many are their opportunities, and how wide is their influence. It must be remembered that their work is done for a people of whom very few understand and sympathise with their aims, while many are confessedly hostile, and that while, as a nation, we aim at reforming native society, we are pledged to respect their usages and abstain from all interference with their religion. The question, then, whether we are using our national power in the most effective way for the good of India, is one of singular delicacy and complexity, and is peculiarly unsuited for sensational or spasmodic treatment. We are not responsible for the conduct of individuals, whether missionaries or merchants, or cold-weather tourists; but for the general policy and *temper* of our rule we are responsible. Our mission is not merely to develop the material resources of the country—to make it a better field for English enterprise and a more fruitful source of England's wealth and greatness. These are at best means to an end, or inducements addressed to our more selfish feelings. We dare not justify our holding of the country save by the plea that we hold it in trust for humanity. Divided as we are by religious and social strife, we are yet agreed that righteousness and culture, freedom and health, are blessings worth conferring; and while we believe that mere good government in the Western sense will give free air for the growth of the better elements which exist in native society, we hold that in India Government has a social power which should be directly used to stimulate

their development. Our officials need not be missionaries, but should work in a missionary spirit.

What then are the points with which a healthy national conscience should concern itself? We admit the primary importance of taking steps to secure our military position. Our rule has at least given the country blessings of peace and order it had never known before. Were its stability threatened from without, every element of disorder within would be let loose; the delicate organisation which our care alone maintains, and which has nowhere struck root in native society, would perish, and India would relapse into the anarchy from which we rescued it. It may safely be predicted that if we ever suffer an irretrievable defeat on Indian soil, we shall leave the land, not to European rivals, but to its native chiefs, and that the still-remembered woes of Maratha and Pindari raids will be forgotten amid the ravages of new oppressors. The partial disorders of the Mutiny and the difficulties experienced in dealing with local famines may suggest what miseries one year of doubtful conflict would entail. Let enthusiasts remember that on the security of our position depends the lives of at least fifty millions of men whom we have called into being, and acknowledge that humanity forbids us to be indifferent to any dangers which threaten it.

We acknowledge, too, the importance of those questions of finance and public works, which, even in this country, from time to time attract attention, and in India form, with foreign policy and purely personal or class interests, the chief matter of discussion in the press. But we regret that in discussing the means of securing our influence we forget to inquire how we use it, and that statistics of material progress are accepted as evidence of the fulfilment of a mission we are fond of describing as moral and intellectual. It is not enough that we enable the country to support a larger population, unless, year by year, we approach more nearly to success in securing to each unit of that population personal freedom and safety, reasonable comfort, higher morality, and greater intelligence. Our best defence is the goodwill of the people, and *that*, sooner or later, we shall secure if only we deserve it. Finance is not an isolated science. On the side of income its premises are everything that is known as to the temper and condition of the people. On the side of expenditure economy and efficiency are convertible terms. Thus the administration of justice, education, and social relations are subjects of the highest importance and interest, not only in themselves, but as factors of the more pressing questions of defence and finance.

Is our judicial system adapted to the requirements of the people, or is it the result of mechanical adherence to English

precedents? Is it efficient as regards its immediate object? Does it incidentally raise or debase those whom it affects? Is the system of education judicious? Is it efficiently worked? What are the *duties* of the Civil Service, the training and the interests of which are so much discussed? Are the ablest and most honest workers selected for the most important posts? These are questions which, one would suppose, ought to receive the attention of the large class of persons who profess an interest in India. Yet they are never heard of in the press or Parliament. The reason is obvious. The public has quick emotions and sluggish intelligence. "It directs its attention but slowly to the cure of evils which are not of an urgent, vivid, and intelligible complexion. Missionary societies, whose agents do much for civilisation in India, profess at home to have but one object in view—evangelisation—and to regard as unworthy all aims lower than that. What remains of philanthropic effort is devoted to special objects, such as prison reform or female education. The House of Commons seems practically to have deputed its consultative functions on Indian affairs to a small but zealous cluster of members. Of the efforts of this forlorn band we would speak with respect and gratitude. Every interest is represented, and the result of study and experience in the most varied field is brought to bear. The interests of English industries, the grievances of individuals—whether dispossessed princes or sub-licutenants—and of classes of officials, find ready exponents. Finance, foreign relations, public works, defence—these departments are, as we know, discussed with wearying iteration. But not even Mr. Fawcett—the wisest and most sympathising friend India has found in the House of Commons—has ever ventured to extend inquiry to the direct relations between Government and the people other than those which they have as tax-collectors and tax-payers. The accepted doctrine seems to be that Parliament is to construct the machine, to see that it is duly provided with fuel, that each part is duly oiled, and that mischievous passers-by can do it no harm; and then care not to inquire whether it grinds grain or sand. Or, to use another illustration, we open the flood-gates; we regulate the force and volume of the stream; we criticise every straw and bubble on the surface, and forget to ask whether it flows to make meadows green or to form deadly swamps.

The duty of inquiry is indeed so obvious, that its admitted neglect seems to imply that the subject is regarded as peculiarly difficult or repulsive. Let us inquire whether it really is so. The elements are, on the one hand, the beliefs, the modes of thought, the temper, and institutions of the people, and on the other, the nature and working of our district administration.

From a purely æsthetic and philosophic point of view, no study would seem more attractive than that of early Indian history and literature. Comparative philology and religion, historical jurisprudence, and sociology now engross the attention once paid to the niceties of scholarship, the quibbles of religious controversy, the pedantry of lawyers, and fanciful assumptions as to the early condition of man. No study has proved more fruitful in results forming the groundwork or affecting the conclusions of these than that of the customs and beliefs, the traditions and antiquities, of the various races of Hindustan. And in few have more brilliant contributions to literature been made. We do not allude to the vast and silent store which lies entombed in the records of Government. It is inaccessible, and, if accessible, would probably prove too technical to be intelligible to English readers. Nor do we include the splendid labours of Oriental scholars, whom (to our shame be it said) Continental nations have produced, as compared to us, in inverse ratio to their wealth and interest in the East. We must content ourselves with referring to the writings of Mr. Max Müller to show that all the best-assured results of modern philological, religious, and ethnological inquiry are due to the discovery of a Sanscrit language and literature. But for that we might still be seeking to discover affinities between Greek and Hebrew and to identify the English people with the Lost Tribes. No writer who wishes to convince should venture to convey an opinion of Sir Henry Maine's in any words but his own. He says (Vill. Comm., 3d ed. p. 22), "Two kinds of knowledge are indispensable if the study of historical and philosophical jurisprudence is to be carried very far in England—knowledge of India and knowledge of Roman law; of India because it is the great repository of verifiable phenomena of ancient usage and ancient juridical thought." The writings of Mr. A. C. Lyall, if less systematic than those of Mr. Müller and Sir H. Maine, cover the whole range of subjects treated by both. At once a poet and a philosopher, he interprets to Englishmen that Indian life his wide and varied experience has given him exceptional opportunities of studying in language hardly less picturesque than that of Mr. Pater treating of the Renaissance or Mr. Arnold paying a last tribute to George Sand. The labours of the late Professor Wilson and Dean Milman, of Professor Monier Williams and Mr. Ralph Griffiths, have given graceful English form to the best productions of Hindu genius in dramatic and epic poetry. Most of the other works popular with natives have been translated, including the *Book of Friendly Counsel*, the great Hindu text-book on the conduct of life, and one of the earliest compendiums of the Aryan tales which are

told in our nurseries to-day, as through long centuries they have been told on Asian highlands or by Grecian seas. Indian folklore in general has proved not less attractive than that of more familiar climes. The hymns of the Vedas, the oldest literature of the Aryan, perhaps of any race, have been translated and illustrated by Professor Müller and Dr. J. Muir. Nor are we less rich in specimens of the literature of our Musulman fellow-subjects. The playful genial common-sense of Sadi, the tender mysticism of Hafiz, the epic vigour of Firdusi are familiar to students of literature. Perhaps no voice out of the past speaks in such moving tones to the hearts of living men as the resigned, despondent strains of Amar Khaiyyam, the free-thinking poet of Persia. We recommend readers who are anxious to form an estimate of the material results of native forms of civilisation before they were affected by Western influence to spend a few hours in an examination of Mr. Fergusson's "History of Indian and Eastern Architecture." There is, unfortunately, no historical literature of the Hindu period before the Musulman invasion. Yet splendid results have been obtained by the patient study of ancient remains and inscriptions, coins, traditions, the evidence of language and literature. Any one who knows from such a book as Mr. Fergusson's "Tree and Serpent Worship" what light the remains of ancient art throw on the relations of the peoples, the beliefs, the institutions of to-day to those of prehistoric times, will join with us in wishing that more systematic and extensive efforts may be made to lay bare the secrets which jungles and the waste of ages conceal.

The history of the people of India has yet to be written. Mill's great work is said to be philosophic. It is certainly dull. As a history of a commercial company, of dynasties, of wars, of English legislation, it is useful. But of all those matters which make up the sum of national life he was absolutely ignorant. He was more than ignorant, for he did not feel his want of knowledge. He sympathised with natives in the bulk. He knew nothing of natives individually. The works of Thornton and Kaye are eloquent monuments of the courage and virtues of Englishmen. But they cover only the English period, and are written from a purely English standpoint. Elphinstone is recognised as classical. Cold, stately, elegant, his work does not attain the true ideal of history. From the Musulman conquest to the establishment of English rule, the condition of the Hindus, social, religious, and intellectual, was practically stationary. The fabric of society as we found it was the result of movements and development spread over at least 2500 years. In Elphinstone's time, little if anything was known of the institutions of the Vedic age, the growth of Brahminism, the

long struggle with Buddhism, the Brahminical revival and the establishment of modern Hinduism. Of the literature, the science, and the philosophy, so far as it was known, he gives an appreciative account. The portion devoted to the Musulman period, if somewhat overloaded with detail, is accurate and interesting. But amid the rise and fall of dynasties and the splendours and the follies of sovereigns, the history of the people, even of the Musulman people, is lost sight of. We observe that Elphinstone is still the sole textbook of Early Indian History prescribed for the study of selected candidates for the Civil Service. Although the place and mode of their training has so long been a subject of discussion, those whom it is the fashion to call the future governors of India are allowed to enter on their mission ignorant of what is most essential to enable them to understand and sympathise with the mass of the people committed to their care. Of Mr. Wheeler's contributions to Indian history we need not here speak in detail. His analysis of the great Hindu epics is valuable and interesting. But we must protest against the mode of criticism by which he hopes to separate fact from legend. He believes neither in the sun-myth nor deceased-ancestor theory. His canon is at all events simple. Were he content to point out the cases in which the Brahminical reviser has added or altered to make the traces of pre-Brahminical usage appear consistent with their pretensions and doctrines, we should congratulate him on having made solid additions to our knowledge. But, assuming that the traditions arose from real events, he tries to ascertain what they were by rejecting as mythical all that appears physically or morally improbable and accepting what remains as true. The gravity with which Mr. Wheeler applies his method is at times almost comical. To Oriental scholarship Mr. Wheeler does not pretend, and he seems to have made but little use of some of the most interesting results of the researches of others. In the recently published volume on the Musulman period, his faults of style, or rather patchwork of styles—childish, bombastic, pedagogic—are even more distressing than in the earlier volumes. He sees clearly enough, what few of his predecessors have seen, that it is the business of the historian to trace the tendencies of thought and feeling which led to political change, and which in mere annals are kept from view by the gloomy record of wars and crimes to which they gave rise; yet the promise of philosophic treatment is but imperfectly fulfilled. The conclusion to which most readers will be led is that Indian history has been more affected by individual caprice than by those developments of Musulman belief which Mr. Wheeler classifies so carefully, or by sporadic revivals of Hindu spirit.

Mr. Wheeler's work is rather a collection of papers on various points connected with Indian history than a history of the people in the true sense. Dr. Hunter's works are admirable, both as to matter and style, and suggest that he, if any one, is fitted to remove from English literature the reproach of having no account of India at once philosophic and readable.

We have now, we believe, referred to the principal works from which ordinary readers can get anything like accurate information as to the past of India. The books of travel and adventure and personal experience, which year after year appear and perish, have familiarised the public with the external and more picturesque aspects of Indian life. They are sometimes amusing, and, when the writers resist the temptation of giving their views on subjects of which they have no real knowledge, are harmless.

While, then, it is to be regretted that scholars and officials of experience have not contributed more to popular literature, and that those who have contributed have given greater prominence to the unessential than to the essential, it appears that every Englishman who cares to know what natives have been and have done, will find that the difficulty of the study is at least not greater than its interest. But as to what natives are now, especially in their relations to Government, and how far their institutions have been affected by ours, and how far ours are adapted to their needs, we know of no definite trustworthy authority. Yet the ignorance of the English public is only equalled by their desire of information. Every returned official has felt the difficulty of answering questions which reveal such curious preconceptions of the nature of the problem to be solved as; "Is caste declining? Do natives like our rule? Do Europeans ill-treat them still? Will there be another mutiny? Is Christianity spreading?"

We believe that our dealings with the people may be explained without the use of those technicalities which generally render discussions on Indian subjects so terrible to English readers. We believe that in an age which follows with feverish interest all traces of man's action in the past, some account of an experiment at government novel in the world's whole history will prove of interest, and that in a country which so vehemently condemns the alien misrule of Turkey, some readers may be found dispassionate enough to join us in inquiring whether the faults we condemn in the Turkish system are not to be found in some degree in our own.

India is not a nation. It consists of an aggregate of various tribes of various races who have been for the first time united under our rule. Some have been in the country since before the

dawn of history. Others were still strangers when we entered. The physical features vary, and of course the climate. Besides Islam and Hinduism (itself a vague term which includes the most inconsistent beliefs), the Sikh faith of the Panjab, and the Buddhist of Burmah, there are all shades of what, for want of a better word, may be called savage religions. There are more than a million native Christians. Englishmen are not the only residents who maintain an alien nationality. Parsis—descendants of Persian exiles—and Armenian Christians are found in influential communities. The population of mixed European and native extraction in all the great cities is large and rapidly increasing. We are not rash enough to attempt a general description of the features, natural and social, of districts so dissimilar as those of the parched sandy plains of the Panjab, with their population of hardy, warlike Sikhs and Pathans—those of the flat, fertile, swampy plains of Bengal, with their teeming masses of weak and subtle Hindus, Hinduised aborigines and Mohammadanised Hindus—those of the hills and highlands of Bombay, with their hosts of fierce, cunning Marathas, and those of the wild jungle-covered hills of Central India, sparsely peopled by simple aborigines. The province known as the North-Western Provinces of the Bengal Presidency is generally considered to present the most favourable specimen of the results of our *régime*. The districts which form it were annexed at a time when we had acquired some experience of civil rule over natives. It is the home of the purest Hindus and the purest Muslims. The character of the people is superior to that of the people of other provinces, excepting the Panjab, and if it is not superior to that of Panjabis, it has been much longer under our influence. No province has been so fortunate in the personal character of its rulers. Popular education originated there. Its system of land revenue combines the several advantages attributed to those of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras. We propose, then, to give such an account of the past history of the Hindu population of the N.W.P. (= North-Western Provinces) as is necessary to a proper understanding of its present condition and capabilities, and we shall sometimes illustrate the past by a reference to its influence in the present. We hope hereafter to complete our survey by giving an account of the existing condition of a typical district.

As in treating of Indian subjects the only safe rule is to assume that readers are absolutely ignorant of all the data, we must ask the indulgence of the better informed while we try to explain facts which we hope will soon be familiar to schoolboys.

At a time beyond the range of history, and even of tradition, the men from whom are descended, not the Hindus only, but, with

trifling exceptions, all the nations of Europe, dwelt in the high central plateau of Asia. The evidence of language shows that they were a pastoral people, acquainted with many of the more common appliances of civilisation. Family relations were fully developed among them, and it is probable that no other principle of social cohesion was known, except, perhaps, slavery resulting from conquest. From time to time, as population outgrew the means of subsistence, large bodies migrated, some to the West to be the ancestors of the European nations—some to Persia—some by the Hindu Kush to India. We know that they were established in the Panjab at least 1500 years before the Christian era. The Hindus of to-day reverence not merely as of divine authority, but as a present divinity, the Vedas, a collection of hymns and texts, of which the oldest are shown, by the criticism of European scholars, to have been composed in India some centuries before the Homeric poems were composed in Greece. It is as difficult to summarise the religious notions they imply as to prepare a description of Christianity which shall be true at once of the faith of a Styrian peasant and of that of an English rationalising divine. They pray for victory over their foes, for increase to their herds, for many children. There are texts which Mr. Matthew Arnold would say are projected at some vague object of consciousness which makes for success and happiness, if not for righteousness. Others address the elements, the heavenly bodies—the serene and terrible aspects of the sky—the clouds and rain—each at different times in different aspects as all powerful beings. Sometimes one element or aspect is expressly said to be supreme. In other texts a power of nature is invoked by a name that plainly indicates that it is identified with some one who has done great and helpful deeds on earth. We would venture to suggest that neither Mr. Müller's nor Mr. Spencer's theories explain *all* the facts. There is in man a tendency—whence derived we know not—to regard devotionally anything that powerfully impresses him. We call it hero-worship when applied to living men. An astronomer may speak without devotion of the sun's rising; but the man to whom his light means warmth in cold forests and safety from lurking foes must regard it with wistful emotion. The sun when thus regarded with emotion is called a divinity. We shall hereafter see how many divinities the Hindu makes for himself in this way. In later Vedic hymns homage is paid to the instruments of sacrifice, to the horse and to the cow. On the other hand, reverence to ancestors is a prominent feature in the Vedic hymns and in modern Hindu worship. The two tendencies, to regard nature devotionally and to regard ancestors devotionally, are shown combined in the accepted belief that

the great heroes of Hindu tradition were sprung from the sun and moon. Indeed, to this day, a genealogical tree, in which the descent is traced from one or other of these illustrious ancestors, is part of the small library of every Rajput family of distinction. Conceptions of causation and the supernatural had no place in the minds of early men. The phenomena of the universe and the deeds of their mighty ones filled them with a vague awe, as the sight of the wilder aspects of nature fills us. Forms of worship were the expression of this awe. The early Hindus did not consciously personify the powers of nature. They did not consciously deify their heroes or their foes. To all these they ascribed one common attribute—that of inspiring awe. The identity of the cultus, and of the feeling which underlay the cultus, suggested the occasional identification of the objects of worship. In many cases no doubt the poetical expressions of primitive language led the men of later times to regard the powers and phenomena of nature as persons. And once the tale-constructing faculty was called into activity to explain the identifications of which we have spoken, the age of deliberate mythopoeism commenced. Thus the earliest structural theology was anthropomorphic. Gradually as men's mental faculties grew, and they learned to ask the cause of things, they recognised the awful as the unknown, and called it divine. The longing for more detailed knowledge of causes—in the absence of scientific methods of inquiry—suggested theogonic elaboration. Finally, the idea of one supreme being was an abstraction from the attributes ascribed to the various beings thus invented, and from that notion of spirit as distinct from body, the origin of which we need not here discuss. This is not the place to give detailed evidence of our position. We believe the laws of mind explain, as the history of Hindu thought illustrate it. Englishmen who seek a basis for morality in a knowledge of the divine can hardly wonder if the Hindus dragged in the awful to explain existence.

The composition of the Vedas extended over centuries. They represent the Aryans as engaged in constant struggle with the aborigines, who are spoken of as dwelling in towns and attacking in organised hosts. The names by which they are called are applied elsewhere to demons and monsters, and it is often impossible to say whether the hymns pray for help against human or ghostly foes. The aboriginal tribes dwelling in the plains were finally absorbed by their conquerors, whose social fabric and religious belief were much affected, as we shall hereafter see, by the process. Those who dwelt in the mountains remain there still. The criminal pursuits which have given to some of them a bad notoriety are probably but the remains of

the old feud between Aryan and aborigine. As civilisation and civil courts extend, they are fast sacrificing to the Hindu money-lender the independence they asserted against the Hindu warriors. The Hindus or Aryans themselves are represented in the earlier hymns as leading a purely agricultural life. In the later they have cities and armies. The influence of two classes appears to grow perceptible—of the warriors, fierce and sensual in their worship and aspirations—of the bards, peaceful and spiritual. In the earliest hymns there is no reference to caste, to widow-burning, or to any of those institutions which form the most objectionable features of modern Hinduism, while few of the gods now popular are so much as named. The Aryans conquered India rather by multiplying and colonising than by regular expeditions. Within what time they were settled where we now find them, it would be useless to speculate. But the story of the incidents of their early struggles are preserved in the two great epics which to-day have a hold on the mind of the people, such as no book has ever had elsewhere, except perhaps Homer and the Bible. One of them—the Mahabharata—is the story of the war between two sets of cousins for the chiefship of a tribe whose settlement was near the modern Delhi. The poem, as we have it now, consists so much of matter added to the original legend by Brahmin compilers to support the pretensions and teaching of their order, that its historical value is slight. Yet this much appears, that whereas there is little that is distinctly Brahminic in the unalloyed elements, the social and religious usages on which the story turns are in many cases utterly repugnant to the Brahminical teachings of the present day. Thus the Brahmin or bard class are treated as inferior to the warrior or kingly class. Five brothers—the heroes on one side—have a wife in common, while animals are used in sacrifice. The other poem—the Ramayana—describes an expedition undertaken by Rama, an exiled prince of Oudh, to recover his wife, who had been carried off by a demon king to Ceylon. With the aid of an army of monkeys he succeeds. It is highly probable that some such expedition was undertaken by an Aryan prince against a powerful non-Aryan (*i.e.*, demon) foe with the aid of the aboriginal (monkey) races of the Deccan. In this poem, too, Brahminical usage is outraged. Though the poems abound in horrible and monstrous details most offensive to European taste, there are episodes of marvellous grace and tenderness. No more exquisite pictures of the gentle strength of woman in times of suffering have ever been drawn than those of Sita and Damyanti. The bounds of probability are transgressed only in describing feats of physical strength. Character is delineated with singular subtlety and consistency, and everywhere truth, self-

restraint, modesty, bravery, and pity are put in marked and honourable contrast with the corresponding vices. Hindu audiences are transpontine in their tastes, and require a large proportion of blood and thunder to sentiment. Yet it may safely be affirmed that of the most subtle traits of feeling not one is lost upon the audience that sits in breathless silence hearing read the ever-welcome tale of the beauty and anguish and triumphant virtue of the heroines of a vanished age. The state of manners depicted is in many respects pleasing. Sita and Damyanti both married for love. Laws of fair fight are prescribed and respected. Hospitality is universal.

The code known as the Institutes of the Manavas (probably a typically pure Aryan tribe), which is believed to have been framed about 900 years B.C., marks a distinct stage in the development of religious and social ideas. It gives an elaborate and highly artificial account of the creation of the universe by the Supreme Self-existent Power, or rather of its development from an undiscerned idea that existed in his mind. It divides society into four classes, each with separate duties and religious rites. Highest of all are the Brahmins, whom we identify with the bards or sages of Vedic times. Next come the kingly or warrior class, which we identify with the fighting men. The third division is that of merchants and cultivators. The fourth, the Sudra or servile class. From many remains of old traditions embedded in the Brahminical literature we learn that the separation of the duties and status of the Brahmin and warrior class was not effected without long rivalry. At first, every member of the struggling communities bore his share in the common defence. The head of the house or tribe performed the simple ceremonies of worship. Literature commenced in the form of hymns to be used at these. Some individuals or families showed a greater aptitude for their composition than others. Powerful families or tribes secured their services. Thus was formed a class of bards or literary men. As society developed and the aborigines ceased to molest, a class of peaceful workers was formed among the pure Aryans, while the aborigines and mixed population formed a servile class, excluded from all share in the Aryan rites of the three others. But, in all ages, the character of the bard is half-divine. In India, they became philosophers and ascetics. The bright cheerful ways of thought of early days passed away. The demon-worship, the horrid sacrifices of the aborigines, affected them. Power, they thought, was to be wrested from the awful beings they revered by frightful austerities. Man entered into struggle with the gods. The great characters of early Brahminical literature are sages who, by long penance, had made even gods obey their will, and

acquired absolute power over their fellow-men. These pretensions naturally procured for them the terrified respect of the people and the rivalry of the warrior class, which a similar process of differentiation had created. The warrior patriarch was naturally the ruler of his tribe, and as human nature is everywhere stronger than superstition, he resented the capricious interference of the Brahmin with his sway. They, too, resorted to austerities, and contributed to the list of early ascetic sages some of its most terrible names.

Thus caste originated in trades unionism. The Brahmins, having the control of ritual and literature, secured for themselves the first place in power and respect. In the Institutes of the Manavas (which, of course, like the various comments on the Vedas, was compiled by a Brahmin in the interest of his class), they are described as the greatest of created beings. Kings must bow to their commands. The people must cherish them. All interference with their comfort or privileges is prevented by the most barbarous punishments. On the other hand, the whole course of their life is rigidly controlled: they are bound to minute and harassing observances, and to constant study; and having fulfilled the great Hindu duty of begetting a family of sons, they are compelled to adopt the life of a solitary recluse. The rules of politics and administration indicate that society had even then assumed the form it wears now. There is mention of armies, and ministers, and courts,—of a revenue system, and various grades of local officials. Then, as now, the village was the political atom—unchanged in the midst of change. The rules of law present the usual crudities of primitive codes. Religion, or at any rate ritual, pervades the whole life of the people. The advantage of the individual is the basis of the morality enjoined.

It would appear that at the time the code was compiled, Aryan settlements covered a great part of India north of the Vindhya range and west of the Brahmaputra. Probably even in the most superstitious times, and amongst the most barbarous races, there has always existed some germ of philosophy which develops unseen round the roots of the popular theology, and springs at last into the free air in the shadow of its weakened rival. In India, as in Europe, learning was confined to the sacerdotal classes, and speculation was permitted only on the lines and for the purposes of theology. Now the genius of the Hindu religion has ever been practical, not speculative. The eternal soul, said the earlier sages, is united to a perishable body and in constant transmigrations is harassed by its temporal environments. Philosophy, when it appeared above the surface, addressed itself to the question which now for more than two

thousand years has oppressed Hindu thinkers. How can the soul escape the bonds of transmigration?

By austerities and sacred rites, said the ascetics and priests of whom we have already spoken. Their influence is seen in one at least of the six great systems of philosophy which the thought of centuries has bequeathed to modern Hinduism. By true knowledge, said students of a more speculative turn. Accordingly from one point of view or another nearly every department of human knowledge become departments of religious knowledge. Grammar was studied in all its branches to ensure the purity and intelligibility of the sacred texts. The classical Sanscrit, which was the result of this systematic and elaborate treatment, is at once the most precise and the most artificial of languages. Astronomy and mathematics were studied to ensure the due performance of ceremonies. Inductive science was, of course, unknown, but the achievements of the Hindus in mathematics, having been introduced by the Arabs to Europe, are the basis on which the whole fabric of modern science has been built up.

All the great questions of man's whence and whither were debated with feverish zeal. Those who think that the sceptical tendencies of to-day are the result of the modern scientific spirit may learn with surprise that more than 2000 years ago, before evolution and physiology were dreamt of, the question of the existence of a soul, and the soul's relation to the external world and the divine essence, engrossed the interest of bark-clad sages in the peaceful hermitages of Indian forests. Every shade of belief, from the purest Atheism and Materialism to Theism and glowing Transcendentalism, was systematised and elaborated, and no modern system of logic or metaphysics is quite unrepresented in Hindu philosophy. As the connotation of the technical terms used is so obscure that the argument is often unintelligible to ordinary readers, it is to be hoped that some one who is at once a Sanscrit scholar and a metaphysician may be induced to devote himself to the task of exhibiting the arguments in modern terminology.

The general tendency of Hindu thought, as shown in the ancient systems of philosophy and in the controversies of to-day, is to a refined and spiritual Pantheism. That most Hindus are idolaters and grossly superstitious is unhappily true; but as the system has room for antagonistic superstitions, so it permits of the utmost free thought. The hold it has on society is social rather than religious. Any one who is born a Hindu, who does not in words deny the authority of the Vedas and the supremacy of the Brahmins, and who observes certain forms which are regarded as imposed rather by the custom of the family or tribe

than by religion, may hold and publish any belief he pleases without risk of excommunication.

While philosophers were speculating and ascetics practising fearful penances, the soul of Sakya Muni, a prince of a small kingdom in Oudh, was touched with sorrow for the ills and sorrows he witnessed among men. He was at once a philosopher and an enthusiast. He ridiculed the pretensions of the Brahmins and the authority of the Vedas. He accepted that doctrine of the transmigration of the soul, and its sufferings in one condition for the sins it had committed in another, which was and is so popular with Hindu thinkers. Vain is man's effort, he said, to wrest from imaginary gods immunity from suffering that must ever attend the soul while it is still in the bondage of the flesh. It is his passions and earthly cares that forge the chain. Subdue these and the soul is freed from its prison, to dwell for ever in a peaceful Nirvana. To those who had the grace to do so, he counselled entire withdrawal from earthly cares. On the many who would find this too hard a saying he enjoined the duties of love, truth, and purity. Sakya Muni, or, to use the name by which he is generally known, Buddha, lived about 600 years before Christ. His creed had made much progress during his lifetime. Three hundred years later it was paramount. A Buddhist dynasty reigned from Cabul to the Bay of Bengal. The new religion, which had owed its first successes to its moral force and purity, further propagated itself among the aboriginal or semi-aboriginal population by assimilating much of their religious usages. In its struggle with Brahminism for a hold on the masses it imitated the superstitions of its rival. The process by which later Hinduism was developed from the early form is parallel to the process by which mediæval Catholicism was developed from primitive Christianity. In both, kings, prelates, and councils, play the same part. If Asoka was the Constantine, Nagarjuna was the Gregory the Great of Buddhism. In the first stage, the precepts were everything, the teacher nothing. In the next, the aboriginal tree and serpent worship plays almost as important a part as the Buddhist worship of emblems. In the latest, the teacher is adored and his precepts neglected.

It must be remembered that Buddhism, however strongly its primitive features contrast with those of popular Hinduism, was in truth the natural outcome of philosophic speculation, and differs little from many schools regarded as orthodox. The struggle was rather between Brahmin priests and Buddhist priests than between Brahmin doctrine and Buddhist doctrine. Hinduism, we have already said, is the most elastic of religious systems. The most opposed doctrines and

practices are tolerated within its pale. After a rivalry of 1200 years Brahminism triumphed. Buddha is now known in Hindustan only as one of the incarnations of Vishnu. His images do duty in the temples for those of the gods he deposed, and nothing remains to show that his creed once flourished in the land that gave it birth, except the huge and highly decorated topes or mounds in which the relics of Buddhist saints were enshrined, and the stately and ornate cave-temples and monasteries which the piety of ages constructed in the living rock.

Brahminism emerged from the struggle triumphant but changed. In its contest with Buddhism it had gained the sympathies of the aboriginal elements in the population by adopting into its Pantheon the gloomy gods and demons of the primitive races. The worship of snakes and trees, the phallic mysteries and fetish rites, which we know prevailed among some of the most civilised pre-Aryan tribes, became prominent features in the Hindu cultus. The primitive people were probably originally admitted into Hinduism more to make the Aryan polity symmetrical than because they had abandoned their old religion. It pleased the Brahminical pride of the compiler of the Institutes of the Manavas to speak of them as serfs or Sudras. Perhaps in the more settled Aryan districts they were so, but in large tracts they were more numerous and powerful than the new-comers. Thus, long after Behar became part of the land of the Aryans, a dynasty of aboriginal kings flourished there. It was among such populations that Buddhism won its first successes. They were lost to Buddhism when their superstitions were incorporated as recognised elements in Hinduism. The genuine Brahmins and Rajputs (representing the warrior or kingly class) of to-day are no doubt pure Aryans; but the mass of the people called Hindu are of mixed descent, or are entirely aboriginal, and the popular religion contains as many aboriginal as Aryan elements.

The course of Hindu religious development may be roughly summarised as follows :—There was first the Vedic cultus of the powers of nature and ancestral heroes. Next, asceticism and the philosophic conception of Brahma (suggested, perhaps, as the name seems to imply, by the phallus worship of the aborigines), the supreme, self-existent soul and source of all things. Next, the two previous elements remaining untouched, the various deities and observances of the aborigines are absorbed. Here the Brahminic passion for systematising comes into play. The Supreme Being is still one, but in this unity is a trinity of three persons—(1.) Brahma, the creator—the god of philosophic analysis. (2.) Vishnu, the preserver—the old sun-god of the Vedic and pre-Vedic Aryan times. (3.) Siva, the

destroyer—the god of the aborigines, identified with Rudra, the Vedic god of the sweeping storm. In the modern Hindu world there are but two great cults—the worship of Vishnu, cheerful, and the fruit of hope and joyful reliance; and the worship of Siva, gloomy, and the fruit of fear; but thousands of other deities or personifications—Vedic, aboriginal, Brahminical—are had in reverence. The ordinary Hindu worshipper is content to perform the rites and ceremonies the usage of his family prescribes without inquiring into the essence of the beings he addresses, or the compatibility of his form of religion with that which he sees around him. He believes vaguely in some kind of future life, transmigrational or other, in which the consequences of his acts will follow him, and that it is his interest in this world and the next to accumulate merit by the due discharge of duties. Therefore to Siva or to Vishnu, to the minor deities, to ancestors, to rivers, to cows, to the tools of his trade, he performs the rites prescribed by traditional usage. The educated Hindu, on the other hand, who professes to be orthodox, explains away all the inconsistencies of the cosmogonies and theogonies which Brahminical inventiveness has constructed, by saying that the universe has been created more than once; that God is all, and is in all; that God is soul, and soul is God; that what seems to be is not, and what is does not appear; that Maya or illusion reigns everywhere. In all ages ardent attempts have been made to reform Hinduism from within by shaking off the chains of caste, and substituting a pure spiritual worship for its superstitious observances. Many of these movements resulted in the formation of sects which—not always in the original purity of their faith—flourish to this day. The Sikh nation is one. The Brahmo Samaj of the present age is the product, perhaps, as much of the influence of Western thought as of the indigenous reforming spirit. Sects, too, not hostile to Hinduism abound, the members of which show their superior sanctity by ignoring caste and Brahmin pretensions. To these orders belong fakirs and the various fraternities of monks.

The practical common sense of the Brahmins is well illustrated by the use they have made of two great tribal traditions—that of Rama, hero of the warrior caste, which has been already described, and that of Krishna, the hero of a tribe which was certainly not Aryan. Both are converted into incarnations of Vishnu. Their story is told with every poetic embellishment. Episodes are introduced to explain away features inconsistent with Brahminical usages. Others are added to connect the incidents with the general Brahminic tradition. The worship of these incarnations is the chief, and far the most

picturesque, feature of the religion of Northern India. Hindu maids and matrons are never weary of hearing of the childish pranks of the dark comely Krishna—of his sports with the milkmaids—of the terrible chastisement he wrought on his foes—and of his ever-constant grace to those who loved him. Once a year, too, the resources of every town are devoted to reproducing with grand processions, gorgeous archaic costumes, hideous masks, and great wealth of fireworks, the scene of Rama's victory over the demon Ravana.

The Sanscrit of the earliest Vedas is the oldest language known, and therefore may be supposed to approach most nearly to that spoken by the common ancestors of Eastern and Western nations before the dispersion. In Sanscrit literature we have a complete series of specimens connecting it with the vernacular tongues of modern India. The extent to which these are based on Sanscrit is a measure of the thoroughness of the Aryan conquest. In the plains of the Panjab, Oudh, the N.W.P., Bengal, and Bombay, we find that the vocabulary of the spoken vernaculars is Aryan with but a slight admixture of aboriginal words. In the hilly tracts, the vocabulary is chiefly aboriginal, the few Aryan words being of comparatively recent introduction. In Madras the vernaculars are non-Aryan. In the ages that followed the completion of the Aryan conquest the country was divided into a number of kingdoms of the kind described in the Institutes of the Manavas, some of which occasionally established supremacy over the others. There was considerable commerce with the outer world, and Bactrian-Greek and Assyrian influence seem to have left some impress on art. The splendid state of some of the kings is still traditional. And there is every reason to believe that at certain times in certain places, while the material condition of the people was better than it is now, art in its purest forms flourished, a noble literature arose, and learning and science, religion and morality, were had in honour. It is hardly to be wondered at that the golden age of the Hindu is in the past, not the future. But all these civilisations perished in internecine strife or amid the calamities of the Musulman invasions.

Of Hindu art we shall speak hereafter. The fruits of the literary activity of the time appear not only in the philosophic literature, the vast collections of religious traditions, the grammars, the manuals of ritual, and the interminable series of comments on all these and on the Vedas, but in the great epics, the exquisitely graceful series of dramas, and several religious and historical poems of great merit.

If the caste system described in the Institutes had ever existed, it had ceased to exist in the later times of which we are

now treating: it had been modified to suit the facts of society. The Brahmins and the warriors still exist as separate orders; but instead of merchants and Sudras, we find an infinite number of classes inferior to the two first. The natives have no word with the peculiar connotation of the European word "caste." They speak of the orders or classes as "kinds" or "complexions," using the word "complexions" probably in the vaguest sense. The bond of blood has always been strong in primitive societies. Those connected by it adopt common usages. The persistence of the usages conserves the tradition of the common descent. But, in the East at any rate, communities so united frequently adopt common pursuits; and hence, by an easy transition, persons of common pursuits who are not connected by blood adopt a fiction of a common descent, and become a caste with caste usages. The observable phenomena of Indian society support this view. Every caste is subdivided, and these subdivisions are again subdivided. Members of one subdivision are sometimes as much debarred from caste intercourse with members of others as strangers would be. Again, while each of such subdivisions is held together by the tradition of a common descent, we find bodies of men of various origin, whom political or social accident has thrown together, invent or adopt an eponymous ancestor. By far the largest number of the important castes are simply tribes with tribal or even national usages and traditions. The system having once struck root, created an atmosphere for its further growth. Thus Musulman society in India has adopted from the conquered Hindus a class organisation hardly distinguishable from the caste system. Castes would probably still exist even if Brahminism had perished. Its work has been to conserve and develop that idea of the inferiority of certain classes to others which was originally derived from their comparative civilisation or political status, or from the nature of the functions they discharged. It must be admitted that the effect of the system is now to check the natural development of classes and individuals. Yet, like most institutions, it owes its strength to its utility. India has but for few and brief intervals in its long history seen a strong and settled government. Caste institutions have supplied the want of tribunals and public opinion. They have given fibre to society in ages when it was held together neither by kings, nor feudal institutions, nor social co-ordination, nor political organisation. It has done its work, and is passing away.

We need not linger over the history of successive waves of Musulman invasion. The first great shock came in A.D. 1001. In 1193 Delhi, the metropolis of Hinduism, was taken. The Rajput population about that city, which formed the bulwark of

the race, was driven from its ancient home. Some migrated to the sandy hilly region now called after them Rajputana, where, under the rule of their ancestral chiefs, Hindu institutions still survive in picturesque decrepitude. Others migrated to the country on the banks of the Ganges about Benares, where they dispossessed or reduced to subjection the half-Hinduised aboriginal tribes, the greatness of whose civilisation cyclopean forts and vast irrigation works still attest. Indian history, ~~we~~ cannot be too well understood, has been, with few and brief exceptions, one of constant disintegration and rearrangement. The traditions of most cultivating communities of the N.W.P. refer the commencement of their occupancy to the arrival at a comparatively recent time of the family or families from whom they are sprung. Plague, famine, conquest, or growth of numbers compelled communities to send offshoots to conquer or reclaim land elsewhere. But for this castes would be localised. The process of peaceful migration still continues; and Government, if it is to make adequate provision against the recurrence of famine, must transfer whole village communities from the over-populated regions to the still virgin soil of Central and North-Eastern India.

By 1203, Musulman armies had reduced to subjection the whole N.W.P., Behar, and Bengal. Though they came—whether Pathans or Moguls—to conquer, but not to dispossess or exterminate, the old population, large bodies of them settled in India, especially in the neighbourhood of Delhi. Resistance was crushed with merciless severity. The shrines of captured towns were destroyed and their wealth plundered; but, as a rule, the Musulman princes were not bigots. Hinduism was taxed but tolerated. Yet the social influence and prestige of the conquerors (who, unlike us, lived and died among the subject race), the occasional persecutions, the temporal advantages held out to converts, perhaps, in some cases, sincere preference for the new creed, induced many of the Hindus to abandon their old religion. The greater part of the Indian Musulmans, especially in Eastern Bengal, are converted Hindus. It is hardly necessary to describe the nature and tendency of the teachings of Islam. In India it has assumed its most tolerant form. The sincerest believers are, as a rule, the most peaceful and loyal citizens. Although among the lower orders in the large towns ignorance has given rise to fanaticism, which finds expression sometimes in attacks on their Hindu neighbours, yet amongst the educated many are free-thinkers, while the rationalising spirit has given rise to a Broad Church in Islam as well as in Christianity.

To the time of Aurangzeb the history of India is that of the

gradual extension and consolidation of the Musulman power, broken by the revolts of Hindu chiefs and Musulman governors, and intrigues and conspiracies at the imperial court. Occasionally a Hindu or Mohammadan succeeded in creating and maintaining an independent kingdom. Many of the Hindu principalities remained unsubdued. But all these movements, if they troubled the depths of society, did so only by ruffling its surface. Husbandmen were sometimes torn from the fields to serve in armies, crops were ravaged, and hoards plundered. Freebooting barons sprang up to harass peaceful industry. There was no police, and might was right. For the struggle was, in fact, not for the *duties* of sovereignty, but for its *dues*.

From time immemorial in India the sovereign power has exercised the right of taking a share of the produce of the soil; the amount being determined only by its own moderation or discretion. In theory, this was to be collected by Government officials. In practice, however, it was in times of order virtually farmed out; and as in the East every office has a tendency to become hereditary, these official collectors or farmers became in many cases quasi-proprietors. In times of disorder local chiefs fought with each other for the right of collecting from the cultivators, who were sometimes obliged to pay excessive demands—sometimes had to pay the same demand to each of rival claimants, and sometimes managed to evade any payment at all. Till lately there were in districts of the N.W.P. villages of sturdy Rajputs where revenue was exacted only by a display of overwhelming military force. In the same way the competitors for the supreme power of the state had not only to undertake formal campaigns against each other, but were obliged to support the local chiefs or landholders who recognised their authority, and to supplant or wrest revenue from those who refused to do so. Amid all these storms the village communities retained their vitality. Their constitution of course varied. But the prevailing type, when we assumed the civil government of the country, seems to have been substantially identical with that of the Teutonic and Slavonian societies. In the Panjab most of the village communities even now preserve all the features of the Western brotherhoods. The descendants of the founders cultivated the lands in common, according to a system agreed on by the community, and the produce was divided among the families in proportion to their fractional right, according to the Hindu law of inheritance. Sometimes the land was let out to strangers at a rent paid in kind or by services. In villages from which the aboriginal communities had been ousted, members of that race were found as serfs or tenants. The headman (generally the fittest of the family in the most direct line of descent from

the founder) and a council of elders managed the affairs of the brotherhood and settled their disputes. Each village had its staff of paid officials—a spiritual adviser and priest, a barber, a washerman, a sweeper, a watchman, and a messenger. In some villages where land had been divided among the families for separate cultivation, the custom of redistribution was practically in abeyance, or part of the land was held in common and part in severalty. Sometimes the amount of land held in severalty was the measure of the share of the common produce claimable. Sometimes an aggrieved sharer could claim an adjustment of the land held in severalty to the ratio of ancestral right.

In the great Revenue Settlement of 1833 we ascertained and recorded the customs and usages as they then existed, and thus deprived them of all elasticity and power of growth. Legislation has since affected every relation of village life. The power we have given to each coparcener to claim separation of his share of the land and responsibility for the revenue is being largely availed of. Many of the ancestral proprietors have been dispossessed in execution of decrees of Civil or Revenue Courts, or have voluntarily alienated their shares, and in a generation it is probable that the communities of the N.W.P. will offer few features to interest students of early institutions. Thus the order and tolerance of our rule has been a greater solvent of indigenous social forms than the fierce and troubled ages that preceded it. It is the old story of the north wind and the sun.

The glory of Musulman rule culminated in the reign of the Mogul emperor Akbar (1556-1605), a descendant of Timur and of Chengiz Khan, wild chiefs whose devastating energy ages before had swept away the old populations of Central Asia. By the faithful of to-day he is execrated as a free-thinker. Speculative inquiry, religious and philosophical, was the amusement of his court. Priests of all creeds, even Christians, were encouraged to explain and defend their beliefs. Among his queens were the daughters of Rajput chiefs, and the house of his Christian wife, decorated with Christian emblems, is still pointed out among the fairy-like structures of his palace at Fatehpur Sikri. Every department of government was organised, and the ablest men, whether Hindus or Musulmans, were selected for administrative posts. The revenue system of his great Hindu Finance Minister is the basis of ours. During his reign, and that of his successors Jahangir and Shah Jahan, the network of stately avenues which connect the most distant provinces was completed. Everywhere the public buildings they constructed (whose grace and massiveness contrast curiously with the whitewashed hideousnesses of our *régime*) are delights to the artist and quarries to enterprising officers of the Public Works Department. To these

princes we owe the fanciful delicacy of Fatehpur Sikri, the ornate stateliness of the Diwan-i-Khas at Delhi, and the dreamy sensuous lustre of the Taj. No cities of the world can compete in architectural magnificence with the Mogul capitals, Agra and Delhi. But we should do grievous injustice to Hindu genius if we failed to point out the influence it has had on the development of Indian Musulman art. The characteristic features of the style of Northern India at the time of the Musulman conquest were the employment of the architrave supported by pillars and brackets, the avoidance of external flat surfaces by the introduction of projections and irregularities into walls and roofs, the free use of carved ornament (whether floral, geometrical, or figure) on surfaces and supports, and especially the elaborate ornament and varying shapes of the pillars and brackets. On the other hand, the characteristics of the poor and undeveloped architecture of the Pathan invaders were the employment of the flattened dome, the arch, the flat, coloured wall, and the absence of sculptured ornament. Isolated round towers were often built. In their first attempts at construction in India they used the materials of the Hindu shrines they demolished as colonnades to support their domes and as ornaments on the surface of their walls. Where they had to build with fresh material, they were forced to employ the skill of Hindu architects and workmen. The general form was Pathan—all the details were Hindu. Thus graceful brackets and mouldings were freely introduced, and surfaces were covered with delicate sculpture. Cupolas were ranged around the central dome, and, finally, the minarets were united in one building with the domes and halls. In the Mohammadan reaction which followed the death of Akbar, Hindu details were gradually eliminated. Sumptuous marbles of various colours were used as building material, and where further ornament or colour was considered necessary, it was supplied by mosaics of precious stones, a style which had been introduced by Italian artists. Modern Delhi was built by Shah Jahan, but to the south the ground for twenty miles is covered with the ruins of abandoned capitals. There is the mound where the heroes of the Mahabharata built their town in the midst of lonely forests. There is the fort where Rajput chivalry made its last stand against the Pathan invaders. There are the huge fortresses of the Pathan kings, and the halls and tombs of their Mogul conquerors. Towers, pillars, mosques, pleasure-houses, tombs, and wells offer a sequence of architectural examples which, in interest and beauty, and the heightening charm of wild desolation, rival the monuments of Athens and Rome.

Meanwhile the composite style of architecture had reacted on the Hindu style. So that there are many examples which it

would be difficult to assign to either class. The wretched examples of classical styles for which English engineers—we cannot speak of them as architects—are responsible, have further depraved Indian art. Yet it still lives in places where Hindu sentiment is strong. At Muttra, the holy city of Krishna, are long lines of façades, whose sculptured ornaments and delicate balconies of pierced stone-work recall the grace and richness of the loggias of Venice and the tracery of Nuremberg. At Benares, which is to Hinduism at once what Rome is to Catholic Christendom and Oxford once was to English learning, are little shrines that may almost serve as tabernacles in a Gothic baptistery.

The more delicate handicrafts, miniature painting, carvings in ivory and marble, damascening, metal-work, pottery, weaving, have flourished in India from time immemorial. But painting and sculpture, except as decorative accessories to architecture, are unknown. The ugliness of an idol is generally in proportion to its sanctity. We may here perhaps add, to complete our survey of native art, that though the Hindu musical system is one of great technical elaborateness, the melodies, owing to the intervals between the tones being less than in the European system, seem to the European ear, with few exceptions, monotonous and ill defined.

Literature, too, flourished under the Moguls. Hindustani had arisen as a *lingua franca* from the intercourse of the Persian-speaking Pathans with the Hindi-speaking Hindus. Hindi, we have already said, is the modern form of spoken Sanscrit which prevails in the N.W.P. The grammatical forms of Hindustani and the simpler elements of its vocabulary have been supplied by Hindi. Persian has given the rest. Under native Governments, and under ours till 1835, Persian was the court and official language. We have since made the vernaculars the official tongue. Hindustani is recognised as that of the N.W.P., but in truth, as used by officials, it is not a vernacular at all. The spoken dialects of the villagers (all classed roughly as Hindi) vary from district to district. Grammatical forms as well as vocabulary vary, so that a peasant of Cawnpore hardly understands the speech of Benares. Now Persian is to an Indian official what French is to the European diplomatist and litterateur. The natural tendency of men who despised the true vernacular was not only to supply the deficiencies of Hindustani from Persian, but to substitute Persian words for the existing Hindi ones. The language, too, of the Persian documents they had been familiar with so long kept running in their head and came familiarly to their tongue. Again, if Persian is the French of India, Arabic is to Persian

what Latin was to English in Dr. Johnson's time. The most elegant Persian is that which contains the largest number of Arabic words. It results from all this, that while there is a Hindustani language which is intelligible to the Musulman population and to the better class of Hindus, especially to those who live in cities, the so-called vernacular of our courts is often unintelligible to every one who has not had an official training or a knowledge of Persian and Arabic. The villagers who have the misfortune to be regular attendants at our courts have picked up a good many of the high Persian phrases they hear there, and reproduce them in a curiously mutilated form in the midst of their *patois*. A great many technical English or Portuguese words are intelligible to nearly every one. Hindustani has produced no original, spontaneous literature, but most vernacular newspapers and law-books are published in it. Translations of the great Sanscrit works exist in Hindi, as well as popular stories and some admirable national poems. The modern literary Hindi is quite as artificial as Hindustani, Sanscrit taking the place of Persian. Musulman Indian literature is chiefly in Persian or Arabic. It consists of works in every department—notably that of history and memoirs. The religious literature, both in Sanscrit and Arabic, consists, as a rule, of old stories retold or old materials redressed.

We have thought it convenient to give this brief account of the present state of native culture in connection with the reigns of the three Mogul princes (Akbar, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan) whose character and fortune permitted them to give it direction and encouragement. We must now resume our review of the external events which have affected the condition of the N.W.P.

Aurangzeb, who succeeded Shah Jahan, was a fierce iconoclast. Throughout Northern India the ancient shrines were despoiled and demolished. Few Western travellers can look upon the long line of palaces and temples which form the river front of Benares without emotion and delight. Of all the sacred buildings, the oldest is the mosque of Aurangzeb, whose minarets, rising in stately simplicity, still proclaim the triumph of Islam. Behind it are a few exquisite columns and cornices of the ancient temple of Bisheshwar, once the glory of Hinduism. All else perished. Throughout the city we find patches of squalid ruin where pillars which Hindus plundered from Buddhist shrines support the crumbling remains of the mosques the Musulman constructed from the wreck of the Hindu temples. The number would be greater had not an energetic and economical Public Works Department seen their value as material

for the foundations of the Burna Bridge, and successfully asserted the superior efficiency of Christianity and brick and plaster to Mohammadanism and cut stone as a destroyer of the remains of ancient art.

Aurangzeb's reign was spent in wars against the independent kingdoms of the Deccan, and attempts to check the rising power of the Marathas. He died in 1707. In that year the East India Company, which, during the century preceding, had, in spite of the hostility of the native rulers and their Portuguese rivals, maintained factories on the coasts of Madras and Bombay, erected into a presidency, under the title of Fort William in Bengal, the fortified factory they had established at Calcutta. During the reigns of Aurangzeb's weak successors from 1707 to 1761, the Mogul power steadily declined. The Sikhs, a reformed Hindu sect of the Panjab, which persecution had converted into a nation of warriors, troubled the Empire from the west. The Prime Minister, throwing off his allegiance to the Mogul court, established that independent kingdom of Haidarabad which, under the able administration of Sir Salar Jung, is now the most flourishing of native states. The Marathas—robber bands which under a succession of able leaders became an army and a nation—swept in lightly moving hosts over province after province that lay between their mountain homes in the Western Ghats and Delhi, the imperial city of the Moguls. Three times hosts of Afghans or Persians invaded India. They conquered the Panjab. Twice they sacked Delhi. Within, the city was rent by the strife of the factions which struggled for power in the court. The Jats, a warlike race of obscure origin, unmatched for sturdy courage in war and industry in time of peace, and the Rohillas, a Pathan people settled in the country called after them Rohilkhand, appear upon the scene. It would be tedious to describe the various combinations of these warring elements. At length in 1761, on the plain of Panipat, a vast army of Marathas, with Jats and Rajputs as tributary allies, encountered the Afghan host and the Rohilla and imperial troops in a final struggle for supremacy. The Hindus were defeated and almost annihilated. Maratha nationality perished, and by the withdrawal of the Afghans, the Mogul sovereign was left for a little unmolested on his tottering throne amid the fragments of his shattered Empire.

During the whole of this period, the outlying provinces were gradually throwing off the yoke of subjection to Delhi. The old princes reasserted their independence. The Mogul governors became virtually independent. Into the struggles of the various powers thus formed the French and English entered as allies.

By the close of the period the English had established their influence and annihilated the French power in India. In Bengal (after Clive's victory at Plassy) they had deposed the sovereign, who still called himself the Viceroy of the Delhi Emperor, and placed another on his throne. In 1765, after a series of brilliant services rendered to the Emperor against Marathas and the Vizier of Oudh, they obtained from him the Diwani or civil government of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa. The abuses and extortions of which the Company's officers were guilty in the exercise of this power were such that, a few years later, the great Clive had to return to check for a time the tide of corruption. For a time only. While our armies were engaged in the great struggle for supremacy in Southern India with the ruler of Mysore, and in protecting Bengal from the raids of Marathas, the civil officers of the Company were making havoc of the resources of the country. We have already pointed out how great is the influence of Government as head landlord. This was the power wielded by a small coterie of English adventurers, whose imaginations but a few years before had hardly travelled beyond the warehouses of Fort William. Not merely then, but in the management of later acquisitions, the duties of government were left to natives, who had obtained their places by bribery and finesse, and rewarded themselves by fraud and extortion. While the Company's revenue steadily declined, a large part of the land passed into the hands of the native officials by fraudulent processes which moderate intelligence and integrity in English administrators would have rendered impossible. While the country was thus misgoverned, a great famine in 1770 converted fertile regions into wastes, and reduced the population of Bengal by more than a third.

Happily it is not necessary for our purpose to do more than allude to the tedious warfare we waged with the Mysore chiefs, and Hastings's relations with the Emperor and Vizier of Oudh, his expulsion of the Rohillas, and his treatment of the Rajah of Benares, whose semi-independent power was one of the strange growths of the time. The Benares districts of the N.W.P., were ceded to us in 1775 by the Vizier, and are therefore the parts which have been longest under our rule. The Maratha power still lingered in broken fragments in the west, and at length being consolidated in 1794, became paramount in India except where English influence reigned.

We can sketch only in rough outline the history of the early experiments in the government of an Indian province by the servants of a London company. When the administration of the revenue and of civil justice was assumed in 1765, that of criminal

justice was nominally left in the hands of the native Viceroy of Bengal, acting as the deputy of the Delhi Emperor. In a few districts round Calcutta the revenue administration was conducted by the Company's English servants, but elsewhere it was left to native officers, an imperfect control being exercised over them by English residents at Murshidabad and Patna.

In 1772 the London Directors informed their Indian Governor of their intention "to take upon themselves by the agency of their (European) servants the entire care and management of the revenues." Warren Hastings and his Council accordingly proposed a new plan of administration, "adapted to the manners and understandings of the people and the exigencies of the country, adhering as closely as possible to their ancient usages and institutions." This scheme was the basis of the systems subsequently adopted in Bengal, and introduced into the districts of the N.W.P. as they were successively annexed. The President and his Council, with an establishment of native officers, became a Board of Revenue sitting at Calcutta. The whole territory was divided into districts, over each of which presided a covenanted (European) servant of the Company, with a native deputy and staff. This officer was styled a Collector of Revenue, and was, in addition to his fiscal duties, to settle disputes, prevent oppression, and develop the resources of the country. Natives still generally describe by this infelicitous title the officer in whom is vested, under the existing *régime*, the revenue, administrative, and magisterial control of a district. Before the Mutiny, when lawyers were not as common as they now are, the name conveyed to the mass of the people the idea of a benevolent if capricious Providence. In each district was a civil court, presided over by the Collector, for the decision of all civil suits, except claims to landed estates. In each district, too, was a criminal court, in which the Musulman law-officers sat to expound the law and adjudicate on the facts. But the Collector was "to attend to the proceedings, and see that the decision was passed in a fair and impartial manner, according to the proofs exhibited." High Courts of Appeal and Control were established at Calcutta. The High Civil Court was presided over by the President and Council, assisted by native officers. The Criminal Court was presided over by a native judge, representing the Viceroy. But as the Collector was to control the District Criminal Courts, the President and Council were to control the High Criminal Court. The revenue collections had been farmed out to the highest bidders for five years, and jurisdiction in petty criminal cases was allowed to the head farmers. The Collectors, too, were invested with certain police powers.

In the civil courts, suits of Musulmans and Hindus regarding inheritance, marriage, caste, and religious institutions were to be decided in accordance with the laws of the respective communities. From the earliest period of Musulman rule the criminal courts had administered Mohammadan law. A general observance of its principles was enjoined in the new plan, but for some of its more barbarous and injudicious features were substituted rules more in accordance with Western ideas.

Suits between Englishmen residing in India were of course to be tried according to English law. But as the judges who had hitherto exercised jurisdiction in the Mayor's Court "had never been persons educated in the knowledge of English law, and were justly sensible of their own deficiency," a Supreme Court of Judicature was established under statute by royal charter in 1774, with English lawyers as crown judges. Its jurisdiction extended not only to Englishmen but to natives residing in the settlement, and to others rendering themselves amenable to its jurisdiction by special contract. In 1780 the Chief-Justice became President of the High Civil Court at Calcutta, and in that capacity framed rules for the guidance of the subordinate courts. The same Act which created the Supreme Court empowered the President and Council of the Factory to make rules and regulations for the good government of Bengal. In the exercise of this power, the only public opinion which guided them was that of men whose minds were imbued with the superstitious reverence for English law which then prevailed. Thus the influence of English law on legislation and practice in India originated in the necessity of providing a British tribunal for British subjects.

Between 1772 and 1787 great changes of system were introduced at frequent intervals. The Governor and his Council ceased to preside in the High Criminal and Civil Courts. The administration of the revenue and civil justice in the districts was restored to native officials, under the control of six provincial councils. Then the jurisdiction of the councils was restricted to revenue matters, and provincial civil courts were established under the presidency of covenanted officers. Police work was at first made over to native district officers, but was subsequently transferred to the judges of the civil courts—the Governor exercising a general control.

Lord Cornwallis came to India as Governor-General in 1786 expressly to inquire into and to redress the injustice which, it was alleged, had been done to the various classes of great native landholders in British territory. The instructions which he received from the Directors professed to be dictated "by the necessity of accommodating their views and interests to the

existing manners and usages of the people, rather than by any abstract theories drawn from other countries or applicable to a different state of things."

The administrative measures of his rule had a lasting effect on the systems adopted for the provinces subsequently annexed. The difficulties we experienced in collecting that portion of the yearly produce which, according to native custom, formed the rent or revenue paid to the state, suggested that an amount should be fixed in cash to be paid in perpetuity. The advantages which it was supposed would arise from the creation of an aristocracy of large landed proprietors on the English system, and the expediency of making the class thus created interested in the stability of our rule, suggested that the settlement should be made with the existing body of middlemen, farmers, or tax-collectors—many of whom had but a few years before assumed that position, and most of whom had abused it. The cultivating community was reduced to the condition of tenants at will of a mushroom class of harpies, while the state sacrificed its interest in the increased productiveness of land and value of produce. Government undertook at the time to legislate for the protection of the rights of the tenants, but the promise remained practically unfulfilled till our day.

Again, the change from a demand in kind, varying with the productiveness of the season, and suspended or remitted as circumstances rendered it advisable, to a fixed, rigorously-recurring, and somewhat enhanced demand, soon brought a singularly thriftless class into hopeless arrear. If, in the first instance, the pressure was passed on from the newly-created landlord to the tenant, a point was at last reached at which further extortion was impossible. In Bengal proper most of the proprietary rights we created changed hands ten years after settlement. In the Benares districts the settlement was in many instances made with the representatives of the village communities, many of whom belonged to the most chivalric Rajput races. Partly owing to their improvidence, but chiefly owing to the fraudulent procedure of the native officials, who were the real depositaries of the power nominally exercised by the English "Collector" of the district, they were declared in arrear. The power of sale reserved to Government was exercised, and the estates were in many cases bought for nominal sums by the officials who had contrived the disaster. As an illustration of the success of the scheme for creating a landlord class, it may be mentioned that few of these machine-made aristocrats ever ventured near the lands they had filched. Similar frauds occurred in other districts of the N.W.P. subsequently settled for terms of years. The injuries thus done were afterwards as far as possible re-

dressed; but nothing has been done for the dispossessed proprietors of Benares. They are still on the land as tenants, and the ready support they gave the rebels of Behar in 1857 showed how the sense of their wrongs still rankled in their minds. We would not overstate the case. The dispossessed proprietors had been only some centuries in occupation; but they had established a prescriptive right. The sympathies of the people were and are with them, while even the resident descendants of their supplanters are still considered aliens, and are known not as "landlords" but as "auction purchasers." This is one of a class of questions which complacent officialdom ignores, and we do not conceal from ourselves the difficulties which would now attend an attempt at redress. But one fact must be borne in mind: traditions of lost rights of this kind seen imperishable in India.

In 1787 the functions of civil and criminal justice were again united with those of revenue administration, and again the Collector presided in the civil courts. He had judicial power in petty criminal cases, but in serious cases he had power only to apprehend offenders and send them for trial to the Musulman judge. The interference of the Company's Government with the proceedings in the native court was confined to recommending the mitigation of barbarous punishments. In 1790, however, the Governor-General resolved to resume the superintendence of criminal justice throughout the provinces. District magistrates were appointed to investigate all criminal charges, to punish in petty cases, to acquit or commit for trial in serious cases. Courts of circuit were constituted, consisting of two covenanted officials assisted by Musulman law-officers as assessors. The High Criminal Court consisted of the Governor-General and his Council, assisted by the chief Musulman law-officers. Besides being a court of appeal, it controlled the general police and judicial administration. Justice was still administered according to Musulman law. Not till 1791 was the punishment of mutilation forbidden. Not till 1792 was it declared that murder could not be compromised by the payment of compensation to the relatives of the deceased. In that year, too, police management was transferred from the landowners or farmers to the magistrates. Districts were divided into jurisdictions of twenty square miles, superintended by a native inspector and staff, subordinate to the magistrate, and paid by the Company.

This transfer of police responsibility marks a distinct stage in the history of Hindu society. Originally village communities were responsible for the acts of each member. When a stranger or a member of the brotherhood obtained by moral or material force a preponderating influence in village affairs, the power of

coercion passed into his hands. The sovereign, as head landlord, recognised him as the representative of the community in revenue matters. The sovereign, as the source of justice, held him responsible in criminal matters. It naturally followed that he was allowed to exercise public and even judicial functions over those for whose acts he was responsible. Each liability involved its privilege, and the bundle of liabilities and privileges constituted what in our Settlement operations we recognised as a proprietary right in relation to land. Natives hardly yet understand that the withdrawal of the liability involved the withdrawal of the power. The conception of personal rights has hardly yet taken root; and when, as happens every day, men of influence are punished in our courts for enforcing claims recognised by public opinion as prescriptive—that is to say, as just—by means not warranted by law, popular sentiment is generally on the side of the offender.

In 1793 Lord Cornwallis reduced the mass of rude Regulations to the form of a Code, and introduced a new system of judicature. The Code was, at the time of the Mutiny, the basis of the Regulation law of India, and the system of judicature supplied the groundwork of the fabric of tribunals that then existed. The separate revenue courts were abolished, and a series of civil courts of graduated powers were established. The principal courts of original jurisdiction were the twenty-six district and city courts, presided over by a covenanted servant assisted by Hindu and Musulman law-officers and a registrar. From the decisions of these courts appeals were allowed to four provincial courts, in which three European judges presided with the usual native assessors. From the provincial courts appeals went to the High Civil Court at Calcutta, in which the Governor-General and his Council presided. For the trial of petty suits there were four courts, subordinate to the district and city courts, namely, the court of the registrar (a covenanted civil servant), and three grades of courts of *native* judges.

The district and city judges were constituted magistrates within their jurisdiction. Commitments were to be made to courts of circuit consisting of the judges of the provincial (civil) courts and Musulman law-officers. Above all was the Chief Criminal Court, consisting of the Governor-General, his Council, and the principal Musulman law-officers. In all these criminal courts Musulman law (as modified by the Regulations) was to be administered.

One measure of Lord Cornwallis claims grateful recognition. He reformed the Civil Service. Hitherto their pay had been but nominal. In theory they were clerks and factors. In reality they were often at once diplomatists and governors of kingdoms.

But the discharge of these duties was to be combined with the acquirement of the fortune which would alone reward them for the perils and dangers of Indian life, and with such management of the Company's mercantile affairs as would satisfy the greedy clamour of the English proprietors, who made dividends the one test of successful government. Our sketch of their influence would be incomplete without some account of the life they led. At the Presidency, though the Directors tried to subject them to a Spartan code of sumptuary rules, the English vices of the time were reproduced with Oriental exaggeration. When their new duties summoned them to the isolation of district life, they kept up princely establishments. In the memories of those early days, which still live among natives, the glories of their kitchens and stables vie with the splendour of the Viceroy's court at Murshidabad. Of culture at first there was little. But Oriental literature has never wanted ardent students; and as the service rose to a sense of its duties, the difficulties and responsibilities of their position developed those faculties of philosophic observation which are latent in most English gentlemen. The official literature is perhaps unsurpassed, and the art of making Regulations readable was soon brought to perfection. There were few English ladies, and morality was lax. Yet the connections formed with native women had at least the advantage of quickly familiarising civilians with the language and customs of the country, and thus led them to more cordial intercourse with the inhabitants. Native opinion hardly condemns such relations; and even if the district officer of early times was less respected, he was decidedly more popular than his more decorous successor. As years passed, and communication with Europe was facilitated, English ladies came in larger numbers. The morality of the service increased as its emoluments declined.

Lord Cornwallis attempted to render the prohibition of illicit gains effectual by raising the pay of the service to sums which were then magnificent. Henceforth, gross corruption and unscrupulousness were the exception, not the rule. But his scheme had one bad feature, which has ever baffled and still baffles our efforts to do right. He believed, as his successors seem still to believe, that the faculties and energies of a covenanted civilian in charge of a district are infinite. Therefore, when he had ensured his integrity and declared him responsible for the good conduct of his native subordinates, he no doubt thought that the reign of corruption had ceased. Natives, it was said, could not be trusted except under the supervision and control of Englishmen. They were declared incapable of filling higher office than that of a police inspector or of a petty judge in civil cases, at salaries hardly high enough to enable an honest

official to live. We believe that India has produced, even in the worst times, individual officers, and may, under favourable circumstances, produce an official class, not less capable, honest, and zealous than the members of any English body; but we have sketched the history of the time in vain if our readers cannot conceive what was the material we had at that time for the subordinate administration. The people were ignorant, timid, and incapable of union. Physical force they knew how to resist. Cunning they would employ if they could, but they felt themselves overmatched in the struggle with men who could read and write, and knew the law, and had the ear of the Englishman. Government was to them a fearful monster, whose mere interference in their affairs was a misfortune, and they invested the humblest official with a portion of its vague and terrible attributes. No doubt in many a solemn mosque and sequestered grove thoughtful scholars mourned over the misfortunes of the time, but only those who were at once quickwitted and unscrupulous could sustain themselves in the struggle for place. It was of such men that the official class was composed when we undertook to govern, and as they alone possessed the knowledge and experience necessary, we were forced to employ them. But (as a native poet would say) closing the door of the sanctuary of promotion and wide influence, we frightened from the fore-court of public employ the very worshippers we ought to have beckoned in. We lost the opportunity of strengthening our rule, and improving the tone of the upper classes of native society, by giving them an honourable share in the task of government. We lost, too, the opportunity of raising the character of the public service by their admission. Even now, though much has been done to ameliorate the condition of the subordinate service, it numbers in its ranks comparatively few members of old and honourable families. It consists chiefly of Kayaths—the Hindu accountant class—whose plodding, pliable, patient nature peculiarly fits them for the monotonous toil of court and office work, and renders them agreeable to their English superiors, who, as a rule, admire independence of character in every one but those with whom they have immediate dealings. The officials who are not Kayaths are generally pupils of our schools and colleges. Many are of the highest integrity and ability, but as a rule they do not belong to families which have rank and prestige in native esteem. The best specimens are members of families which, having some property and local influence, have from generation to generation thought it essential to their good name to be represented in the public service. In no country does simple merit meet with more ready recognition than in India. Many of its greatest men have been of humble origin. Mere authority secures respect. But the

character of a service as a whole depends on the social standing of the classes from which its members are drawn. Therefore, while we would give free scope to merit of every kind, we desire to see in both the covenanted and subordinate services a fair proportion of men in whom feelings of honour and habits of command are innate.

The effect of Lord Cornwallis's scheme was to place in the hands of the officials whose integrity was ensured the duties of direction and control, and in that of officials to whom corruption was habitual and inevitable the duty of conducting inquiries, reporting as to facts, and executing processes. The integrity was solitary, inexperienced, and not always intelligent. The corruption was manifold, experienced, and acute. The result, of course, was that the superior was the tool of the inferior, and this at a time when the interference of Government was being systematised according to new principles, and pushed to lengths unknown before. But here we may be asked whether, in truth, native society was not accustomed to state systems of judicial administration; whether all the elaborate directions of the Institutes of the Manavas and of the Musulmans were addressed to phantom tribunals; whether Kazis and Kotwals are as unreal as the legends in which they play so great a part? Unhappily the sorrows of the Hindu people have found no tongue in history. No John Ball, no Piers the Ploughman, tell us of the abuses of their time. But from all that stands on record, and from the usages and ideas that still exist, we infer that there was no general and exclusive system of tribunals before our rule. The Institutes tell us rather what ought to have been than what was. In times of most assured order, state magistrates were appointed to the more populous centres. Yet even there each section of the community had courts, formal or informal, for the settlement of its own disputes. In rural districts, as we have seen, the proprietary body, or the person who had usurped its rights, seems to have been held responsible even for the criminal acts of individual members. Certain police duties are still imposed on their representatives in virtue of this liability, and the efficiency of police administration depends a good deal on the sense of its justice which still lingers among the people. Every community had its *panchayet*, which, as its etymology implies, was originally a court of five members, but subsequently embraced the whole body of elders. In questions of breach of caste rules the authority of the *panchayet* is still recognised; it frequently decides civil disputes without the intervention of our courts; and the decisions, though not legally valid, are cheerfully submitted to. Judicious judges are generally glad to avail themselves of the services of a

panchayet as arbitrators on questions of fact. No institution has shown greater elasticity or suitability to the wants of the people. They are constituted for different purposes in different ways. There may be a panchayet of all the members of one caste, or of a family, or of a trade, or of the dwellers in a particular place. Their functions are not merely judicial; they consult on all subjects affecting the welfare of the class which constitutes them. If a cow be stolen, the panchayet decides whether information is to be given to the police, or negotiations opened directly with the thieves for its recovery. If a riot takes place, rival panchayets decide as to the amount of truth to be told and help given to the authorities. If the landlord threatens suits for enhancement of rent, a panchayet of the tenants decides what steps are to be taken to meet the danger.

Society in India has never been welded into political unity. Each class has had to defend itself against other classes and against the state; and the council of elders of the primitive Aryan brotherhood, which has saved society through centuries of anarchy, still maintains a losing struggle with alien institutions which the people do not understand and cannot trust. Had we from the first sought to foster, control, and develop these popular judiciaries, and supplemented their action by a judicious police system—had we even rendered them auxiliary in judicial administration, as we have to some degree in municipal, our rule would be loved, right would prevail, and a civilising agency would be at work in every hamlet. The natives of India, like the Irish of Queen Elizabeth's reign, do exceedingly desire to see justice done. Unhappily we have demoralised the panchayets by refusing to recognise them. Their decisions are not always wise, and it is to be feared that, in the present state of feeling, if they were made legally binding, they would be seldom honest.

But besides panchayets there were other depositaries of judicial power. Sometimes a man had acquired such a character for wisdom and honesty that his decisions were sought and enforced by public opinion. Sometimes a man of power and influence was arbiter because he had the means of compelling obedience. Lastly, to the man who did not respect public opinion in any of its various forms, and could defy the force at its disposal, will, limited solely by his resources and the fear of retaliation, was the only law. Such men, whether officials or not, are the Zalims or violent oppressors of Indian tales. Above all was the power of the state, represented not by special judicial officers, but by governors who exercised at once revenue, executive, and military functions. Their aid was invoked for the suppression of extraordinary and organised crime; for proceedings against great offenders; for correcting the injustice of the

popular tribunals; for settlement of disputes between persons who did not admit a common jurisdiction; and for the infliction of punishment on those whom the other agencies had condemned. The functions of the state were, in fact, appellate and executive. As in England, so in India, the Court of Exchequer (*adalat diwani*) became a civil court. The army being the only executive agency at the disposal of the state, the duties of police and criminal process were assigned to the military commandant. Even now policemen are called by the villagers "soldiers," while the word that corresponds to our word "criminal" means literally "military." The appellate jurisdiction being generally exercised by the summary disgrace and punishment of the unjust judge, was in vigorous and honest hands highly effective, and in the tales we have referred to, the virtuous officer of state is a favourite contrast to the violent oppressor. At Fatehpur Sikri the traveller still admires the desolate court where Akbar gave free ear to the grievances of his subjects, and the last of his feeble descendants sat daily in the public hall of his palace at Delhi to hear complaints of unjust weights or exorbitant tariffs while the British guns were thundering from the Ridge. We may say, then, without inconsistency, that while the state has probably never established an organised and exclusive system of tribunals, the administration of justice has ever been, in the eyes of the people, the chief attribute of sovereignty. It involves two processes—the ascertainment of the facts, and the application to them of the principles sanctioned by the usage of the community or place, or (where these do not operate) of general equitable considerations. Now, though both the Hindu and Musulman systems of law contain many absurd rules of evidence, yet in practice the widest discretion was allowed to the judge as to the selection of means for eliciting the truth. Under weak and dishonest governors nearly all the state officials were venal, and many of the informal popular tribunals were no doubt subject to corrupt influences; but even where honesty existed, it was less esteemed than practical sagacity in finding out the facts. No means to this end were improper. Hearsay evidence, extra-judicial inquiries, the administration of the most appalling forms of oaths, even torture—all were made use of. So much for procedure. As to substantive law, there was little difficulty. The Musulman criminal law was enforced by the state, while bodies of lawyers with a half-religious character were at hand to declare authoritatively, for both Hindus and Musulmans, the principles of the civil law of each community. The labours of these learned men has produced a legal literature as bulky, as subtle, and as intricate as our own. We have seen that, when we undertook the administration of justice, we did not attempt to interfere with the sys-

tems of *substantive* law we found prevailing, while the rules of procedure, if strange to natives, were at least intelligible to the civilian who had to apply them. The mistake we made was this: We substituted for an indigenous system of tribunals, which, though rough, disorganised, and inefficient, was, at any rate, living and capable of development—a system which, even if it were efficiently organised, would have had to struggle with the influence of the native institutions, but which, in fact, had an inefficient head, and an utterly corrupt organisation. Whatever were the original vices of our plan, they were intensified as time passed. The increasing influence of English lawyers and of the Supreme Court in Calcutta led to the continued intrusion of English principles of legislation, and to a stream of minute, intricate, and ever-varying directions to district officers as to the discharge of their duties. Even had these Regulations been suited to the circumstances of the people, they were so complex, and the procedure they prescribed was so delicate, that a large staff of trained English lawyers familiar with Indian life would have been required to carry them into effect. In courts presided over by one untrained civilian, who was burdened with other duties, the system became a pernicious sham.

Our civil courts have, in most departments of substantive civil law, ascertained, defined, and elaborated the rules of native law they found generally recognised. But, as Sir H. S. Maine remarks in a passage we are reluctantly compelled to abridge, "there were many branches of native law in which few positive rules of any sort could be discovered." There was no law of evidence, hardly any of contract, scarcely any of civil wrong. There were no rules of civil procedure, and the Hindu criminal law had been entirely superseded by the Musulman system. Into all the departments thus scantily filled the English law steadily made its way. The higher courts, while they openly borrowed English rules from the recognised authorities, used language which implied that they believed themselves to be taking them from some abstract body of legal principle which lay behind all law, while the inferior judges, when they were applying some legal rule half-remembered from boyhood, or culled from some half-understood English text-book, honestly believed that they were following the rule prescribed, to decide 'by equity and good conscience,' wherever no native law or usage was discoverable. Thus the law of evidence, contract, and tort became wholly or substantially English, and the procedure of the civil courts reproduced the procedure of Chancery in its worst days." Above all were courts of appeal powerful to reverse just decisions on grounds of technical error—powerless to prevent substantial miscarriages of justice. Reading the law literature of the time,

one would suppose that, ten years before the Mutiny, Westminster Hall had migrated to the banks of the Ganges. A native gentleman's recollection of the facts of judicial inquiries suggests a far different estimate. "The native clerks sat round the court-room. From time to time parties or their witnesses came in, and one of the clerks recorded what they had to say. When all the documents in the case were ready, the magistrate's clerk prepared an abstract and report. At two his honour came to court and put his stick on the table. Then the head clerk read his report, and his honour passed orders. Sometimes the guilty were punished; sometimes the innocent. The clerk had great power. Sometimes his honour's orders were reversed, and great criminals went free—God knows why." Many of these clerks, whose salaries never reached £50 a year, and who had no property of their own to begin with, retired—"God knows why"—owners of large estates. It is not suggested that this picture is true of all times and places. The merit of individuals often triumphed over the viciousness of the system. An able magistrate throwing all his energies into the investigation of one case has often stopped the career of an evil-doer, strong in the terror he inspired and of the wealth he lavished. But his success, far from being due to the system, was achieved in spite of it. The men whose names are household words as friends of right are in most cases men who ignored and overstepped the limits of law. Native magistrates even now are believed often to be led to a decision, not by what they hear in court, but by what they hear out of it. While the Englishman consumes his very soul in efforts to make a system of inquiry which is peculiarly fitted to suggest and assist the concealment of truth efficacious for its discovery, his native colleague, as honest in intention as he, adopts the mode dictated by common sense, not law. He receives with perfect complacency the evidence, true or false, tendered on both sides, wastes no time in cross-examination, and finally records a judgment ostensibly based on the evidence, but in truth suggested by the consideration of many circumstances which are not in evidence.

We may in this place conveniently enumerate the laws or principles administered in the courts of the Company in 1857. They were:—

1. Regulations enacted by the Government of the Presidency previously to the English statute 3 and 4 Will. IV. c. 85, and Acts of the Governor-General passed subsequently.
2. The Hindu civil law in suits between Hindus regarding succession, inheritance, marriage, caste, and religious usage.
3. The Musulman civil law in similar cases between Musulmans.

4. In similar cases between natives who were neither Hindus nor Musulmans, their laws and customs so far as they could be ascertained.

5. Where no specific rule could be ascertained to exist, the dictates of justice, equity, and good conscience.

6. The Musulman criminal law.

The unwieldy bulk and complexity of Regulation law had long been recognised, and steps taken for codification and reform.

The effect of the recognition of the native systems was to exalt the authority of the sacerdotal written codes over local usage, and to give native jurisprudence a fixity and hardness it would never have acquired had it remained unaffected by foreign systems. The duty of declaring what the direction of law was devolved, in most cases, on the native law-officers, and no one familiar with Eastern ideas on the subject of judicial morality will wonder that they were in the habit of receiving what in the East are called "customary gratifications," and in the West would be called bribes. Yet, where their rulings appear capricious and arbitrary, the cause may be sought rather in the uncertainty and inconsistency of current usages than in any deliberate misinterpretation of the texts. Although the general principle of non-interference with native custom has from the first been recognised, there have been many instances of innovation. Thus in 1832 it was declared that in suits between persons of different religions, where the rules of the respective creeds do not agree, the decision was to be governed by the "principles of justice, equity, and good conscience." An indication of the current tendency is observable in the protest that "this provision should not justify the introduction of the English or any foreign law." In 1850 it was declared that no law or usage inflicting forfeiture of any rights in consequence of exclusion from any communion or caste should be enforced. Again in 1856 the remarriage of Hindu widows was legalised in defiance of Hindu usage and popular sentiment. The "dictates of equity" came, as we have already said, to mean in practice the introduction of what the courts understood to be principles of English law.

The Musulman criminal law had been so modified by successive Regulations as to have lost most of its original imperfections and sanguinary features. Non-Musulmans could claim exemption from trial under it for offences cognisable by the general Regulations.

Our judicial system took a fresh departure with the promulgation of the codes of civil and criminal procedure, and the penal code soon after the Mutiny. The partially reformed system they introduced belongs to the present, not to the past.

We have now to continue the sketch of the general history of the N.W.P., from which the mention of Lord Cornwallis's schemes diverted us.

When the Marquis of Wellesley became Governor-General in 1798, what are now the western districts had been tossed to and fro between the Emperors, the Viceroy of Oudh, and the Marathas. The fort-like aspect of the villages between Cawnpore and Delhi at once strikes the traveller coming from peaceful Bengal. This is a relic of those troubled times when every community was a little army ready to do battle for its own. In 1801, the Governor-General, fearing a combination of the Sikhs and Marathas, exacted from the Viceroy of Oudh the cession of Allahabad, Rohilkhand, Korah, Azimgarh, and Gorakhpur, districts which now form the largest part of the N.W.P. In 1804, after a vigorous campaign against the Marathas under Sindia, in which Agra and Delhi for the first time welcomed the presence of our troops, we annexed the fertile country between the Ganges and the Jamna called the Doab. The present N.W.P. consist (with trifling exceptions) of the regions annexed in 1775, 1801, and 1804. The following year the western portion was the scene of further contest between us and the Maratha Holkar and the Jat Raja of Bharatpur. Henceforth till 1857 its fertile fields were tilled in peace. The province, too, was no longer affected by external politics, except so far as the gradual consolidation of our rule and continued annexations satisfied a people long accustomed to anarchy and change that the authority of the little band of strangers from beyond the mysterious sea, who, tolerating every creed and having no respect of persons, yet claimed and exercised powers of civil rule undreamed of by the most imperious of the Moguls, was more lasting than that of Maratha marauders, and more real than that of puppet emperors.

The last vestige of Maratha independence perished in 1818. For more than a century they had troubled the repose of India. Though they lived by the sword, they were not freebooters in the ordinary sense of the term. If the fourth part of the produce, which they claimed, were paid, they allowed the cultivator to enjoy the rest unmolested, while in the land they permanently held their civil government was strong and just, and even splendid. They showed in the highest degree that energy, bravery, and amenability to discipline which are seldom found to co-exist in other Hindu races; but of honour and chivalry they were wholly destitute.

Our disasters in Cabul in 1842 sent a thrill through the bazaars of the N.W.P., which is not forgotten yet, while a few years later the conquest of the Panjab deprived it of the excite-

ment of being the frontier province. Its tenantless cantonments are now the nearest approach to the picturesque that English rule has yet contributed to Indian scenery.

With the completion of the Marquis of Wellesley's conquests may be said to commence the growth of English imperial sentiment towards India. Before that, conquest was but an accident of commerce. Henceforth a series of projects of reform engaged the attention of Parliament, the Directors and the Governor-General. The establishment of colleges at Haileybury and Calcutta for the training of those destined for the Company's Civil Service, and the narrow limits to which nominations were confined, gave the service that compact and exclusive character which still, even under the competitive system, distinguishes it. In 1813 the trade with India was thrown open. In 1833 all Englishmen were permitted to hold land there.

After some temporary and tentative settlements of the territory of the N.W.P. annexed in 1801 and 1804, a regular assessment was commenced in 1833, and completed in 1842. The whole land was surveyed and its productiveness estimated. The revenue was, as a rule, fixed at two-thirds of the net assets (*i.e.*, of the rent), the quality of the soil being taken into consideration as well as the actual state of cultivation. Thus the interests of Government were protected, and a stimulus given to the development of a country long harried by warfare.

At the risk of repetition, we must again explain that private proprietary rights to land (in the English sense) are unknown to native systems. The right of the village communities was a right to cultivate. The rent they paid in the form of revenue to Government. Thus under Akbar's settlement each village paid one-third of the average gross produce. Under weak Governments the right of collection was farmed out. Thus a class of quasi-proprietors inferior to the state was formed. It is difficult to describe in general terms the way in which these intermediate rights arose. A governor assumed charge of a province on the understanding that he was to send a certain sum of yearly revenue to the imperial treasury. Whatever he could extort beyond that was his salary. He made similar arrangements with his subordinates, who again, if they could not enter into direct relations with the villagers, made arrangements with those who could. When the man who in the last resort collected from the cultivating brotherhood was a man of permanent local influence, his status became hardly distinguishable from that of a proprietor paying a large land-tax and possessing no recognised power of evicting his tenants or enhancing their rents or preventing them from sub-letting or alienating. There was naturally a constant tendency on his part to exert or

acquire these powers. The policy of the Settlement of 1833 was to select from the various classes of interests that which approached most nearly to the English idea of ownership; to allow it to retain a larger share of the rents than would cover the expenses of collection and management, and to declare it responsible for the regular payment of the rest. In fine, to make the right to collect the Government revenue a marketable commodity. When no rights resembling those of property were apparent, we created and conferred them. Thus we recognised, and still recognise, three classes of proprietors:—(1.) Individuals or bodies who receive the rents from the cultivators, whether members of the original communities or strangers. (2.) Cultivating communities, represented generally by a headman, cultivating sometimes jointly and sometimes severally, but with a common responsibility. (3.) Cultivating communities or individuals as inferior, and individuals or bodies as superior proprietors. The Settlement was made for thirty years. Not only were the rights and all the incidents of the rights of every proprietor recorded, but provision was made for the yearly record of the holdings of each tenant, the rents payable, and the amount paid. In 1859 an Act was passed consolidating the various attempts that had been made to prevent abuse of the landlord's powers, and conferring on certain classes of tenants privileges the policy of which is still warmly discussed.

The benefits resulting from the splendid Settlement work of 1833-42 were immediate and far-reaching. The officers engaged in it learned to understand and sympathise with the people, who, on the other hand, saw in their operations an aspect of Government far different from that which presented itself in the courts of law. The general fairness and accuracy of the assessment contrast strongly with the errors of the Bengal Settlement, and show how naturally the exercise of power had developed in Englishmen the faculties necessary for its right use.

In addition to the revenue, cesses for the maintenance of communications and of village schools were fixed. Administrative District Boards were formed under the presidency of the district officer for the management of the funds thus constituted. The native members were nominated by Government, and never exercised any real power; but by their advice and their local influence they contributed much to the efficiency of the outlay. Money was often wasted owing to the want of permanency in the tenure of chief district authority and the absence of professional knowledge; but the result was to give the N.W.P. a road system of which an English county might be proud. The circle school system of 1845 was intended to place

a primary school within reach of every villager. Even now, though better provision has been made for their maintenance, they touch but a very small part of the rural population. In 1872 the population of the N.W.P. was over thirty millions. The number of village schools was 3630, and the nominal number of scholars 130,000. Of these, perhaps 50,000 left school not absolutely incapable of reading and writing. The system of higher education has done little but provide the state with servants educated at its own expense.

During the administration (1828-35) of Lord William Bentinck suttee or widow-burning and Thuggism or organised murder for the sake of theft were suppressed. Isolated instances still occur occasionally. The existence of suttee was due less to direct religious influences than to the fierce abandonment to grief and passion in which Hindu women indulge, and to the hardships and constraint which await a Hindu widow. Thuggism is said sometimes to be an institution of the Hindu religion. It had about as much connection with it as brigandism has with the worship of the Madonna. It was a profession, and, like other professions in India, became a kind of caste, with peculiar religious observances.

The restrictions to the employment of natives in the higher ranks of the public service imposed by Lord Cornwallis were removed by Lord William Bentinck. Several rose to high judicial office, but the heads of administrative departments, and the executive and judicial head of every district, were still members of the Covenanted Civil Service. In 1833 an English lawyer was added (by Act of Parliament) to the Council of the Governor-General to assist him in legislating. Among the men who have filled this responsible office have been some of the ablest jurists that England has produced. It is no small evidence of the impolicy of the mode in which English principles of procedure were first applied to India, that though society has become more complex, and officials by their training have become more fitted for administering a strictly technical system, the reforms of successive legal members have all tended to simplify the law, to concede wider discretion and increased power to tribunals, to lessen the importance of technical irregularities, and to prevent hardship to the accused rather by ensuring him a fair trial in the first instance than by giving him indefinite chances of acquittal on appeal.

In 1853 appointments in the Covenanted Civil Service, which had previously been in the gift of members of the Board of Directors, were thrown open to competition. It is hard to avoid a comparison of the results of the two systems. Neither disclosed the faults which *a priori* reasoning would suggest. The Hailey-

bury men worked in times when individual effort effected much. The Competition men are wheels in a huge machine. A Haileybury man could achieve a great good by an illegality which would never come to light. A Competition man must obey the law though he knows it works injustice. He would be suspended for acts for which the Haileybury man was applauded. The earlier race had a clear stage to act upon. Energy, zeal, and common sense were alone required to carry out those great and salutary measures which turned the waste into a garden. Jonathan Duncan, Commissioner of Benares seventy-five years ago, is still held in affectionate memory by the peasants as the author of the security they now enjoy. His successor shows as much energy in clearing up the history of some insolvent estate as he spent in settling a country. Roberts, who settled South Mirzapur, is worshipped by the simple aborigines as a god. His successor may perhaps some day have to quell an insurrection occasioned (as was that of the Santals in 1855) by the introduction of what the Indian newspapers are fond of calling our "scientific system of government." The history of our recent acquisitions is—first, rapid progress under a strong Government with a simple system, than stagnation or deterioration under a corrupting system. Now, as Competition men in their efforts to do good have to work in the fetters of "scientific government," it is little to be wondered at if they have no great success to point to. They ought to be compared, not with the great names of the past, but with their Haileybury seniors. It is high praise to say that they are not inferior.

The wounds of the Mutiny are still so fresh that its history belongs to the present, not the past. The N.W.P. were the theatre of all its greater tragedies. Into its causes we do not purpose to enter, but the reasons which induced large sections of the population to sympathise with and assist the rebels are obvious. Our laws had restrained men who thought themselves above law; others felt aggrieved because not recognised as proprietors at Settlement; others because they had lost their estates by sale in execution of Civil Court decrees or for arrears of revenue (processes unknown to native systems); others because by the fraudulent uses to which our laws had been put they lost estates, and, rightly perhaps, thought the fault was ours. The Musulmans no doubt hoped that the glories of Islam were about to revive; while many of those who proved disloyal were old courtiers or dependents of the Delhi durbar. They felt that while we had been tolerant of religion and social usage—a tolerance attributable to indifference and to fear—we had shown no wish to respect the susceptibilities of our new subjects. We had thought honesty better than politeness. We were not merely

ignorant of the *nuances* of etiquette, but outraged its most obvious rules. The magistrate's liveryman was virtually master of the ceremonies and fountain of honour. Descendants of the Sun were scolded and sneered at in barbarous Hindustani. It must in candour be acknowledged that the resentment felt was reasonable. Government, except with regard to political appointments, has never appeared to attach any importance to the bearing of its officers to the natives they have to deal with. It takes no pains to ensure that they shall be acquainted with the usages of native society, nor does it allow them time to cultivate with it such social relations as are possible; while, by a mechanical system of transfers and promotions, it robs Government of personal influence in a country where personal influence is everything.

Lastly, there were many still living whose childhood was familiar with the associations of the lawless times that preceded our rule. They were weary of the inactivity to which the Pax Britannica condemned them. They had much to hope for and little to fear, and they found the mere excitement of the struggle a gain.

Here we must pause. With that great tragedy fitly closes the history of a past which, however gloomy and obscure, we must study if we are to understand the present. What that present is, and what promise it gives for the future, we hope hereafter to illustrate in an account of a district of the N.W.P.

ART. II.—TORPEDO WARFARE.

1. *Submarine Warfare, Offensive and Defensive.* By LIEUTENANT-COMMANDER J. S. BARNES, U.S.N. New York, 1869.
2. *Les Machines, Infernales (Conferences Militaires Belges).* Par H. WAUWERMANS, Capitaine-en-premier du Génie. Bruxelles, 1870.
3. *Livre de Guerre Moderne.* Par CÉSAR L. D'ALBECA. Londres, 1872.

AT a recent banquet given by the Lord Mayor to the Archbishops and Bishops, at which the "usual loyal and patriotic toasts" were drunk in due course, the gallant admiral who returned thanks for the navy deplored the introduction of the "cowardly" system of torpedo warfare, by which an immense iron-clad can be attacked beneath the water, and be blown to atoms by a machine many times smaller than her own jollyboat. The reverend audience is reported to have cheered the gallant officer's sentiments. He would probably not take it as a compliment—having been thought worthy of speaking in such an assemblage—if it were assumed that he were a student of the works of John Stuart Mill; and he may, therefore, be ignorant of the fact that he was illustrating in his own person the truth of that philosopher's dictum, that the opinion of one age is the wonder of the next. The distinguished officer must, by his remark, have brought clearly before those who have noted the change of opinion as to the morality of the methods of slaughter, the contrast between the sentiments of a levelling, inventive generation, and of those bygone ones in whose view the art of war was to be conducted with due regard to the interests of privileged classes. The admiral merely represented the ideas of a former epoch. The Lateran Council of 1139 held much the same views as the right reverend prelates who applauded him; it proscribed the use of explosives against men as "too murderous, and displeasing to God." Greek fire had before this been characterised as "treacherous, and enabling any villain to kill a gallant cavalier, and the timid and the cowardly to attack, under cover and from a distance, brave fighting men."

We all know, on excellent authority, that—

"It was in sooth great pity, so it was,
This villainous saltpetre should be digged
Out of the bowels of the harmless earth,
Which many a good tall fellow had destroyed
So cowardly."

But, in spite of it, firearms have been used in battles, both by land and sea, for some centuries; and we are not in the habit, at least not many of us, of applying to their use the epithet "cowardly" at the present day. Cannon, stigmatised as "unworthy of a knight," was found too valuable a weapon not to be used. And though the Sire de Joinville could speak of the explosive of his day as "*la plus horrible chose que oncque je veisse*," the knights who followed his master St. Louis in his crusade learned from the infidel how to use it, and the employment of guns in war was thereby greatly extended. The invention of explosive compounds to propel missiles and blow up an enemy's defences could be traced so distinctly to the great Father of Evil, that he has been usually accepted as the sponsor of those secret and terrible artificial volcanoes which can be exploded beneath an assailant's feet either under the earth or under the water; and, down to the time of our naval campaigns in the Baltic, we in general called what are now known as "*torpedoes*," "infernal machines." It is not surprising that the heretics who defended Antwerp against the Catholic Duke of Parma should avail themselves of the assistance rendered by such ill-named contrivances.

That Satan and his friends on earth had no more an exclusive right to their use than, in Rowland Hill's opinion, he had to the good song-tunes, was soon shown. An old military writer states that he does not at all disapprove of these "inventions, full of artifice and warlike stratagem, taught us by subtle ingenuity and long practice in war," which it is quite certain have been used by brave captains and praised by them. He thinks, however, that some restriction should be placed upon their employment; and it will be comforting to the "orthodox" enemies of the Sultan, to hear that their use may be permitted, "not of a truth against Christians, but against Turks, Tartars, and other unbelievers;" the *ἑκσπονδοὶ* of Western Christendom.

It has for some time been known that each scientific discovery has to stand three different criticisms:—1st, That it is not true; 2d, that it is against the Bible; and, 3d, that it is quite true, and not at all against the Bible, if it be not actually alluded to in the sacred volume. So it has been, to a great extent, with inventions in the practical arts. The devil was not to be permitted even the poor satisfaction of being credited with the invention of these destructive contrivances. And we have the highly orthodox authority of the Jesuit Strada, when writing of the infernal machines used at Antwerp, for the conviction that to imagine that these contrivances were kindled in the furnaces of the realms beneath, springs merely from the vulgar habit of counting all that is above our comprehension as above the force

of human powers. Even the sponsorial responsibility of the Evil One for these implements of destruction in time attached to him only in a metaphorical and figurative manner. Thus, when we speak of the *infernal* machines of Fieschi and of the defenders of Cronstadt in 1854-55, we mean to qualify rather the diabolical ingenuity of their contrivers than the instruments themselves.

It was long before the prejudice against this new system of warfare, at one time thought contrary to the law of nations, was removed. A man named Dupré is said to have discovered a secret means of destroying ships, and to have imparted it to his ~~Christian Majesty~~ Louis XV. An experiment to test its value was made at Versailles in 1759, and was completely successful. The King was so struck by the power of the invention, that he summoned the inventor to his private room, forbade him ever to divulge his terrible secret, and gave him a pension as the price of his fidelity to his promise to permit his discovery to die with him.

When the celebrated Fulton, who, as we shall see, was the first to give the name of "torpedo" to the new weapon, brought his invention under the notice of the authorities in France, the Minister of Marine is said to have stigmatised it as fit only for Algerines. Marshal Soult declared it "horrible, cowardly, and against the laws of war." Sir Howard Douglas had much the same opinion of explosive shells. He denounced their use as "an inhuman system prepared for naval warfare in an age of enlightened humanity, a merciless, barbarous idea;" and a bombardment he spoke of elsewhere as "a cruel process." Nevertheless, the explosive shell has now become a projectile universally used for cannon of every calibre. So we need have no cause for surprise in learning that the *Humanitarian* Congress which sat at St. Petersburg in 1868 admitted the propriety of employing torpedoes as a weapon of war. The subjects of the sovereign at whose desire congresses have met to soften the laws of war have made considerable use of these destructive engines in the contest now proceeding in the East.

As in so many other matters, the Chinese preceded Europeans in the use of explosive mines in war. The celebrated warrior Kuang-Ming is said to have employed them about two hundred years before the Christian era. And as even then—in China, at least—there was nothing new under the sun, he is declared to have owed the idea to his perusal of writings of an age anterior to his own. In the West, the practice of undermining besieged works was not unknown to the Romans, whose method was to dig beneath the threatened bulwark, and prop up the superincumbent earth and building with wooden supports.

When the excavation was completed, the supports—previously smeared with some highly combustible compound—were set on fire, and on being destroyed, the earth fell in, and with it the rampart attached, thereby making a breach which could be assaulted. These mines, known to French writers on the art of war as *mines à ruine*, were followed, on the invention of gunpowder, by explosive mines, in which a quantity of powder was inserted in an excavation and ignited from a distance by means of a train or match.

The use of mines in sieges soon became so common, that not only did besiegers have recourse to them in their attacks on strong places, but the defenders also made use of them as aids to defence against the assaulting columns of the enemy. A kind of subterranean warfare came into existence, and as the besiegers mined, so the garrison countermined to get beneath them, and blow both work and workmen into the air. A somewhat elaborate system of tactics was devised to guide the combatants in these curious engagements. Galleries in which to listen for the workmen of the enemy were constructed, and approaches towards them were cautiously made until near enough to burst in the dividing partition of earth, then rush upon them and defeat them, and put an end to their work. In the revived chivalry of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the candidates for knighthood conferred during sieges were accustomed to keep their nocturnal vigil in the mines constructed by their own side.

From subterranean to submarine warfare the step was not very rapid. Various methods of destroying an enemy's ships, by sending against them explosive or combustible cargoes, were devised, and were employed by the Dutch in their wars of liberation against the Spaniards, and by ourselves and other nations. With plans of the kind we have become tolerably familiar, from the frequency with which they were made use of by the Chinese in our wars with them. With their peculiar humour, which tends so much to turn into ridicule what mankind in general consent to consider as most serious, they have been known to make the explosion of a fireship, crammed with gunpowder, a ghastly practical joke. In the war of the "Arrow" *torcha*, one of her Majesty's ships, lying in a river of China, was fouled by a vessel which had been sent floating down the stream with a view to being exploded against her and destroying her. When the explosion took place there was no loss of life, and little damage was done to the structure of the ship; but above the gunpowder to be exploded had been piled immense quantities of the exceptionably disgusting manure with which the Chinese are in the habit of dressing their vegetable gardens, and the result of the blow-up was to cover the

ship, rigging, and crew who were on deck with the nauseous compound.

The species of attack which consists in disabling or even destroying a ship by exploding some special charge in contact with or in close proximity to her submerged parts was first practised in the war of American Independence. Like many other ingenious inventions, we owe it to a native of the New England States—a Captain David Bushnell, who was born in Connecticut in the first half of the eighteenth century. To his plan belongs the additional merit of being intended to be used in combination with a submarine boat, in which an operator actually made several trips under water. The plan on which this curious vessel was constructed displayed great ingenuity. It resembled two turtle-shells joined together; was made perfectly water-tight; had light and air admitted to it—indeed, seems to have been perfectly well ventilated; and was large enough to receive one person to manœuvre it. The operator who embarked in the vessel could, by admitting and again pumping out water, descend or ascend at his pleasure; and by means of a rudder and an oar could steer and propel the strange craft in any direction.

Attached to the vessel, but capable of being disengaged from it when required to be put in action was what would now be called a “torpedo,” but to which Bushnell gave the name of “magazine.” It was formed of two stout pieces of oak, enclosing a hollow space capacious enough to contain one hundred and fifty pounds of gunpowder. This was connected with a screw which could be worked from inside the submarine boat, and which was to be fixed into the bottom of the ship attacked. The magazine possessed sufficient buoyancy to float up against the bottom of the ship, and thus assure contact between it and the mine upon explosion. This magazine contained a clockwork arrangement contrived to run for any length of time less than twelve hours. When this clockwork had run the time for which it had been set, it unpinioned a lock like that of a gun, by means of which the charge was ignited. The method of attack was, to immerse the boat till but little of it showed above the surface of the water; approach within a short distance of the object of attack; sink the boat to the required depth, and proceed right up to the object and attach the mine by screwing the screw into the hull at the bow or stern; then retreat and regain the surface; the explosion of the mine being arranged, by the setting of the clockwork, to take place when the assailant had retired to a safe distance.

There can be no question of the extreme ingenuity of this invention; and when we consider the various requirements of the twofold discovery of the submarine vessel and the arrangement for exploding the mine, we cannot fail to be astonished at the

remarkable success achieved by the inventor. It is a specimen of the difficulties with which, just a century ago, he had to contend, that his first experiment was to prove to "some of the first personages in Connecticut" that gunpowder could be ignited under water. He had naturally to proceed with the greatest caution. Having proved that gunpowder would explode although beneath the surface of water, he showed by subsequent experiments the immense power of charges thus exploded. His next series of essays were undertaken to prove the feasibility of manœuvring the submarine boat, and that the boat itself could be navigated with safety to the operator who embarked in it. To ensure this, he himself made a number of excursions for practice, until he became so expert that he could be looked upon as a perfect master of the business. Unfortunately, his trained assistant's health (he was the inventor's brother) gave way, and Bushnell had to find and train another.

The first attack made with the new invention was upon the British line-of-battle ship "*Lion*," carrying the flag of Admiral Lord Howe, then lying near Governor's Island, New York. The assailant actually succeeded in getting close to the ship, and attempted to fasten the screw to her bottom, which he was prevented from doing by striking, as he supposed, a bar of iron. In his retreat, to avoid checking the speed of his boat, he cast off the explosive magazine. At the end of an hour, the time which the clockwork had been set to run after having set the magazine free from the boat, it exploded with great violence. Other attempts were made, but they proved equally ineffectual; and our naval officers, who were now thoroughly on their guard against this novel system of attack, pursued the vessel which had the submarine boat aboard, and sunk it with shot. Though it was afterwards recovered by the inventor, circumstances prevented his prosecuting his design any further.

In 1777 he made another species of torpedo attack upon his Majesty's ship "*Cerberus*," commanded by Commodore Symons. He attempted to veer the torpedo against her side by means of a line, and its ignition was to be caused by the unpinioning of a gunlock by a specially contrived apparatus, to be set in motion when brought in contact with the vessel's side. The attack failed in consequence of the line catching a prize schooner which was astern of the frigate. Some of the prize-crew observed the line, and, taking it for a fishing-line, hauled it and the magazine attached on board; and whilst examining it, to quote from the report of the Commodore, "it went off like the sound of a gun, blew the boat to pieces and set her in a flame, and killed the three men that were in the stern; the fourth, who was standing forward, was blown into the water." This accident was

to some extent similar to one which occurred to a party of officers and men on board H.M.S. "Merlin" in the Baltic in 1854. A Russian "infernal machine," as it was then called, had been fished up, and was being examined in the presence of Admiral Sir Michael Seymour, when it exploded and inflicted upon that gallant officer a severe wound.

The subject of torpedo warfare was revived towards the close of the last century by a countryman of Captain Bushnell, the celebrated Robert Fulton. In 1797 he constructed a machine which, to use his own words, was "to impart to carcasses of gunpowder a progressive motion under water to a given point, and there explode them." In this he seems to have in great measure anticipated the inventions of Ericsson, Lay, and Whitehead, of whose locomotive torpedoes so much has been heard of late. He applied to the Government of revolutionary France for aid to carry out his experiments, but his request was not complied with; and he received no encouragement until the establishment of the Consulate, when Napoleon appointed a commission to report upon his experiments.

Following in the track of his predecessor Bushnell, he constructed a plunging-boat, in which, in the year 1801, he descended in the harbour of Brest, in company with several companions, to a depth of twenty-five feet below the surface of the water. Having proved that it was possible to exist in and propel this boat, and also to ascend and descend at will, he improved it by the addition of a wheel as the locomotive power, and of masts and sails for use above water. On one occasion he is said to have remained under water as long as four hours and twenty minutes without experiencing any inconvenience. He now gave to his boat the name of "Nautilus," and called his submarine mines "torpedoes."

He came to England in 1804, and laid his plans before the Government of Mr. Pitt. A commission was appointed to investigate the matter of the new system of submarine warfare; and, although the plunging-boat was declared to be impracticable, torpedoes devised by Fulton were employed by the squadron under Lord Keith against the French ships lying at Boulogne in October 1804. In the following year an experiment was carried out in full view of Walmer Castle, at which place Pitt was staying, which has often been imitated in the waters of this country within the last few years. A brig was anchored in the Downs, and beneath her bottom was placed a torpedo charge with 170 pounds of gunpowder. In fifteen minutes it exploded, and the brig was blown to atoms.

Lord St. Vincent and many other naval officers of authority were much opposed to Fulton's inventions, believing that they

were injurious to the maritime pre-eminence of Great Britain. In consequence of the discouragement resulting from their opposition he returned to his own country, and submitted his scheme to the Cabinet of the day. A sum of money was appropriated to experiments to be carried out under Fulton's directions. Before these experiments succeeded they had been preceded by so many failures, that in the popular estimation the system of torpedo warfare was held to have failed. The inventor was not discouraged, and in 1810 an Act passed the United States Congress authorising a further expenditure of money in testing his inventions.

His plan was twofold. It consisted of a scheme of defence for harbours and rivers by anchoring torpedoes in the path of hostile vessels, which should strike against and explode the submarine mines, and of a plan of offensive torpedo-boats, with which he proposed to attack vessels at anchor. He also devised a large torpedo vessel, to be armed with explosive mines carried at the end of long-poles, which were to be tilted beneath the surface of the water and exploded in contact with the vessel assailed; this plan is almost exactly copied in the pole-torpedoes with which most of the steamboats* of her Majesty's and other navies are provided. The report of the commission appointed to watch the experiments was on the whole adverse to Fulton's schemes, and though his own faith in their efficacy never faltered, he turned his attention to other matters. The subject did not, however, drop out of all remembrance; and more than one attempt was made by Americans to destroy British ships in the war between this country and the United States of 1812-14.

Colonel Colt, whose name has become famous as that of the inventor of the revolver, succeeded to Bushnell and Fulton as a torpedo experimenter. He turned his attention to the subject as far back as 1829, and continued working at various plans of submarine explosion for several years. The important feature of his schemes is, that in them he proposed to obtain the ignition of his mines by the use of a galvanic battery. He conducted successfully several experiments, and proved not only that he could ensure the ignition of a submerged charge by the means he proposed, but also that he could explode his mine when stationed at a great distance from it.

In the Crimean War the Russians had recourse to the assistance of torpedoes to supplement the defences of the Empire, both on land and on water. The instruments used were of two kinds: those containing a chemical composition which would ignite on violent contact, and those to be exploded by the

* Viz., the boats which form part of the equipment of the ships.

agency of electricity. These were used under water near Cronstadt in the Baltic, and at Yenikale in the Black Sea, as well as on shore in proximity to the fortifications of Sebastopol. Imperfect as many of these instruments were, they still inspired our officers with respect for the defences of many places; and that so little damage was done by them to the ships of the Western powers resulted probably from the extreme and proper caution with which they were approached by the allied commanders.

Though torpedo defence had been employed in securing Venice against attack in the Franco-Italian War of 1859, as well as at the Russian ports in the previous contest, it was not until the American War of Secession that torpedo warfare assumed any importance in conflicts between opposing powers. Some idea may be formed of the extension it then attained from a statement that "no fewer than seven iron-clad vessels and eleven wooden ships of war were totally destroyed during the American Civil War by submerged torpedoes" used defensively; whilst "several other vessels, both iron-clad and wooden, were temporarily disabled, and two iron-clads were sunk and many more damaged by torpedoes used offensively." And the Secretary of the Navy reported in 1865, that "the only vessels lost by the United States Government were destroyed by torpedoes, which, always formidable in harbours and internal waters, have proved more destructive to our naval vessels than all other means combined."

The want of a naval force so soon experienced by the Confederate States, and the vast extent of coast-line and of internal waters which it was necessary should be protected, led in time to an extensively-used system of torpedo defence. It is somewhat remarkable that nearly two years elapsed from the beginning of active operations in the war until the Confederates availed themselves of the assistance to be derived from submerged mines in defending their shores. It was not until 1862 that the Federal gunboats, in endeavouring to force the passage of the Savannah River, met with torpedoes as an obstruction; and it was not till near the beginning of the subsequent year that anything like a regular system of submarine warfare had been devised. The instruments used may be divided into the two great classes of defensive and offensive torpedoes; the latter being employed far more rarely than the former. The defensive instruments were strewed about anchorages, ranged across channels and rivers, and placed in rows in the neighbourhood of the coast fortresses. A large number of them were constructed to explode on the contact of a ship with the magazine containing the explosive charge, but many were intended to be exploded—and this plan became more common and was made more per-

fect towards the end of the war—by means of electricity by an operator watching the advance from a secure distance.

In many cases the system of defence was assumed to be impregnable, and no attempt was made to break through it. It is even said that one river was defended by a single torpedo, and an ingeniously arranged row of sham ones. The most striking instance of the effect of a torpedo judiciously exploded beneath the bottom of a ship was exhibited at the entrance to Mobile Bay during the attack of Admiral Farragut's squadron upon Forts Morgan and Gaines. The "*Tenuesch*," one of the division of iron-clad monitors, was entirely destroyed, and nearly two hundred men were blown up in her and drowned. The Federal authorities did not permit their Southern enemies to reap the advantage of being the sole employers of this formidable instrument of war, but soon made use of it themselves. In 1863, Mr. Welles, the then Secretary of the Navy, suggested to his colleague of the War Department that it would be as well to devise means of obstructing the Roanoke River by torpedoes to prevent the egress of some powerful vessels which the Confederates were constructing.

In addition to the various kinds of stationary and defensive mines with which the Southerners supplemented the sparse fortifications of their coasts, they also employed others to be used offensively against the enemy's vessels. Torpedoes of various shapes were constructed, to be used not only from the small special torpedo-boats, but also from the ram-bows of the iron-clads which they managed to equip. The capture of the "*Atalanta*" first showed the Northerners that their foes had adopted this system, as she was found to be armed with a formidable weapon of the kind projecting forward. Other vessels belonging to the Confederates were supplied with the same description of weapon, with more or less alteration in the minor details. The first attack made by a torpedo-boat was against the United States ship "*Ironsides*," off Charleston in the autumn of 1863. The boat was propelled by steam, and had a crew of one officer and four men. She approached the Federal vessel after dark, but was descried and hailed. To the hail she replied by a rifle-shot which killed the officer on duty on board the man-of-war; and at the same moment occurred a tremendous explosion, which shook the vessel and threw an immense quantity of water upon her deck. When the confusion caused by the suddenness of the attack had subsided, boats were sent in pursuit of the assailant, and two men—one the captain of the boat—were discovered floating in the water. The captain averred that the quantity of water thrown on board his little craft by the explosion was so great that he believed she would sink, and he therefore jumped overboard.

Her history subsequent to the attack was curious. Her fires had been extinguished by the deluge of water which fell upon her; and she floated about helplessly for an hour. The engineer, who had been some time in the water, managed to regain the boat, lighted the fires, and steamed back to Charleston, where the little vessel remained until the end of the war.

In consequence of the new style of attack to which they found themselves exposed, the Northern commanding officers took redoubled precautions to ensure the safety of their vessels. In spite of these, several other attacks were made by the Confederates, and one United States vessel of war, the "Housatonic," was completely destroyed in the early part of 1864. The various other attempts upon the Federal vessels do not appear to have been so strikingly successful, but the Southerners continued to make them with unfailing bravery at many subsequent periods of the contest. The Northerners again followed in the wake of their antagonists; and perhaps the most gallant feat of the whole war was the destruction of the Confederate iron-clad "Albatross" by Lieutenant Cushing of the United States Navy, in a steam-launch fitted with a torpedo apparatus. This gallant young man was only twenty-one years of age at the time of his exploit. He succeeded in passing the various look-outs, although some gave the alarm, in bursting through a kind of palisade protection established round the vessel, and in exploding his torpedo in so favourable a position that the ironclad was thereby sunk. Though his boat was swamped, he managed to make his escape, and, after a variety of exciting adventures, succeeded in reaching a friendly vessel.

The use of torpedoes rendered necessary some plan of removing them or of neutralising their effect; and thus torpedo warfare became a regular system. Parties of men were made to scour the banks of rivers and the shores of inlets to search for and cut electric wires. Light-draught boats were sent ahead of attacking squadrons to search for the submerged dangers, and, if possible, lift them carefully up and render them harmless. "Drags" were contrived for catching them; and in some cases machines were affixed to the bows of vessels which should either destroy the mine or explode it before the vessel itself got into dangerous proximity to it. Admiral Farragut ordered what he called a "heavy iron cutter" to be attached to the prows of his vessels as a defence against the destructive instrument which by common consent was held to be so formidable.

The struggle in America cast new light upon the power of the torpedo both as an offensive and a defensive weapon. Considerable commotion was caused by a knowledge of its effect amongst the naval powers of the world. The Americans themselves, profit-

ing by their rich experience, were the first to establish a school in which the doctrines of the new system of warfare should be regularly taught to officers in the public service. We ourselves in England followed them not long afterwards. A course of "torpedo instruction" was made part of the curriculum of studies in the naval gunnery establishment at Portsmouth; and both officers and men were selected to be trained in the manœuvring of the new arm. It is significant that this training, at first only an addition to the regular course of artillery studies, has of late been erected into a separate branch of instruction, and the Torpedo School at Portsmouth is now an independent establishment. This is in addition to one of the same description at Chatham, in which officers of the Royal Engineers learn the work of providing the country with a system of submarine defence for its ports and rivers.

The kinds of torpedoes used in the naval and military services of different countries are various. They may be generally classed as stationary or defensive, and locomotive or offensive. The stationary torpedoes resemble the mines with which military engineers are accustomed to strengthen land fortifications. They vary infinitely in minor details, but a general similarity is to be noticed in all. As a rule, they are fixed in such places as would be likely to be approached by the vessels of a hostile navy. The mode of ignition is now almost exclusively that by electric action. The mines being sunk and arranged so as to keep at a fixed distance below the surface, whatever may be the height of the tide, the fuse, or arrangement for communicating fire to the explosive charge, is connected by an insulated wire with an electric battery. The way in which the ignition takes place may be described in general terms as follows.

A complete electric circuit must be formed between the poles of the battery. As soon as this circuit is completed or "closed," the current flows along the wire, which is of such a nature as to offer but small resistance to its passage. At a certain point in the circuit a material is inserted which resists the passage of the electricity sufficiently to generate a degree of heat that will ignite gunpowder or the explosive used. In some cases this is a piece of platinum wire; in others, a chemical composition. The incandescence of the wire, or the high temperature of the composition, gives fire to the charge, and the mine is exploded. In order to enable friendly vessels to pass over the torpedoes with safety, the circuit is kept open, and when an operator sees an enemy in the proper position, he closes it, in general, by pressing down a metal key. One arrangement of defensive mines is intended to act, to a certain extent, automatically. Above the mine floats an object known as a "circuit-closer." Within it

there is a break in the electric circuit, but so slight a one that a smart blow, such as that imparted by a passing ship, would cause it to oscillate sufficiently to bring the connecting parts into contact, and so close the circuit and explode the submerged torpedo. The plans suggested and tried for arranging submarine defences are innumerable, but the preceding general description may suffice to give a fair idea of the principles underlying the whole of them.

The offensive torpedo has been less often tried on real service. The Turkish monitor destroyed on the Danube was attacked by torpedo-boats of a description with which we have been long familiar. And in the unsuccessful attempt made against other Turkish vessels by the Russians, the boat carrying a torpedo at the end of a long pole was the one used. At the extremity of the pole is fixed a metal case, made watertight, containing a charge of gunpowder or other explosive, such as gun-cotton, sufficient for the service required. From a battery on board the boat electric wires are stretched along the pole to the fuse of the mine. When the object is neared, the pole is launched forward and thrust beneath the water. As soon as the torpedo touches, or is all but touching, the object, the operator in the boat presses down the key, the circuit is closed and the charge exploded.

A torpedo intended to be used at sea by ships engaged with other ships has been invented by Captain Harvey. It is so shaped and so slung that when towed from a vessel in motion it diverges from her path, and thus enables her to pass by an opponent at a certain distance from her, and yet near enough to bring the instrument into sharp contact with some point of her submerged part. A series of levers protrude from the case of the mine, and are pressed down on contact with the object attacked, and an ingeniously arranged fuse of the gallant officer's invention is set in action and gives fire to the charge. But the most extraordinary of all weapons of the sort yet devised is unquestionably the "fish-torpedo" of Mr. Whitehead, an English gentleman engaged in the construction of steam-engines at Fiume in Austria. This instrument is composed of a hull of iron or steel, sharpened at both ends to the semblance of a "stump" for *pastille*-drawing, and containing a locomotive engine worked by compressed air and a powerful charge. It is ingeniously arranged so as to maintain any depth which may be considered desirable. When used, it is thrust out through a tube from the ship's side or bow, the engine is set in motion, and it proceeds beneath the surface at a speed said to be as high as twenty miles an hour for several hundred yards till it strikes against the vessel aimed at, when explosion is caused by the force

of the blow. Arrangements have been made for employing this exceedingly formidable weapon, not only from specially designed torpedo vessels, but from the ordinary fighting ships of our own and foreign navies. The Russians in the present struggle do not seem to have supplied themselves with it, but a very recent report from the Danube states that they have ordered a certain number of them to be forwarded to their naval stations in the south.

For a considerable time past, a series of experiments have been carried out in this country to ascertain the actual power exerted by torpedoes in action, and also to discover the best methods of affording to ships protection against their attacks. The newspapers, during the present and last years, have contained many accounts of the proceedings of the officers and committees appointed to conduct these experiments. An old iron vessel, the "Oberon" was attacked over and over again last year at Portsmouth by torpedoes of various kinds, and the results were duly chronicled in the daily newspapers. The attention of inventors seems to have been called by the reports of these experiments to the practicability of devising some plan of protecting vessels against the assaults of these destructive engines. To approach an enemy unperceived being a necessary element of success in most torpedo attacks, an assailant would usually attempt to do so under cover of darkness. An ingenious apparatus, called "The Holmes Distress Signal," has recently been described in the "Times" newspaper. A shot, containing some illuminating substance, is fired from a mortar, and when it falls upon the water, emits a powerful white light, which is inextinguishable, and burns with great brilliancy for upwards of half-an-hour. To surround a vessel, liable to attack, with a zone of this brilliant light would go far to secure her against the assaults of boats. A M. Ferdinand Silas, of Vienna, is also reported to have invented a light of much the same description.

In fact, a whole system of tactics is in course of being elaborated with a view to defence against the new weapon, thereby signally illustrating the changing and progressive condition of the art of naval war. After the Turks had lost one ship on the Danube, Hobart Pasha devised a system of protection by surrounding his ships off the mouth of the river by a circle of boats and chains connecting them, and thereby effectually secured them against a very gallant and resolute attack. Up to the present time the ingenuity of the naval architect has been mainly exercised in striving to keep out shot and shell. The armour-plating has been increased in thickness over and over again, but the submerged portion of the ship remains nearly as weak as ever. In addition to the plan of dispelling darkness

above mentioned, and thereby depriving the assailant of the advantage of its cover, there are other proposed methods of protection for vessels. One plan is to surround them with fast "satellites," which shall attack the assailants themselves before they can get near enough to the large vessel to injure her. Another is to erect around her a "crinoline frame," by means of which the locomotive torpedo should be arrested in its course before striking. After many trials, good results are said to have been obtained from a wire "grummet matting" in open meshes. It possesses considerable flexibility as it yields when struck, thereby arresting gradually, and not suddenly, the force of the torpedo. "This," it is stated, "is the nearest approach to perfection which has been yet attained."

It is a singular instance of the parallelism between subterranean and submarine warfare, that a plan of counter-mining for use under water, to counteract the effect of submerged mines, has been tried. Powerful charges of gun-cotton are floated in the tide, or carried by an electrically-steered steamboat, to places which are defended by stationary torpedoes. The effect of these charges when exploded is to also explode the submerged mines of defence, and they are declared to be powerful enough to clear an area of considerable extent. A large number of them having been successfully put in action, it is hoped that the channel may be rendered safe for the passage of an attacking fleet.

Torpedo warfare has now attained to a recognised and important place in maritime contests. There is, as is generally the case with important and striking inventions, a tendency to exaggerate its importance. Recent experiments have somewhat tended to diminish our estimate of the power of submarine mines; and it has been shown in practice that care and precaution can do much to render them innocuous. In a late discussion in the House of Commons, the First Lord of the Admiralty stated that he had been told by an officer with great practical knowledge of the subject that "the more he saw of torpedoes the less he thought of them." There are so many small matters, without close attention to which it is impossible to operate with them successfully, that even in the quietly conducted experiments of peace, failures occur without number. As Washington said when speaking of Bushnell's apparatus, "One accident or another always intervened." This must have struck all witnesses of torpedo experiments, even of those carried out in the full light of the knowledge we have gained at the present day, as a fair description of what they have observed. Still, the effect that can be depended on is so considerable, that we must accept as proved the necessity of a more thoroughly scientific investigation of the problems of maritime war; and we must be prepared to see some modification

of a shipbuilding policy which tends to construct a comparatively small number of costly ships, not at all impervious to submarine attack, rather than a far larger number of smaller ones equally secure with their heavier consorts against it. We have at least the great satisfaction of knowing that our wealth and the zeal of our officers have placed us in possession of a more complete stock of knowledge of the conditions of torpedo warfare than is possessed by any other nation in the world.

ART. III.—RENAISSANCE IN ITALY.

Renaissance in Italy. The Age of the Despots: The Revival of Learning: The Fine Arts. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 3 vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co.

THERE is no word more frequently and at the same time more loosely used in the current criticism of the day than "Renaissance." The movement in philosophy, art, and letters which is traditionally known by that name is in danger of being very seriously misunderstood by many of those who undertake to correct our traditional views upon moral and æsthetic subjects. Nothing is more common than to see this "new birth," this revival in thought and practice, treated as though it were simply the introduction into modern life of an idealised Paganism, a charter for sensuous enjoyment beyond all danger of the pangs of a conscience. That this conception underlies the flowery periods of not a few apostles of culture can hardly be denied, and it is difficult to say which is most surprising—the effrontery of a taught critic who takes upon himself the proclamation of such a doctrine, or the carelessness of an ignorant one who dogmatises on the results of a superficial study. That the element of a revived Paganism was not wanting in the agents of Renaissance thought, nay more, that the unbounded worship of beauty led the artists and poets of that time into excesses that endangered the structure of society, is a fact which cannot be overlooked; but that must be a very shallow examination of the history of the time which fails to perceive, in the first place, that this tendency to Pagan excess was but one of many great streams of influence; and, in the second, that it brought its own swift punishment. This wider view of the subject especially calls for exposition at the present moment, and Mr. Symonds's calm and unbiassed outline of the main historical facts can scarcely fail to be felt to be

opportune. The subject, however, is vast ; to exhaust it, the history of modern Europe would have to be rewritten. He has, therefore, confined himself to the most tempting division of the subject, and essayed a study of the Renaissance in Italy. In doing so, he has, of course, been obliged to compress the materials before him into a small space, and to pass briefly over the ground trodden by the great historians, by Sismondi and Michelet, by Burckhardt and Muratori. This gives a certain air of poverty to the strictly historical portions, for which we have to blame not the author, but the limited space at his command. At the same time, we doubt whether Mr. Symonds has as much gift in the exposition of history as in criticism, and especially literary criticism. Of the three volumes before us, the first deals with the purely political division of the subject, the constitutions of the various despotic and democratic governments, and the writings of men eminent for statecraft and policy. The second volume goes over the same period with exclusive reference to the revival of learning, tracing from Petrarch down to Paolo Giovio the gathering enthusiasm for the classics, the frenzy for the collection of MSS., the cultivation of Greek and Latin literature, and the final decline of learning into pedantry. The third volume, chronologically parallel with the others, deals with the fine arts, tracing architecture, sculpture, and painting from their earliest emancipation from barbarism to their decay after the sack of Rome. To these three volumes the author promises eventually to append a fourth, dealing with the development of Italian literature during the same centuries ; and this is certainly needed to make the work complete. In the "Revival of Learning," especially, the mention of such prominent writers as Poliziano and Sannazaro is curiously insufficient and one-sided, from the fact that these Italian poets are treated only as the authors of certain more or less clever Latin verses. We believe that Mr. Symonds will produce a very interesting volume on early Italian literature, and fill a gap which has too long remained open. For the present, however, we have to consider only the three volumes before us. Of these, we have no hesitation in saying that the "Revival of Learning" is the best, and the "Age of the Despots" the least important. In the former, a subject of which hardly anything is commonly known is treated with taste and vigour by a scholar evidently possessing a thoroughly adequate knowledge of his subject ; in the latter, we will not say that there is any lack of knowledge, but there seems to us certainly an inability to grasp the threads of a tangled skein of politics, so as to unwind them into a narrative clearly intelligible to an uninstructed reader. The purely historical pages, in short, are dull ; and it is only when the author arrives at a point where he is permitted to make

a literary digression that his style becomes enlivened. There are certain chapters in the "Age of the Despots" that are very well written, and which command attention. Those dealing respectively with the Florentine historians and with the "Principe" of Machiavelli are the best. It is curious, too, to note that when Mr. Symonds is at the height of his confusion, in that chapter on the constitution of the Republics, where the laboured sentences seem to cling to one another, and to follow the narrative seems almost impossible, he wakes into sudden animation at the sight of a book, and gives us an epitome of Pandolfini's "Treatise of the Government of the Family" which is really charming. A similar example is the analysis of the "Cortegiano" of Castiglione, which comes to our rescue at the close of a summary of several groups of despots which is not at all remarkable for the historic gift. In the "Revival of Learning," on the other hand, there is not a tedious chapter, and Mr. Symonds shows plainly enough that he possesses the peculiar gift of analysing pedantry without being pedantic, and of rendering a literary subject which one would be ready to condemn as hopelessly dry interesting and even diverting. The "Fine Arts," in conclusion, has neither the merits of the one volume nor the drawbacks of the other. It is not in the least tedious, but it has not the charm of complete novelty or originality. In the presence of so many masterly works on Italian art, it is difficult, without extraordinary genius, to produce a thoroughly novel book on the revival of fine art in Italy. Mr. Symonds, however, has the special advantage of having studied Italian painting and sculpture to an extent very rare in English writers, and in all cases on the spot. He says—

"In this part of my work I feel I owe less to reading than to observation. I am not aware of having mentioned any important building, statue, or picture, which I have not had the opportunity of studying. What I have written in this volume about the monuments of Italian art has always been first noted face to face with the originals, and afterwards corrected, modified, or confirmed in the course of subsequent journeys to Italy. I know that this method of composition, if it has the merit of freshness, entails some inequality of style and disproportion in the distribution of materials."

We do not discover this disproportion of which the author modestly fears the existence, but we are conscious of a certain restlessness of judgment, which arises, no doubt, from the mode in which the materials of the work have been collected. The positive observation of a multitude of objects of art has been pretty fully performed by specialists. It is not easy for a critic to follow in the footsteps of Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcavalle in painting, and Mr. Parkins in sculpture, and to pick up much

of mere external fact which has escaped these careful students. But in the theory of artistic production and in the higher criticism there is room for infinite analysis and discovery. It is somewhat to be regretted that Mr. Symonds has not kept more rigidly to his own theme—the illustration of the Renaissance spirit as this was manifested in the arts. But if the author's successes in the line of literary criticism have led us to look for too decided an originality in artistic criticism, there can be no question that he has written a sympathetic treatise on Italian art which every one will read with pleasure.

In the first and political section of his work, Mr. Symonds insists upon two points which specially characterise the state history of the Italian Renaissance, and which he considers potent in bringing about its decline. The one of these is the unbridled tyranny of the despots, and the other the internal dissensions and moral fluctuations in the free states and republics. The picture that he draws of the crimes and cruelties of the despotic princes, their greed of power, their instability, and their utter unscrupulousness is lurid enough; and if we could wholly persuade ourselves that such a condition of things was a necessary outcome of the revival of letters, or of the general new birth of intellectual freedom, it would go far to nullify entirely the supposed benefits of the Renaissance. We confess, however, that intellectual freedom seems to us to have nothing whatever to do with the crimes of the Visconti or the tyrannies of the cities. The earliest specimens of the two types which we find in the history of the rulers of Italy were Frederick II. and Ezzelino, and in each of these men Mr. Symonds sees a characteristic Renaissance despot. In the first case we are at one with him. The cultivated tyranny which absorbed all the wealth of the people for the purpose of encouraging luxury, learning, and a style of refinement that was almost Oriental, this was thoroughly characteristic of a man who prophesied of the Medici; but in Ezzelino, the bugbear of a century, who murdered 11,000 soldiers of Padua, and mutilated the entire population of Friola, in this almost incredible monster we rather see culminating in a moment opportune to license the stupid barbarity of the Middle Ages stripped of its thin veneer of chivalry. To hold that all exhibitions of emotion during an age are specially characteristic of that age is an error to which the students of a single period are specially liable. Mr. Symonds takes Ezzelino, with his irrational passion for inflicting pain, as a creation of the Renaissance, and traces to this fountainhead all the cruelties that found their ultimate excess in the Borgias. He has not perceived that, in comparison with the indiscriminate butcheries of Ezzelino—probably the most wholly inhuman person who has ever abused the privilege of life

and death—the worst murders of the later princes were but individual and limited, the last cultured blossoms of the great mediæval growth of cruelty. Mr. Symonds divides the despots of the Italian cities in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries into six distinct groups. The first of these comprises the heads of those houses who held a dynastic right from their hereditary territories. Of these the Dukes of Urbino are the type. The second includes the Vicars of the Empire, such as the Visconti, who usurped a right in Lombardy. In the third are classed the nobles who received administrative authority in particular cities and used it to enslave those cities. The fourth represents a still more lawless force, the Condottieri, who made the cities they pretended to protect their prey. It should be noted that Castruccio Castracane, the hero of Machiavelli's romance, belongs to this group. The fifth comprises the nephews and sons of Popes. The sixth is that which lends most subject-matter to the student of popular life; it includes those plebeian members of states who gained overwhelming influence and excessive power in the conduct of public business, till at last they were able lightly to leap into a despotism. It is needless to say that the Medici form the most eminent example of this last class of despots. It was thus from every grade in society that the rulers rose, and in the perennial turmoil of affairs it was not beyond the hope of any stirring individual that he might eventually come to rule the state of which he was a humble citizen.

“To the conditions of a society based on these principles, we may ascribe the unrivalled emergence of great personalities among the tyrants, as well as the extraordinary tenacity and vigour of such races as the Visconti. In the contest for power and in the maintenance of an illegal authority, the picked athletes came to the front. The struggle by which they established their tyranny, the efforts by which they defended it against foreign foes and domestic adversaries, trained them to endurance and to daring. They lived habitually in an atmosphere of peril which taxed all their energies. Their activity was extreme, and their passions corresponded to their vehement vitality. About such men there could be nothing on a small and mediocre scale. When a weakling was born in a despotic family, his brothers murdered him, or he was deposed by a watchful rival.”

It is not altogether remarkable that so strange a condition of life should have produced extraordinary anomalies in exceptional instances. We shall not follow Mr. Symonds in his summary of the evils of despotism, or his chronicle of the crimes of individual despots, but we pause a moment to consider the figure of Sigismondo Pandolfo Malatesta. Only the fifteenth century could have produced so amazing a paradox as this

inscrutable man. He was a Condottieri of the most savage type, a man full of treasons and sacrileges, the murderer of his three successive wives. From the opposite point of view he was steeped in learning and culture, a lover and protector of the poets, full of zeal for art and architecture, and one of the most generous patrons of philosophic letters. It is plain that such a man can be judged by none of the standards usually held to the conduct of princes. So exceptional a personality was the outcome of a peculiar epoch, and to understand it in any measure we must turn to the recognised intellectual training of the age.

It is for this reason that the second of Mr. Symonds's three volumes, that on the "Revival of Learning," seems to us most welcome. We have already hinted that it is the most adequate in treatment. To give a just impression of the tangled statecraft of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries in Italy would be the labour of a lifetime, and would need a score of volumes. To present a just idea of the many-sided emanations of art in all its branches during the same centuries would be a labour scarcely inferior to this in magnitude. But the history of the revival of classic learning flows within narrower limits, and does not need a library for its exposition. In consequence, the air of hurry, and the traces of superficial treatment that of necessity mar the effect of Mr. Symonds's first and third volumes are wanting in the second, which we regard as a definite addition to English criticism.

The ruin of learning in the Middle Ages surpassed in its completeness anything that we can readily realise. When Donatus was found to have mentioned *Eunuchus Comædia* and *Orestes Tragædia*, the monks understood him to refer to authors of that name. The meaning of very simple Latin words derived from the Greek was entirely lost. Grammarians were not ashamed to suppose that *positio* was the equivalent of *poema*. Homer and Virgil were cited as contemporary friends, and writers were urged, under the threat of eternal punishment, not to imitate the style in which Pagan poets had delivered their fictions or mad ravings (*figmenta sive deliramenta*). At the same time the schools were occupied with endless linguistic discussion, miserable quibblings on patristic expressions, which bore the same relation to sound philology that astrology bore to genuine science. Virgil was the only classic that survived in honour, and he only because, by a perversion of the text, he was held to have prophesied of Christ. More and more shrouded in a vapour of myth, Virgil also had become a mere name, a storehouse of juggling sentences, a wizard whose occult sayings might open the unseen world to a proficient in the art of magic.

Of Greek, except, as it has been plausibly held, in Ireland, no tradition lingered in the Western world. The logic of the schoolmen came from Aristotle's original, through the double medium of an Arabic translation translated by Jews into Latin. What of classic culture did exist was tortured from its genuine meaning to serve some barren Scholastic end, and books had not only to be made, but men taught to appreciate them, before learning could revive. It was Petrarch who first accomplished this latter work, and it is he who must be considered as the founder of Humanism, and the first apostle of revived letters. The word "Humanism," from *umanista*, a professor of learned studies, is a comparatively modern word, which, Mr. Symonds has adopted. His definition of its use may here be recorded:—

"The essence of Humanism consisted in a new and vital perception of the dignity of man as a rational being, apart from theological determinations, and in the further perception that classic literature alone displayed human nature in the plenitude of intellectual and moral freedom. It was partly a reaction against ecclesiastical despotism, partly an attempt to find the point of unity for all that had been thought and done by man within the mind restored to consciousness of its own sovereign faculty. Hence the single-hearted devotion to the literature of Greece and Rome that marks the whole Renaissance era. Hence the watchword of that age, the *Litteræ Humaniores*. Hence the passion for antiquity possessing thoughtful men, and substituting a new authority for the traditions of the Church. Hence the so-called Paganism of centuries bent upon absorbing and assimilating a spirit no less life-giving from their point of view than Christianity itself. Hence the persistent effort of philosophers to find the meeting-point of two divergent inspirations. Hence, too, the ultimate antagonism between the Humanists, or professors of the new wisdom, and those uncompromising Christians who, like St. Paul, preferred to remain fools for Christ's sake."

In this movement, this new-born enthusiasm for antiquity, Petrarch preached the first crusade. To his solitary genius belongs the praise of having seen the light by intuition in an age completely dark. The stamp his personal habits of mind left upon Humanism was not erased until Humanism had ceased to be. Nor was he before his time. A little longer, and it might have been too late to cry for the salvation of precious MSS., even then ready to be destroyed. Petrarch died in 1374, and the Empire of the East was broken up in 1453. During those eighty years Italy recovered from the ruin of Greece the treasures of ancient literature; but whether, if Petrarch had never taught his countrymen to appreciate the past, such a labour would have been undertaken in time, is a very doubtful matter. Petrarch himself never attained a real knowledge of

the Greek language, in which it was then at least as difficult to find instruction as in Sanskrit in the early part of last century. From a renegade Jew Calabrian, named Barlaam, he received a few lessons at Avignon, and afterwards from a still more unpleasant teacher at Venice. In this latter person, Leontius Pilatus, we have a type of the Greek tutor of the period. The elegant Petrarch was forced, in the dearth of better masters, to submit to the ostentation of a man whose appearance and habits were disgusting, and who knew nothing whatever of history or literature. Yet it seems, from what Boccaccio says, that this horrible creature was the only source of even debased and broken Greek in the whole North of Italy. Petrarch learned little of the language, and gives us a pathetic and most characteristic picture of how he hung amorously over a Homer that had been brought him, delighting in the sight and touch of such a treasure, but unable for all his longing to decipher the sonorous hexameters. Boccaccio, inspired by the enthusiasm of Petrarch, proceeded further than this. Impeded by the ignorance and scholastic perversions of Leontius, he nevertheless managed to produce a Latin version of the Iliad and the Odyssey. This was the first feat accomplished by the new-born Humanism, and it is a memorable moment in the history of culture. This translation was sent to Petrarch, who welcomed it with almost frantic delight. The poet of Vacluse, unable as he was to read the Greek codices, was none the less ardent in collecting them, and he was the first man in Italy to send to Byzantium for MSS. Homer and Plato were the first to appear in the new sphere that was opening to welcome them; and, by a kind of poetic instinct, Petrarch, who could read neither, yet perceived and predicted the weight that each was destined to exercise in poetry and philosophy. Meanwhile, we have but to glance at Boccaccio's Latin version of Homer to see how much had yet to be done before the true Renaissance of classic learning. That version would disgrace a schoolboy of the present day, nor would it be possible for any schoolboy to fall into blunders so ingeniously perverse as Boccaccio stumbled into under the blind direction of Leontius. We are apt to think of Boccaccio only as the inventor of a series of stories of immortal interest, but of too luxurious a colouring. He was, in fact, hardly less notable as a prodigious worker in the laborious field of scholarship. Besides the translating of Homer, he transcribed with his own hands the whole of Terence, besides collecting and annotating an enormous mass of antiquarian and miscellaneous knowledge. The true import of the classics, however, was still hidden from him; he looked for allegory in the simple relations of the poets, and for celestial mysteries in purely mundane philosophies. But at least he saw

the value of the texts, though he missed their full meaning, and the day of the worst monkish obscurity was over. More than this, he was the first to acknowledge the beauty of life and the comeliness of the body; the first to shake off the burden which the Middle Ages had laid upon the spirit of man, and which was now too heavy to be borne. This part of his place in the history of the Renaissance belongs, however, more properly to the department of the colloquial literature, upon which Mr. Symonds promises us a final volume, but which he has not hitherto treated.

In the precise field of scholarship, more was done by a man of humbler talent, Giovanni Malpaghino, commonly known as John of Ravenna. He had been the amanuensis and secretary of Petrarch, and caught something of the genius of the master, while he far surpassed him in practical Latinity. He possessed the fiery and vagabond temper which was afterwards so characteristic of the Italian Humanists, and he preferred the precarious office of a wandering professor to any fixed post of honour. He gathered an immense train of pupils after him, into whom he poured his own enthusiasm, and in whom he roused a positive passion for pure Latinity. Cicero was the great object of his regard, and he spread the study of that orator over all the North of Italy. When it is remembered that Palla degli Strozzi, Filelpho, Poggio, and Lionardo Bruni, in other words, all the most splendid names of the next generation of scholars, were among the disciples of John of Ravenna, it will be seen that it is difficult to overrate his importance. By the year 1400, the desire for classic culture was thoroughly aroused. So ripe for revival was the age, that a single generation had seen the full success of the efforts of Petrarch. On all sides, a pure Ciceronian style began to be adopted, or at least attempted, in public and private documents. The desire for instruction in Greek became an insatiable longing; and Giacomo de Scarparia initiated a new epoch by travelling to Byzantium in search of MSS. This is so important a moment, that we must linger a little over it. During the last years of the fourteenth century, there arrived in Venice, as envoy of the Emperor Palæologus, a noble Byzantine, Manuel Chrysoloras. This man bore the reputation of being the most accomplished Hellenist of the age. He was welcomed in Florence, but soon returned, and in his train it was that Scarparia visited Byzantium. Through the energetic management of Palla degli Strozzi, a Greek chair—a thing then unheard of in Europe—was founded at Florence, and Chrysoloras was induced to return and fill it. A passage quoted from the Commentaries of Lionardo Bruni gives us an idea of the fervent

enthusiasm of the time, and the importance of this critical step—

“Letters at this period grew mightily in Italy, seeing that the knowledge of Greek, intermitted for seven centuries, revived. Chrysoloras of Byzantium, a man of noble birth and well skilled in Greek literature, brought to us Greek learning. I at that time was following the civil law, though not ill versed in other studies; for by nature I loved learning with ardour, nor had I given slight pains to dialectic and rhetoric. Therefore, at the coming of Chrysoloras, I was made to halt in my choice of lives, seeing that I held it wrong to desert law, and yet I reckoned it a crime to omit so great an occasion of learning the Greek literature; and oftentimes I reasoned with myself after this manner:—Can it be that thou, when thou mayest gaze on Homer, Plato, and Demosthenes, together with other poets, philosophers, and orators, concerning whom so great and so wonderful things are said, and mayest converse with them, and receive their admirable doctrine—can it be that thou wilt desert thyself, and neglect the opportunity divinely offered thee? Through seven hundred years no one in all Italy has been master of Greek letters; and yet we acknowledge that all science is derived from them. Of civil law, indeed, there are in every city scores of doctors; but should this single and unique teacher of Greek be removed, thou wilt find no one to instruct thee. Conquered at last by these reasonings, I delivered myself over to Chrysoloras with such passion, that what I had received from him by day in hours of waking, occupied my mind at night in hours of sleep.”

The patron of learning at Florence at this time was Palla degli Strozzi, a man of immense wealth, who, besides endowing the chair of Greek, sent, as Vespasiano says, “to Greece for countless volumes, all at his own cost.” He was the first to found a public library in Italy; and, if his bankruptcy had not supervened, his energy and passion for literature might have spread still further. Many others, however, were now in the field. Every convent in Italy was ransacked for manuscripts, and the despots vied with one another in the employment of transcribers and in the zealous search for codices.

It was one of the numberless pupils of John of Ravenna in Latin and of Chrysoloras in Greek who became the representative man of the second period of Humanism. Among the scholars of the first quarter of the fifteenth century, the name of Poggio stands easily first. He was born at Tervanova in 1380, and subsisted in his youth by copying MSS. for Florentine collectors. He rose by merit of his supple talents early to a high social position, and in 1414 had the singular good fortune to be able to push the search for codices beyond the Alps. As Apostolic Secretary, he attended the Council of Constance, and managed to unearth in the convents of Switzerland and Germany some

inestimable treasures. At St. Gall he discovered, for the first time, a complete copy of Quintilian. We owe Lucretius, Columella, Silius Italicus, and Vitruvius, to the same restless zeal, to the same affectionate patience. Neither expense nor hardship was grudged by this most enthusiastic scholar; and Poggio alone did more than any other ten men in the field of discovery and antiquarian research.* In the department of ancient topography he was unrivalled, and in the course of his life he contrived to unearth and to gather together vestiges of classic antiquity of almost every variety.

If Poggio represented the zeal and fervour of the new movement in letters, and placed the enthusiasm of the Humanists in a favourable light by the activity of his intelligence and the purity of his literary taste, he is unfortunately no less the representative in the bad use to which he devoted the new-found instrument of fine Latinity. Poggio was the first, or at least the most prominent, of the eminent scholars who inaugurated what may be truly called "the epoch of filthy invective," an element that continued to mar all Latin polemic until Latin ceased to be the language of cultivated Europe. Even Milton, as we know, was not superior to the license the dead language offered, and to its wealth of cumulative epithets. But the diatribes of the great English poet against Salmasius are innocent child's play beside the railing of Poggio and his disciples. It would not be easy to descend lower into the foul places of the human mind than these elegant scholars of the fifteenth century descended in their literary contests. The climax of ribald antagonism was reached in the dispute between Poggio and Filelpho, to witness which Italy paused with interest, and which the Pope himself did not hesitate to applaud. Filelpho was a man in the prime of youth; Poggio, a courtier and Papal secretary, some twenty years older. Each was prominently before the world, and moving rapidly from city to city, enjoying unbounded fame and honour. The quarrel began by Filelpho's publishing a satire against the Florentines in 1433, in heavy hexameters. Poggio replied in heavier prose. More satires were responded to by more prose, and so the contest grew, and lasted from year to year. In the course of it, each antagonist openly charged the other, and the relatives of the other, with the vilest crimes by name; the most ingenious subtleties of wickedness were evolved out of a debased imagination, and laid at the door of each of these frantic persons, to the amusement of all Italy; nor does it appear that all the abuse or all the abusing injured the position of either antagonist in the estimation of the world one whit.

Pope Nicholas V. is chargeable with a great part of this in-

famous license. During the eight years of his Papacy, Humanism ruled the Vatican and the world, and reached the apex of its brilliance and its corruption. The scholar on the throne of the Popes showered riches and honours on the men of letters, that appealed to him far more than any monks or princes. It was his pride and delight to endow the translation of the classics, and a shower of ducats rewarded any one who brought a version of an ancient historian or poet hitherto unread. As other Pontiffs longed for temporal conquest or advanced spiritual dominion, so Nicholas V. yearned to put off dying till he had seen Homer in the Latin verse of Filelpho. His greatest pleasure was to read new poetry before it had been published; and when the filthy satires of the same Filelpho, among the most abominable productions of the time, were brought to him completed, he spent nine days over them, while public business waited, and rewarded the conceited author with a purse of five hundred ducats.

The same Filelpho was one of the strangest individuals of an extraordinary time. It is a singular instance of the vanity of human predictions, that the very name of this man, once the most famous in contemporary literature, and destined, as his own age believed, to survive at the side of Cicero and Catullus, should need an introduction to cultivated readers in our own day. In Filelpho the power and influence of the Humanists culminated. Never was there a literary career more adventurous, more brilliant, more romantic. Born near Ancona in 1389, he studied Latin at Padua, where he became professor at the age of eighteen. A year later he had become so famous that he was invited to Venice, where such eminent scholars as Guerino da Verona were ready to welcome him, and where he immediately received the chair of Moral Philosophy. In his twenty-first year he set off to study Greek at Constantinople, and he, it may be noted, was the most distinguished Italian scholar that made this tedious voyage, which then lasted no less than five months. Almost immediately on his arrival, his talents recommended him to the Greek Emperor, and he was sent on delicate embassies to Hungary and to Poland. The Republic of Venice, furthermore, charged the youth to negotiate terms of treaty between themselves and the Grand Turk. In Constantinople he married well, and returned, after seven years and a half, to Venice, laden with honours and Greek MSS. His library was one of the best of that age. In all Italy, no one could approach him in mastery of Greek and Latin literature, and he flung broadcast his vaunted and conceited challenges. Even in that pretentious age hardly any one but the brazen Filelpho would have dared to publish such an arrogant epigram as this:—

"Quod si Virgilius superat me carminis ullis
Laudibus, orator ille ego sum melior.
Sin Tulli eloquis præstat facundia nostro,
Versibus ille meis cedit ubique minor.
Adde quod et linguâ possum hæc præstare Pelasgâ
Et Latîâ. Talem quem mihi des alium?"

In the face of such self-laudation it may be amusing to quote what Mr. Symonds, who has studied the writers of this period with singular patience, can say of this young man, who prefers himself to Cicero and Virgil.

"We know that his Latin hexameters are such as not only Virgil but Cicero would have scorned to own, that his Latin orations would have been hissed before the Roman rostra, and that his Greek style is at the same time tame and timid. Neither he nor his contemporaries were sufficiently critical to comprehend the force of these objections. They only saw that he possessed the keys to all the learning of the ancient world, and that, besides unlocking those treasures for modern students, he was also competent to give to current thought a form that aped the classic masterpieces each in its own kind. Taken at their lowest valuation, the claims of Filelpho, well founded in fact, mark him out as the most universal scholar of his age. A genius he was not; for while his perceptions were coarse, his intellect was receptive rather than originaive. Of deep thought, true taste, penetrative criticism, or delicate fancy, he knew nothing. The unimaginable bloom of style is nowhere to be found upon his work. Yet a man of his stamp was needed at that epoch to act as a focus for the streams of light which flooded Italy from divers sources, to collect them in himself, and to bequeath to students of a happier age the ideal of comprehensive scholarship which Poliziano and Erasmus realised."

After certain restless peregrinations Filelpho at last found himself at Florence in 1429, and there he remained for five years. Here his industry and his magnificence were alike unprecedented, and his history reads like a fairy tale. In the morning of each day he lectured on Cicero; later on he expounded Livy or Homer; in the afternoon he discoursed on Terence or Xenophon. On holidays he lectured in the Duomo on Dante, and these last orations were bestowed as a free gift on the people of Florence, who flocked to listen to him. In the meantime, he was translating busily: versions of Aristotle, Lysias, Plutarch, and Xenophon, were the recreations of this energetic man. Nor must it be believed that Filelpho lived the life of a pedant. His receptions were the most brilliant and dignified in Florence; the greatest women vied for the honour of his Olympian nod, and his style of living was that of a prince. At last his pride became more than Italian patience could endure; he publicly defied Cosmo di Medici, and, walking to the University one morning in 1433, he was stabbed in the face by a Medicean assassin.

The wound was trifling, but Filelpho had made Florence too hot to hold him, and he set off on his travels again. At Siena he consented to remain four years in comparative obscurity, while the Council of Basle, the Republic of Venice, the Pope and the great Duke of Milan, contended for the honour of his services. In 1439, however, the University of Bologna outbid all these rivals and secured the most famous Humanist of the day; but it was not long before the superior allurements of Milan took him to the court of the Visconti. Duke Filippo Maria received him with ecstasy; and Filelpho's magnificence surpassed belief. When the Visconti were ejected by the conquering army of Sforza, the supple scholar was the first to welcome the alien with an oration; and he composed 12,800 lines of a Latin "Sforziad" before he tired of the set labour. His triumphal entries into Rome and Naples are not so extraordinary as the fact that his fame had spread so far that, when Constantinople fell, a letter from Filelpho to the Sultan, praying for the release of his mother-in-law and her daughters, brought him a reply from the conqueror himself, refusing to accept a ransom for the relatives of the most illustrious of orators. To continue the list of his triumphs, his eccentricities, and his excesses would lead us too far. Suffice it to say, that he died at Florence in the eighty-fourth year of his age, in harness to the last.

In all the history of classic learning there is no figure more striking than this of Filelpho. The theatrical splendour of his career, its variety, and the astonishing reputation it commanded, are alike marvellous. Not only throughout Europe, but, as we have seen, in Asia also, this vainglorious scholiast was accepted as the first orator, poet, and critic of the age. Perhaps no literary fame so widely extended has proved so entirely ephemeral. Yet Filelpho is well worth the reconsideration of criticism, since he is undoubtedly the type of the Renaissance scholar, the characteristic Italian Humanist. In his tireless industry, in his enthusiasm, his genuine love and knowledge of letters, his passionate and reiterated statement of the beauty and utility of Greek literature, he represents the best phase of the revival of learning; in his turbulent and licentious character, in his habit of violent invective, in his lack of delicate critical perception, and in his arrogant vainglory, he truly typifies the same movement on its least attractive side.

"When Filelpho was at the height of his reputation, a hundred years had just passed since Petrarch hung in an ecstasy over the Homer of which he could not read a line. Meanwhile the Eastern Empire, repository during so many centuries of the hidden treasures of the Greek classics, was hurrying to its destruction. It was in 1454 that Mohammed II. drove the last

feeble shadow of a Roman Emperor out of Constantinople and set up there the dynasty of Othman. The crowd of exiles that travelled westward on this great occasion brought with them the last fragments of what ancient authors they possessed, and the first great epoch of the revival of learning closed. The ardour of the disciples of Petrarch had done its work, though only just in time, and the body of antique literature was almost as perfect as it is now. It is a question, indeed, whether in some directions it has not been mutilated since. In the catalogue of the library of the Dukes of Urbino stands entered *Tutti l'Opere di Menandro*, a priceless treasure quite unknown to modern scholars. The period of collection and of the first obvious exposition being now passed, learning took a more graceful and a more creative turn. Such figures as the refined and noble Platonist Vittorino da Feltre take us far from the animal vigour of Filelpho, and far from the coarse zeal of Poggio. We enter a more delicate, a more modern atmosphere. The writings of the first Humanists, so highly prized by themselves, was seen by their best scholars to be turgid and crude. Their erudition was felt to have been tempered by no just canons of criticism, and their oratory moulded on no artistic plan. The vagrant lecturers of whom Filelpho was the type gave place to men of eminence stationed in learned academies. In short, the passion for indiscriminate knowledge was replaced by elegance and taste. This movement in learning was contemporaneous with the great revival in the literature of the Italian vernacular; and some of the best poets, such as Sannazaro and Poliziano, wrote with equal brilliance in Latin, Greek, or Italian. The despot of Florence, Lorenzo de' Medici, gave the tone to this development of taste, and it was in his court that culture especially flourished. The main exponent of the budding Platonism was Marsilio Ficino, who sought to arrive at the kernel of the Platonic philosophy through Gemistos Plethon, a visionary mystic of the dying Eastern Empire, and through Plotinus. He translated the whole known writings of Plato, and though blinded by the subtleties of the Alexandrians, he managed to instil into the scholars of Italy an immense love and reverence for that great writer. The enthusiasm showed itself, indeed, in a naïve and childish way. Shrines were built to Plato, and lamps were burned before his statue, his bust was publicly crowned with laurels, and the supposed anniversaries of his birth and death were celebrated as state festivals. Ficino, however, but led the way for a greater man, the brilliant and almost fabulously learned Prince Pico della Mirandola. It was the task of his life to harmonise into one clear philosophic system the new-found Platonism and the current Christianity. His efforts, conceived in a lofty spirit of piety unusual in that day,

and illuminated by extraordinary learning and unequalled taste, were paralysed by the charge of heresy pronounced against him by Innocent VIII. in 1486, and not removed until 1493 by Alexander VI. In the midst of the researches, which he did not on this account reject, a Jew at Florence sold him a copy of the Cabbala. In this maze of abtruse learning Pico conceived that he had discovered the fountain-head of all spiritual knowledge. Excited and perplexed by this new mine of authorities, he overtaxed his strength in study and research. He set about composing a book which should form a complete harmony of philosophy, theology, and religion, but he failed to complete, or even far pursue, this project, and died at the early age of thirty-one.

In the same Florentine circle there appeared a youth of twenty, bringing with him a Latin comedy entitled, "Philodoxius," which was greeted by the learned world as a genuine antique, the work, it was said, of Lepidus Comicus. By degrees, however, it came out that this admirable piece of Latinity was really invented by the youth that produced it, a certain Leo Battista Alberti, and he soon began to make his personality felt throughout Italy. Physically he was one of the most powerful and skilful men of his age. Miraculous stories are on record of his gymnastic and athletic feats, and he was practised in a wide circle of crafts. He was eminent for painting in that golden age of pictures; he practised widely as an architect. His pictures have disappeared, but the Church of St. Andrea at Mantua and the Palazzo Ruccellai at Florence survive to show his magnificent talent in architecture. He paralleled Lionardi da Vinci in the almost unlimited range of his attainments. In Humanism, in particular, he was foiled by a singular illness that resulted in a partial loss of memory. Yet he remains one of the great names of Florentine Platonism.

But the typical scholar of this third age of Humanism was Angelo Poliziano, or, as our English forefathers called him, Politian. No Italian before his day succeeded in producing works of real original genius in the classic languages. As a boy, Poliziano outshone his adult contemporaries in the composition of Greek and Latin epigrams, and at eighteen he proved the depth of his scholarship by ably editing Catullus. Two years before this he had commenced the work that had baffled every poet of the age, and successfully translated into Latin hexameters five books of the Iliad. Such a prodigy of youthful energy and precocious talent attracted universal attention; the gentle Ficino presented him to Lorenzo de' Medici, and himself took care that the boy should be beyond the fear of want. Under these auspices he flourished rapidly, and achieved an

immense reputation. Students of Italian literature recognise in his "Orfeo" and his lyrical poems the greatest production of the Muse between Petrarch and Ariosto. But we have to regard him here solely as a Humanist, and in this direction his writings are no less memorable. As a Latin poet, he is perhaps the most illustrious that modern literature has produced; certainly he stands alone among the Italian scholars of the fifteenth century. Of his predecessors, none approached him in imagination or in sweetness; of his disciples and followers, only a few idyllic singers of the close of the age could rival him in their own especial field. Poliziano had the breadth of compass that marks a poet of the first order. Instead of gracefully recalling Virgil or Catullus, he contrives to create a great lyric style that is not far behind that of the second-best classic elegists. In the "Nutricia" he presents us with an introduction to the whole art and history of poetry, which is the crowning work of his multiform genius. It forms the first poem of the collection entitled the "Sylvæ," consisting of four didactic or descriptive elegies, in all of which the vigour and beauty of style are of the first order of merit.

During his brief life, Poliziano poured out verses with matchless fluency, "smearing every wall" in Florence with rhythms, "like a snail," as he himself said. In him the joyous and indolent Golden Age of Florence culminated and closed. The preaching of Savonarola, with its severe lesson of practical godliness, broke in like a church-bell upon the fairy revels of the Humanists, and Poliziano was fortunate enough to die just soon enough to know nothing of the conquering march of that invading army of which the great preacher had prophesied. For a while the city of Florence ceased to head the advancing van of learning and elegant literature. The leadership was transferred to Naples. Under Alfonso II. the Neapolitan Academy assumed a national importance. It was founded and organised by Jovianus Pontanus, a young scholar, who, born in 1426, had been presented by Beccadelli to Alfonso the Magnanimous, and had in consequence settled at Naples. Pontanus, a man of loftier integrity than many of his contemporaries, of great ardour and learning, and of a genial disposition, collected around himself at the death of his patron all the men of consummate literary talent who had gathered at the court of that prince. His best friend was Sannazaro, remembered in our days by that exquisite romance which inspired Sidney with his "Arcadia," and which remains to the present time the most successful of all modern pastorals. In their own age, however, the two great Neapolitans were far more famous on the score of their classical than their vernacular verses, and each bequeathed to the learned world an epic which their contemporaries applauded to the skies. The

"Urania" of Pontanus is an elaborate survey of the science of astronomy, so far as it was known in that day, adorned with tropes and figures of Neo-pagan fancy, and enshrined in languid Ovidian hexameters. "Sannazaro's epic is still more ambitious, and to our taste more grotesque. The "De Partu Virginis" occupied its author for twenty laborious years, and when it was completed, all Italy hailed it with acclamation. It is smoothly polished in emulation of Virgil, and the poet has thoroughly accepted the counsel of Bembo to avoid the barbarous style of the Epistles of St. Paul. The Muses of Helicon are invoked to sing the birth of Christ, and Proteus predicts to the river-god of Jordan the advent of the Saviour. Mary, *Spes fida Deorum*, is found by the angel of annunciation reading the Sibyls, and the spirits of the Patriarchs, when his mission is told, shout for joy to be on the way to escape from Tartarus and Acheron and the baying of Cerberus. Vida, however, carried this classical travesty of Christianity to the most incredible excess in his great poem of the "Christiad," to compose which he was commanded by the Pope, who gave him the benefice of Frascati to ensure him ease and quiet. Vida far surpasses all previous sacred poets in unseemly classicism. Mr. Symonds gives the following excerpts from a poem which is now but rarely looked into, but which Milton may have studied—

"God the Father in the 'Christiad' is spoken of as *Superum Pater nimbipotens* and *Regnator Olympi*—titles which had their real significance in Latin mythology, being transferred with frigid formalism to a Deity whose essence is spiritual, and whose cult has no admixture of nature-worship. Jesus is invariably described as *Heros*; this absurdity reaches its climax in the following phrase about the bad thief on the cross:—

'Ipse etiam verbis morientem heros superbis
Stringebat.'

The machinery whereby the Jews are brought to will the death of Christ is no less ridiculous. Instead of attempting to set religious or ethical motives into play, Vida introduces a song of gorgons, harpies, centaurs, hydras, and the like. The bread of the Last Supper appears under the disguise of *sinceram Cererem*. The wine mingled with gall, offered to our Lord upon the cross, is *corrupti pocula Bacchi*. The only excuse for these grotesque compromises between the biblical subject-matter and its mythological expression is, that in any other way it would have been impossible to give the form of pure Latinity to the verse. The poet failed to comprehend that he was producing a masterpiece of *barocco* mannerism, spoiling at once the style he sought to use and the theme he undertook to illustrate. It was enough for him to fit the Roman toga to his saints and Pharisees, and to tickle the taste of a learned audience by allusions that reminded them of Virgil. The

same bathos was reached by Bembo when he invented the paraphrase of 'heavenly zephyr' for the Holy Ghost, and described the Venetian Council bidding a Pope *uti fidat diis immortalibus, quorum vices in terrâ gerit*. It is not the profanity of these phrases so much as their æsthetic emptiness, the discord between the meaning intended to be conveyed and the literary form, that strikes a modern critic."

It is not difficult to see that in such tasteless and essentially unclassical writing as this the Italian students had proceeded far enough from the starting-point of Petrarch. The revival of learning was in future almost synonymous with the decadence of taste. In Poggio the passion for collecting MSS. had reached its culminating point, and now every nobleman in Italy who had any pretensions to elegance possessed a library of original or transcribed volumes. In Poliziano the desire to emulate the triumphs of the ancients took the most lasting and most brilliant form, in the publication of poems which, however far behind Virgil and Lucræti, were yet readable and charming; and now every gentleman of the petty courts, every priest and bishop that would not be thought a bigot, wrote fluent Latin and passable Greek verses or orations. In neither of these directions was there to be much further advance. The age of criticism was now about to set in, heralded by the invention of the art of printing. The typical figure of this final phase of the revival of learning was Aldus Manutius. The first settlement of German printers in Italy was due to the sack of Mainz in 1462, which scattered the disciples of Faust all over Europe. The earliest press set up in Italy was at the little village of Subbiaco, whence, in October 1465, Sweynheim and Pannartz issued their edition of Lactantius. So rapid had been the development of culture in every direction, that it is hardly possible to believe that only ninety years had elapsed since Petrarch died, yearning for the unattainable knowledge of the ancient world which was now beginning to flood every corner of Italy. The Subbiaco press was speedily transferred to Rome; in 1466 another was established in Venice. Bernardo Cennini, the first great printer of Italian extraction, set up his press at Florence in 1471, and before the next year was out had presented the learned world with a complete edition of Virgil. Before 1500 there were fifty Italian towns that possessed local printing presses, and it is estimated that no less than 4987 books had been printed in Italy. At the head of this marvellous industry stood Venice, the centre of the busy trade in books. It is not, perhaps, instantly perceived how beneficial this activity was to the true interests of learning. Not only were the classics by this means placed beyond the danger of accidental destruction, but a new spirit of criticism was created by the unfamiliar labours of publishing. It was not enough to copy a

single MS. with scrupulous care, as had been thought enough before. It was necessary, in editing a classic for the first time, to make a careful collation of the best existing codices, to master the contents of the volume, to trace the thread of meaning through passages corrupt or obscure, and, in short, to inaugurate the analytical labours of modern philologists. This was a work undreamed of by Filelpho as he fluently generalised on Cicero from his pulpit at Florence, unknown to Pontanus as he polished his trim hexameters in patient imitation of Ovid. The early men of the Renaissance, intoxicated with the novelty and beauty of classic ideas and antique imagery, had not thought to trouble themselves about nice distinctions of grammar and a scholiast's intricate analysis of language. But when the first glow of enthusiasm faded, this was the labour which attracted the best scholars. Of all the great printers, who were at once Humanists and publishers, there is none who left so strong a stamp of individuality behind him as the man who loved to sign his exquisite volumes *Aldus Pius Munutius Romanus et Philhellen*. His original name was Teobaldo Mannucci, and he was born at Serrmoneta in 1450. His early life was one of learned ease and retirement sufficiently unlike the restless and fatiguing labours to which he was afterwards fated. The guest and friend of the noble Pico della Mirandola, he studied Greek with him in his palace under a Cretan professor, Emmanuel Adramyntenos. Eventually he became the tutor of Pico's nephews; and one of these, Alberto Pio, to whom the great publisher afterwards dedicated his magnificent edition of Aristotle, supplied him with funds to set up a printing press. In 1476 the first Greek book had been issued from a press at Milan, and in 1480 a very uncritical Theocritus made its appearance. The first really excellent Greek book published in Italy was Lorenzo Alopa's Florentine Homer, in 1488. This was really all of any value that had been done to perpetuate Greek literature when Aldus, in 1490, settled in Venice, and collected scholars and compositors around him. His house became a nucleus of Greek learning, and indeed it would seem that the whole business was carried on in the Greek language, and by exiles from the ruins of the Eastern Empire. The directions to printers and binders are entirely in that language, and accordingly it is judged that Aldus, in order to succeed thoroughly in his great enterprise, steeped himself entirely in the language that he loved; his very prefaces were in Greek. The work, began about 1493, went on almost without a pause for more than twenty years; during that time there were issued from the Aldine press no less than thirty-three first editions of all the greatest and most voluminous Greek authors. Of these, a few may be recorded here. The list began with Musæus in 1493

and Theocritus in 1495; Aristotle followed, a splendid edition in four volumes, which occupied the years 1495 to 1498. In the last-mentioned year Aldus was assisted by Musurus in bringing out all that was then known of Aristophanes, the "*Lysistrata*" and the "*Thesmophoriazuse*" being not yet discovered. Thucydides, Sophocles, and Herodotus followed in 1502, Xenophon and Euripides in 1503, and Demosthenes in 1504. The Greek orators occupied 1508, and Plutarch 1509; Plato appeared in 1513, and Pindar in 1514. Thus, just one hundred years after the first professor of Greek arrived in Florence, bearing the precious secrets of literature with him, the greater part of antique letters was at the service of the humblest of Italian scholars. For nothing is more remarkable than the public spirit and munificence of the first and greatest of publishers. In spite of the exquisite art of Aldus, in spite of his manifold expenses, risks, and difficulties, he contrived to circulate his really luxurious editions at a price that seems nominal. The Musæus cost less than one shilling of our money, and the Theocritus less than two; all five volumes of the vast edition of Aristotle could be purchased for about £8. When we realise that everything had to be invented, and that Aldus inherited no experience from past workmen; that the very type had to be cut from handwriting, the italic type from that of Petrarch, the Greek from that of Musurus; that the publishing-house had to become a sort of college of scholars, all dependent on the unwearied head, our wonder is excited at the greatness of this unique man, whose energies were constantly thwarted and his designs paralysed by the waves of war that deluged Italy again and again. He persevered, and his disciples continued his labours; the monuments of ancient prose and verse were placed beyond the fear of destruction or loss. In 1515 Aldus Manutius died.

The domination of Latin was now very nearly at its close. The "apes of Cicero," as Erasmus called the Humanists, had expended all the graces of their frigid style upon public themes, until common-sense was lost, and the human mind looked to the vernacular for an intelligible expression. Education in the classics had become universal; every monastery in the Roman world had been ransacked for MSS., and the category of ancient literature, as we possess it, was very nearly completed. The early opposition of the Church, which had only given a stimulus to the practice of polite letters, was entirely withdrawn. Popes vied with one another in cultivating to its fullest extent the Neopagan and sensuous cult of the antique Muses. The arts of painting and sculpture, actuated by wholly heathen impulses, found their warmest patrons among the clergy, and the last school of good Latinists numbered many prelates among its

ranks. With a brief mention of the poets of this final period of Humanism, we will leave the reader to follow the subject to its close in Mr. Symonds's pages. In the last decades of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, writers of classic verse swarmed in every city of Italy. Valeriano, in his work on "The Misfortunes of Authors," names an amazing number of poets who were tortured to death or killed or ruined in the sack of Rome alone; and these were but a few of the verse writers of a single city. These poetasters, however, enjoyed only the most ephemeral reputation, fortunate if the best of their productions happen to be buried in the recesses of the "Corpus Poetarum Latinorum." But towards the end of the fifteenth century, there were born in the North of Italy several men who redeemed the last days of Humanism from the dreary monotony and sterile pedantry of the scholars of the decadence. They form a pleasant idyllic group at the outskirts of decaying taste and universal mediocrity. A little volume that lies before us at the present moment, "*Carmina Quinque Illustrium Poetarum*," printed at Venice in 1548, enshrines most of what was truly inspired and worth preservation in the verse of the last epoch of Italian learning. Bembo stands first in this gracious assemblage; he is followed by Naugerius, Castiglione, Cotta, and M. A. Flaminius. In Bembo's happiest elegies he seems, at least to an unpractised ear, to approach to no great distance from Tibullus. Elegant, tender, and sometimes musical, the cadence of hexameter and pentameter falls pleasantly around autumn fancies that are often very graceful and pictorial. We pass, however, with pleasure to Naugerius, the favourite poet of the French writers of the Renaissance, and the author of an "Acon" and an "Iolas" that are warm with poetic life after more than three centuries of neglect and oblivion. Flaminius prophesied that these verses of Naugerius would last as many years as there are flowers in spring or grapes in autumn. Alas! for the vanity of poets' predictions. Not even the purity and originality of Flaminius's own verses have preserved them a place in the world's memory. Of all these late Latinists, M. A. Flaminius was the most charming. There is nothing perfervid, nothing forced or sensual, in his exquisite delineations of nature. Through his imitations of Catullus there breathes the spirit of Wordsworth; and while others were pandering to the luxury and infamy of the Roman court, this poet was singing, in the most artless cadences, of the pleasures of life upon his rural farm. With this delicate music out of Lombardy we are glad to close our survey of the revival and the abuse of learning. In a few years more all true scholarship had followed Alexander,

its first herald, across the Alps, to circulate in a freer atmosphere.

At a time when the question is often mooted whether it might not be desirable to omit the classical languages almost entirely from the usual educational curriculum, it is certainly interesting to review the forgotten chapter of the history of civilisation which we have here briefly sketched. It is not likely that the peculiar intensity of enthusiasm can ever be rekindled over the poets and orators of antiquity. The only possible counterpart to the feeling of the Humanists of the fifteenth century would be experienced if culture were once more, as in the Middle Ages, to fall into a complete slumber for centuries. Then it is conceivable that those who should bring back to the reading world such buried treasures as Dante and Shakespeare, Machiavelli and Bacon, might be heralded with the same joy that greeted the Cretans and Byzantines who arrived in Italy laden with the classics. But such a contingency is in the highest degree improbable, and merely to state it seems fantastic. We may consider the revival of learning, then, as a unique moment in the progress of the world, and as such it is highly worthy of attention. The efflorescence, the youthful buoyancy and energy of the period, the vehement individuality of its characteristic men, are almost unrivalled in the chronicles of literature. In spite of all the brilliant labours of these indefatigable men, however, it is plain that their function was rather to be forerunners than actors in the great progress of human thought. It was not in Latin or in Greek, though polished as that of Bembo or of Poliziano, that the living ideas of modern life were to be clothed. But the Humanists wove the raiment in which the vigorous body of European philosophy and imagination was presented to the world; they were the fashioners of phrase, the artificers of style; it was they whose labours proved the necessity of form and shapeliness to ensure the vitality of literature. Nor, if we follow the classic writers less familiarly and less lovingly than they, are we in truth any more able to dispense with the glorious legacy of antique letters than the academicians and Neo-platonists of three centuries ago.

There is a story, which Mr. Symonds quotes from Infessura, which illustrates in a very felicitous way the temper in which the men of the Renaissance contemplated antiquity, and throws not a little light on the spirit of that age.

“On the 18th of April 1435, a report circulated in Rome that some Lombard workmen had discovered a Roman sarcophagus while digging in the Appian Way. It was a marble tomb, engraved with the inscription, ‘Julia, Daughter of Claudius,’ and inside the coffer lay the body

of a most beautiful girl of fifteen years, preserved by precious unguents from corruption and the injury of time. The bloom of youth was still upon her cheeks and lips ; her eyes and mouth were half-open ; her long hair floated round her shoulders. She was instantly removed, so goes the legend, to the Capitol ; and then began a procession of pilgrims from all the quarters of Rome to gaze upon this saint of the old Pagan world. In the eyes of those enthusiastic worshippers, her beauty was beyond imagination or description ; she was far fairer than any woman of the modern age could hope to be. At last, Innocent VIII. feared lest the orthodox faith should suffer by this new cult of a heathen corpse. Julia was buried secretly and at night by his direction, and naught remained in the Capitol but her empty marble coffin."

This pretty legend is told by several historians, and probably had some foundation in fact. There was at least nothing incredible in the enthusiasm described. Just in the same way as the pilgrims gathered round the coffin of Julia did the scholars watch with breathless delight the exhumation of the beautiful body of ancient literature, and they were in equal danger of forgetting in the new religion the old landmarks of faith and temperance. Into all this Mr. Symonds goes very minutely, and draws his instances from art and statecraft as well as from classic attainment. We have no space to follow him, and we are obliged to close with scarcely more than a passing reference to his volume on the Fine Arts. It would scarcely be possible to consider this latter work critically without a more minute examination than we are able to find room for. Mr. Symonds cultivates in these volumes a more chastened style than in some of his earlier works ; still fluent and brilliant, his writing is not so over-ornamental as it was. There is, however, room, both in matter and manner, for the curbing exercise of a sober judgment.

ART. IV.—THE SUPERNATURAL ELEMENT IN SHAKESPEARE. .

"POETRY," says Lord Bacon in his "Advancement of Learning," "is nothing else but feigned history, the use of which hath been to give some shadow of satisfaction to the mind of man in those points wherein the nature of things doth deny it, the world being in proportion inferior to the soul; by reason whereof there is, agreeable to the spirit of man, a more ample greatness, a more exact goodness, and a more absolute variety, than can be found in the nature of things." In thus setting forth, by means of the imagination, actions more heroical, a retribution more just, and events more novel and surprising, than belong to true history, "poesy serveth and conferreth to magnanimity, morality, and delectation."

This *ideal* character of poetry, which is singled out by the great natural philosopher as its proper "note," is also a favourite theme with his famous contemporary Sir Philip Sidney in his "Apology for Poetry." "Nature never set forth the earth in so rich tapestry as divers poets have done, neither with pleasant rivers, fruitful trees, sweet-smelling flowers, nor whatsoever else may make the too-much-loved earth more lovely. Her world is brazen; the poets only deliver a golden!" exclaims the courtly and eloquent pleader, half-jesting at his own enthusiasm on behalf of his "unelected vocation." Yet, while he thus presses the claim of the poet to the name given to him in Greece and England of a *maker* or inventor, Sidney does not forget the necessity of that foundation of truth upon which Fancy is to raise her airy structures. He cites with approval Aristotle's definition of poetry as an "art of imitation," though "the right poets," he says, imitate nothing that is, or was, or shall be, but "that unspeakable and everlasting beauty which is only to be seen with the eyes of the mind."

The harmony of these two opposite yet mutually indispensable principles, imitation and invention, the real and the ideal, is that which constitutes a work of art; and it is the end and aim of the Supernatural Element in Shakespeare.

Supernatural agencies,* that is to say, intelligent and rational beings who are either not human, or, if human, are conceived as existing under conditions which are not those of our natural life, appear in four of the plays of Shakespeare—plays which are gene-

* The ghost in "Julius Cæsar," and the dream-apparitions in Richard III., are not introduced as characters of the drama, nor have they any positive influence over its action.

rally held to display the full perfection of his genius—the comedies of “A Midsummer Night’s Dream” and the “Tempest,” and the tragedies of “Hamlet” and “Macbeth.” It becomes, therefore, a matter of some interest to discuss the significance of this feature which they possess in common, and to ascertain the poetic end which it may serve. If the explanation already hazarded be correct, it will not be difficult to show that this introduction of the supernatural, whether in the form of the fairies of “A Midsummer Night’s Dream,” the witches and demons of “Macbeth,” the ghost in “Hamlet,” or the airy spirit and half-human monster of the “Tempest,” has the twofold effect of *adding a new element of reality to the work, while at the same time it heightens its ideal character.*

In the first place, *it adds to its reality.* Poetic truth is subjective, not objective; and these fictions, however they may be glorified by a poet’s fancy, are founded on fact—a fact all-important in art, though not in science—the fact of *being believed.* No one can write a fairy tale now, because no one believes in the fairies, consequently a modern fairy tale is either a veiled satire, a scientific lecture in disguise, or a moral allegory, where we cannot settle down comfortably with a good old-fashioned dragon or enchanter without finding that he “means” some depressing abstraction in *ism* or *ation*, or some equally dreary principle in chemistry or mechanics. To be entrapped into learning when we expected amusement is a thing to be resented by every well-regulated mind; and most readers of the elder generation can remember the disappointment of their youthful days occasioned by a certain tale of magic in Madame de Genlis’s “Veillées du Château,” in which all the delightful marvels turn out in the end to be “facts explainable by natural causes!”

But the fairies were still believed in by the simple country folks in the days of Shakespeare, as they were forty years afterwards in the days of Milton, when it was one of the amusements of a village festival to tell at summer eve “how Fairy Mab the junkets eat”—as they were, up to the close of the last century, in Devonshire, where a shady cavern is still shown on the wooded bank of the River Otter, dedicated, under the name of the Pixies’ Parlour, to those

“Whom the untaught shepherds call
Pixies in their madrigal.”

The word *fairy* is derived through Italian and French from the Latin *Fata*, the fates or goddesses of destiny—Clotho, who spins the thread of life; Atropos, who cuts it; and Lachesis or Fortune, who disposes of human lots. These awful personages bear but little resemblance to Oberon and Titania with their

jocund train, which is not really surprising ; for the fairies of rustic England, though bearing a classic name, are the direct descendants of the elves of Teutonic and Scandinavian mythology, a race of beings inhabiting the woods and meadows, of diminutive stature, but formidable powers, sometimes hostile and sometimes friendly to man. This belief was brought over to our island by the Saxon and Danish invaders as a part of their religion, and continued after their conversion to flourish as a popular tradition, side by side with the creed of Christendom, unreconciled and uncontradicted.

The idea of Ariel in the "Tempest" will best be understood by a reference to the elemental spirits or intelligences presiding over the realms of Earth, Air, Water, and Fire, whose existence and attributes formed a favourite speculation with Greek philosophers and mediæval sages. "Milton's Penseroso," when in his midnight studies he unspheres the spirit of Plato, reads—

"Of those demons that are found
In fire, air, flood, or under ground ;
Whose power hath a true consent
With planet or with element."

The Ariel of Shakespeare, however, is never a mere impersonation of the powers of nature ; for as, on the one hand, he rises in the service of man into the higher character of a minister of destiny, so, on the other, he descends, when his task is ended, into the familiar fairy of our Northern folklore, who lurks in the cowslip and flies on the bat's back

"After sunset, merrily."

An extreme credulity and curiosity about extraordinary sights and strange physical phenomena has often been noticed as a foible of the English people. This disposition, which was naturally much increased by the wonderful geographical discoveries of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, is good-humouredly satirised by Shakespeare in the "Tempest," a play produced during a season of public excitement occasioned by the shipwreck of Sir George Somers in 1609 on the stormy and desolate coast of Bermuda, "the still-vext Bermoothes." "Were I in England now, as once I was, and had but this fish painted," says Stephano the Neapolitan, when he finds Caliban on the sea-shore, "not a holiday fool there but would give a piece of silver ; when they will not give a doit to relieve a lame beggar, they will lay out ten to see a dead Indian."

Ignorant wonder, or the habit of caring for things not because they are beautiful or because they are useful, but because they are odd, has ever seemed a mark of barbarism to men of an artistic race. Ben Jonson, though full of admiration for the

"Sweet Swan of Avon," could not resist a sly hit at his brother playwright for what he was pleased to consider his encouragement of a foolish taste. "If there be never a *servant-monster* in the fair, who can help it?" he asks in the introduction to "Bartholomew Fair." The author of the "Tempest," had he cared to defend his invention, might have answered in the words of the philosophical Prince of Denmark, that such representations, whatever else might be thought of them, were certainly not "from the purpose of playing, which is to show Virtue her own feature, Scorn his own image, and the very age and body of the Time his form and pressure."

Those portentous figures which meet us in the tragedies of "Hamlet" and "Macbeth," and cast their lurid light over the scene, wear an aspect, in some points, more like a grave reality. Sorcery and divination—unhallowed communications with the unseen world—the return of the spirits of the dead to the abodes of the living, with messages of warning or revenge,—these are ideas not national and local, but human and universal, deriving their authority, if not their origin, from the fact of conscience, the faith in immortality, and the conviction of a judgment to come. Perverted as they are in their developments, and pernicious in their effects, these superstitions, and the tales connected with them, do yet come "in such a questionable shape," that many even nowadays would rather speak of them as unproved and unprovable, than as groundless and false. Be that as it may, it will be sufficient to point out that the nearer approach (though but apparent) which they make to the character of authentic history, is well suited to the dignity of the Tragic Muse. And thus it has been shown that the marvellous incidents and mysterious beings (whether light and joyous or sombre and terrible) introduced into the Shakespearian Drama, are in strict accordance with the realistic principle or principle of imitation, since they are *imitations of superstitious narratives sometime received as true*.

In the second place, *the supernatural element in the plays of Shakespeare heightens their ideal character*. The idea of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" is Mutability, the changeableness and unstable character of human hopes, feelings, and desires. In Demetrius we have the portrait of an inconstant man, and one which is none the less true and natural because the figure is placed in remote scenery and in a mythical age. Betrothed with the consent of her friends to "old Nedar's daughter Helena," he secretly wearies of her submissive and confiding affection; his course of love is running too smooth, and his restless temperament requires the stimulus of opposition and the excitement of a chase. While thus ready for change, his fancy is caught

by the more brilliant beauty and livelier manners of Hermia, Helena's school friend and companion, who, however, is attached to the young Lysander, and receives his addresses with indifference, if not with disdain. Undeterred by this repulse, Demetrius seeks opportunities of ingratiating himself with Egeus, Hermia's imperious and hot-tempered father, who favours the suit of the more politic (and perhaps more wealthy) admirer, and endeavours to force his daughter into an unwelcome alliance.

This is the state of affairs at the opening of the play. • May we venture for a moment to fancy the story finished as if it were a novel of the nineteenth century, instead of a romantic drama of the sixteenth, and something in this fashion ?

The pair of true lovers, Lysander and Hermia, finding that matters have reached a desperate crisis, resolve to seek their happiness in flight and a stolen marriage. Hermia confides the project to her friend, who, blinded by an idolising affection which no unkindness can destroy, betrays the secret to her former lover. Demetrius is about to take measures to hinder the success of the scheme, but at this juncture a fresh complication occurs. A youthful wooer is suddenly seen in the train of the desponding and forsaken Helena, who declares himself for ever hers, and whose tender declarations might well tempt her to forget her old love. Demetrius hears of it, of course, with strange new sensations of surprise, displeasure, and alarm. Jealousy awakens a love which was not dead, but sleeping, and is unconsciously aided by that deference to public opinion which leads most men to think more highly of the merits that are esteemed by others. Casting his recent fancy to the winds, he seeks, somewhat too boldly, to resume his old allegiance, but is received at first with becoming coolness and distrust. His probation, however, does not last long, for the gentle and generous Helena is only too ready to forgive his error, and to believe him when he tells her that his love to Hermia—

“Melted as doth the snow, seems to him now
As the remembrance of an idle gawd
Which in his childhood he did dote upon ;
And all the faith and virtue of his heart,
The object and the pleasure of his eye,
Is only Helena.”

Now it will, of course, be obvious, that this is, after all, no imaginary conclusion, but contains the very incidents of that portion of the play that concerns the loves of Demetrius and Helena, only under a prosaic disguise. The sudden revival of his early affection in the fickle heart of Demetrius, following hard upon the appearance of a rival, and treated as “mockery” by the indignant maid, are alike in both versions ; here are the

palpable facts, the solid foundation of truth and nature, without which no tale of human life (even though it be a fairy tale) can command our interest and attention.

But let us see how this plain looking-glass of prose, in which we view the goings on of the work-a-day world, changes in the poet's hand into an enchanted mirror, where the single object is reflected, with many a dazzling gleam of mirthful fancy, with many a bewildering yet delightful repetition.

Shakespeare transports his lovers into "fairyland;" where the ebb and flow of youthful feeling (which on our dull earth would need weeks, or at least days, to develop) can run its fleeting course in a midsummer night, the shortest of the year; and where the new influences by which the characters are moved and affected, instead of being separate and unconnected, as they would be in real life, are all interwoven in mutual reaction, so as to increase the comic perplexities of the scene. Thus the fairy machinery serves to the "delectation" of the spectator, by giving rise to a "more absolute variety" than would be attainable without it; for he sees even the faithful Lysander compelled by the witchery of the charmed flower to exhibit a fantastic repetition of Demetrius's wilful inconstancy, and play the part of lover to Helena; while the fascinating Hermia is for a while deserted by both her swains for the sake of the once solitary Helen. The confusion and delusion spread even among the higher powers of the magic realm! The fairy king, who aspired to act as a mimic providence over the affairs of mortals, finds that he has only succeeded in setting things wrong that were right enough before. The fairy queen, whom we are to imagine as the very flower of grace and loveliness, the sparkling embodiment of wit and wisdom, astonishes her loyal subjects by a vagary which is of course quite unheard of out of Fairy Land:—Titania falls in love with an ass!

This arch spirit of satire, which animates the poetic imagery of "A Midsummer Night's Dream," is not, however, its most prominent characteristic. The rod in the poet's hand is so wreathed in flowers, that its stroke cannot be very formidable; and should any more sensitive members of the audience suspect that their faults or follies have been laughingly hinted at, there is an apt and ample apology to be offered by Robin Goodfellow at the close—

"If we shadows have offended,
Think but this (and all is mended),
That you have but slumbered here
While these visions did appear;
And this weak and idle theme,
No more yielding, but a dream.
Gentles, do not reprehend;
If you pardon, we will mend."

In the "Tempest," on the other hand, which is composed in a more serious mood than "A Midsummer Night's Dream," the moral element is conspicuous. The idea of the "Tempest" is Retribution, an outward and visible correspondence between the law and the sentence, "that writing on the wall" which, as Bacon finely says, "is often so obscure as to be scarce legible even to those that behold it from the sanctuary, but sometimes is written in such text and capital letters that he that runs may read it." This more exact apportionment of temporal rewards and punishments, which we call poetic justice, is the proper theme of comedy. Tragedy, taking a deeper and truer view of the destiny of man, can bear without dismay, though not without sorrow—

"To see Wretchedness o'ercharged,
And Duty in his service perishing."

The fairies of "A Midsummer Night's Dream" are merely traditional; we are interested in them for the sake of the poor foolish mortals whom they help or hinder, but in themselves they are light and unsubstantial, "as the gay motes that people the sunbeam."

It is otherwise with the supernatural or preternatural characters of the "Tempest" (a work produced sixteen years later, in Shakespeare's most intellectual period), which bear traces of moral and philosophical speculation that will repay an attentive scrutiny.

Man, it has been said, is a microcosm, a little world, whose features have their counterparts in the macrocosmos or great world of nature. Ariel, the spirit of the air, symbolises whatever in nature is musical and ethereal, forceful and vivid, the wave, the breeze, and the flame. Caliban typifies that which, both in nature and in man, is the sluggish and the deathly, the foul and the fierce, the creeping miasma, the poisonous reptile, as well as that worser half of human nature which, if looked at alone, without the "better things that accompany salvation," has turned thoughtful minds in every age into self-haters or man-haters, ascetics or misanthropists. These evil qualities have been held up to our abhorrence by Swift in his detestable Yahoo. But Swift's bitter invective provokes an indignant protest on behalf of the humanity which he traduced, while Shakespeare, by showing their hateful likeness in a creature possessed of speech and understanding, yet in other respects more than half beast, conveys more effectively the solemn warning—

"To let the *man* be more and more,
And let the *beast* and *tiger* die."

To what does the "delicate spirit" Ariel correspond in the

intellectual world of man? We answer, to the "shaping spirit of Imagination," which is in itself neither good nor evil, and which claims, as the prime necessity of its being, the *right to be free as air*. But when yielding, though half-reluctant, to the dominion of the will of man, like Ariel submitting to the control of Prospero, it does him worthy service. As the minister of reason, armed with the wand of experiment and the magic book of science, it leads the way to that knowledge which is power—power to employ the forces of nature through a knowledge of her laws. As minister of the conscience and the affections, this mysterious faculty plays a part which, though outwardly less friendly, is not really less useful to man.

"The terrors of imagination resemble those of adversity—

"Whose iron scourge and torturing hour
The bad affright, afflict the best."

Ferdinand, the type of knightly honour, *sans peur et sans reproche*, is "afflicted" by the mysterious and dirge-like music that greets him in the lonely isle.

"This ditty does remember my drowned father!" he mournfully exclaims, while imagination deludes him with sounds that are but the echo of his own apprehensions. We know, however, that the "torturing hour" of fancied sorrow will soon be past, and that the invisible singer is really his guide into the presence of love and joy.

But the "men of sin," the tyrant, the usurper, and the conspirator, whom Providence has brought across the seas to meet their doom, to them imagination comes in the awful form of an avenger.

"I have made you mad," says the stern angel of destiny to the guilty three. And when, in impotent rage, they draw their swords, he addresses them in a tone of lofty scorn, not unmingled with pity—

"You fools! I and my fellows
Are ministers of fate : the elements,
Of whom your swords are tempered, may as well
Wound the loud winds, or with bemocked-at stabs
Kill the still-closing waters, as diminish
One dowe that's in my plume : my fellow ministers
Are like invulnerable. If you could hurt,
Your swords are now too massy for your strengths,
And will not be uplifted. But, remember,
(For that's my business to you) that you three
From Milan did supplant good Prospero ;
Exposed unto the sea (which hath requit it)
Him and his innocent child, for which foul deed
The powers, delaying, not forgetting, have
Incensed the seas and shores, yea, all the creatures,

Against your peace. Thee, of thy sor, Alonso,
They have bereft ; and do pronounce, by me,
Lingering perdition (worse than any death
Can be at once) shall step by step attend
You and your ways ; whose wraths to guard you from
(Which here in this most desolate isle, else falls
Upon your heads) is nothing but heart's sorrow
And a clear life ensuing."

The threats and promises are alike to all, but of this "heart's sorrow," which is required as the condition of pardon, only one proves capable.

"O it is monstrous !"

cried the unhappy King.

"Methought the billows spoke and told me of it ;
The winds did sing it to me ; and the thunder—
That deep and dreadful organ-pipe, pronounced
The name of Prosper ; it did bass my trespass.
Therefore my son i' the ooze is bedded."

Nature and grief alike bring the saving knowledge of truth to one who, though deeply stained with crime, is yet a living soul. No such hope of repentance is possible to the wicked Antonio and the weak Sebastian, who treat the merciful warning of destiny as the challenge of "a fiend," to be accepted with the valour of a suicide.

It seems almost presumptuous to attempt thus peremptorily to define the end and aim of works like "Macbeth" and "Hamlet," works of manifold and complicated interest, which have long engaged the attention of the most acute and profound thinkers. Without venturing to point a moral where the poet may have left it intentionally obscure, we cannot surely do amiss to consider, in the first place, what is the main impression left on our minds by the play as a whole, and then to inquire whether that impression corresponds with the thought that recurs most frequently and emphatically in the speeches of the principal character.

"To be weak is miserable,
Doing or suffering,"

says the fallen cherub in "Paradise Lost." The sense of being "overcharged," bound to carry a weight too heavy for us, called by duty to a task for which we feel ourselves unfit, this is what fills many an outwardly prosperous existence with silent and unsuspected misery. And this fact of human life rests upon a truth of human nature—a truth expressed with French point and neatness in the well-known line—

"Le ciel nous vend toujours les biens qu'il nous prodigue."

Great gifts are sold, not given; the excess in one direction is balanced by a corresponding deficiency in another. More especially does this law hold good of the opposite poles of the intellect and the will: The practical and speculative faculties are unequally yoked together in most persons; and this inevitable disproportion leads to many an inconsistency, which would be more mercifully judged were its cause perceived more clearly. *Knowing* a thing is very different from *doing* it. Critics of poetry are seldom good poets; moralists are not always virtuous, nor are theologians always devout.

The legendary Hamlet of Saxo Grammaticus, whose father's brother succeeds to the throne of Denmark under the suspicious circumstances of the King in Shakespeare, learns through some *ordinary* channel of information that there has been foul play in the matter. He escapes to England, returns with an English army at his back, slays his uncle, makes an oration to the Danes, and is elected King. This is precisely the course adopted by the young Prince Malcolm in Macbeth after the murder of Duncan; and it is plain that these or similar incidents would afford materials for a spirited drama. But it would be literally "the play of 'Hamlet' with the part of Hamlet left out."

There is another thing left out in the Chronicle which we find in the tragedy—the *Spirit of the royal Dane*. What can we imagine more likely to prolong the agony of indecision, to paralyse the will, and render the act of righteous vengeance (which is to Hamlet both an acknowledged duty and a passionate desire) well-nigh impossible, than this which actually happens to him,—his receiving the dark secret through an experience which, while deeply agitating to the feelings, is inconceivable to the reason, and which therefore only raises "obstinate questioning" to which it supplies no answer?—

"That undiscovered country, from whose bourne
No traveller returns."

Could Hamlet ever for an instant have *forgotten* that form "so majestical," that haunted the platform of Elsinore? When he spoke these words, it was not in forgetfulness, but in doubt. Thus conscience (or consciousness, as the word meant then) does make cowards of us all—

"And thus the native hue of resolution
Is sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought,
And enterprises of great pith and moment,
With this regard, their currents turn aside,
And lose the name of action."

According to one theory, though not the latest, "Macbeth" and the "Tempest" were written within a few months of each

other, in the spring and autumn of the year 1610; and, if that be true, it may possibly account for a certain resemblance between the two, though it is but the resemblance of a landscape seen under the gleam and showers of a breezy April morning to a similar scene amidst the alternate gloom and glare of a thunder-storm.

The force of imagination is alike conspicuous in the comedy and in the tragedy. But in the former it is a beneficent genius, bringing transgressors to repentance by salutary terrors, and charming the young and innocent with "masque and antique pageantry," where Juno and Ceres are seen conferring blessings of the heaven above and the earth beneath upon the happy bridal pair. In the latter, imagination, in bondage to an evil power, is the tempter who entices man to sin, and the fury who avenges it.

The tragedy of "Macbeth" is no mere tale of guilty ambition, or picture of the torments of remorse; these things form indeed the material substance of the play, but they are not its most characteristic feature.

"And be these juggling fiends no more believed,
That palter with us in a double sense,
That keep the word of promise to our ear,
And break it to our hope."

This is the lesson which Macbeth himself teaches us as the moral of his fall; and it is a warning against that perversion of the imaginative part of our nature which is the very essence of superstition.

The abuse of imagination in religion is idolatry or image-worship, the craving to represent that which eye hath not seen under images derived from the senses—a craving which was obeyed without misgiving in heathen worship, and which led directly, by an obvious connection of cause and effect, to the most frightful moral corruption. And closely akin to idolatry was "the sin of witchcraft," in its outward form a delusion, but in its inward principle an evidence of spiritual infidelity.

"Seek ye unto them that have familiar spirits, unto wizards that peep and that mutter? Should not a people seek unto their God?" So spake Isaiah of old to backsliding Judah. It is this longing to lift the veil of futurity, to walk by sight and not by faith—that faith which means trust in a Creator's wisdom and a Father's love—which led God's chosen people to forsake their Redeemer for the dark spells of the heathen around them. And it was this same temptation that beset the victorious Scottish general on the lonely heath of Forres.

"When shall we three meet again?" "Who are these three,"
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"so withered and so wild in their attire," "like creatures of an elder world"? No mere mortals, we know, though they wear the garb and speak the language of the witches of popular superstition, and that with such accuracy of imitation, that much of the strange dialogue cannot be understood without an acquaintance with the mediæval notions about witchcraft. These are the Weird Sisters, the fates or goddesses of destiny, answering to the three divisions of time, the past, the present, and the future.

"All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Glamis!
 All hail, Macbeth! hail to thee, Thane of Cawdor!
 All hail, Macbeth! that shalt be king hereafter."

The virtuous Banquo has his prophetic message as well as the brave Macbeth.

Mac. Your children shall be kings!
Ban. You shall be king!

the two men exclaim to each other in equal wonderment. But the knowledge of the "hereafter," dropped like an evil seed by the hand of fate, lies dormant and therefore harmless in the memory of the upright Banquo. He does not suffer it to possess his imagination and harden his heart.

Both these results are attained with fearful rapidity when the evil seed falls in a congenial soil. How quickly does the high-souled warrior sink, under temptation, into the midnight murderer, the bloodthirsty tyrant, and the treacherous friend!

And now as he wades deeper and deeper in blood, and sees the shades of the prison-house closing around his soul, he seeks the weird sisters in their dark cavern, to gain more of that knowledge which has been his bane.

"More shall they speak, for I am bent to know,
 By the worst means, the worst."

To see, to hear, with his own eyes and ears, and thus "to be satisfied," this is his demand, and it is granted. The infernal powers, whom he has served so well, permit him, in answer to his imperious entreaty, to see what he cannot perceive, and to hear what he cannot understand.

He sees the apparitions of an "armed head" (as of one slain in battle), of a "bloody child," of a "child crowned, with a tree in his hand." And he knows not that these strange visions, which hover over the cauldron in the witches' cavern, are the three actors in the final scene of his own history—Macbeth the Usurper, Macduff the Avenger, and Malcolm the King.

He hears mysterious "bodements," which lead him in blind and frantic confidence to—

"Spurn fate, scorn death, and bear
His hopes 'bove wisdom, grace, and fear ;"

till, in his dying day, he learns too late that these are but the equivocation of the fiend "that lies like truth."

Thus the Supernatural Element interprets the idea of Tragedy, by rendering it "greater and more heroical," and enabling the Poet to display the form of humanity on a grander scale, surrounded by an "ampler ether, a diviner air." In Comedy of the more serious type, which appeals to the moral sense, it aids in a "retribution more exact;" while it enhances the charm of purely Romantic Fiction by imparting to it, in a higher degree, the incidents of chance and change. And thus it subverts the main purpose and end of Poesy, by "conferring to magnanimity, morality, and delectation."

ART. V.—SIR JOHN BOWRING.

Autobiographical Recollections of Sir John Bowring, with a Brief Memoir. By LEWIN B. BOWRING. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

IT would be a slight to the memory of a distinguished man—even if he had not been connected with the "Westminster Review"—if we were to allow this book to pass unnoticed; but as Sir John Bowring stood to us in the relation of one of our first editors, and was long one of our contributors, it would be ungrateful and unjust not to avail ourselves of the opportunity offered by the publication of this volume to pay a tribute to the memory and the services of our lost friend and fellow-labourer.

Were Paris on earth again, and compelled to decide, not the conflicting claims of rival beauties, but whether this memoir or that of Lord Abinger, reviewed in our last number, is the worst executed, he would be as much puzzled as on the memorable occasion on which he was before called on to exercise the functions of the judicial office.

Mr. Scarlett candidly headed ignorance as the cause of his inability to write a proper memoir of his father as an advocate

and a judge; Mr. Bowring has even worse disqualifications for the work of a biographer, for with candour equal to that of Mr. Scarlett he avows that he has no sympathy with many of his father's religious and political opinions.

Now as Sir John Bowring was nothing if not a politician, and his firm adherence to the last to the small and despised Church to which he belonged from his youth was one of his leading characteristics, a biographer out of sympathy with both his political and religious faith cannot fail to produce an unsatisfactory biography. This book is composed on the same plan as Mr. Scarlett's memoir of his father. There is first a skeleton memoir of Sir John Bowring, from which the reader learns little or nothing, followed by a series of autobiographical recollections of his early and of his later life, written by Sir John at sundry times and in divers manners, and notes of travel, and sketches or anecdotes of public men. These papers are throughout superficial, and in many places redundant. In some cases the dates given in the "Recollections" cannot be reconciled with those given for the same events in the memoir. Their extreme desultoriness shows they never had the benefit of their author's revision, nor were they arranged by him for publication—*e.g.*, in the sketches of various celebrities, under the head "Lamartine," we find the history of the negotiations for a treaty of commerce with France of 1830–31, which had been told before,* and some statistics as to the wine trade. While Lamartine is dismissed in something less than a page, the testimony borne to his merits is, however, remarkably strong. "Examples," writes Bowring, "are not rare in France where men of letters are leading actors in the field of political strife; among the most illustrious will Lamartine be ranked" (pp. 374, 375).

By clothing Mr. Bowring's skeleton memoir with integuments taken from his father's "Recollections," we will endeavour to give a connected though brief sketch of Sir John Bowring's busy and useful life.

John Bowring, the descendant of a Devonshire yeoman's family, was born on the 17th October 1792, at Exeter, which is well called the "Mecca of Unitarianism." The family might have taken for their motto Burke's well-known description of the New Englanders: "The dissidence of Dissent and the protestantism of the Protestant religion;" for in the reign of James I. the then Bishop of Exeter denounced to the Archbishop of Canterbury a "turbulent and unmanageable Nonconformist," named John Bowring, from whom Sir John was directly descended. Bishop Philpotts, who presided over the Diocese of Exeter for the greater

* *Comp. Recollections*, 371–374, with p. 260.

part of Sir John Bowring's public life, would have described the descendant in the terms applied to the forefather by the Bishop's predecessor.

Again, Sir John treasured amongst his family records a license granted in the reign of William and Mary to another John Bowring, also one of his forefathers, authorising him to use his house at Chulmleigh for the purpose of religious worship. From 1670 to the time of Sir John's father, the successive generations of the family of Bowring were engaged in the staple woollen trade of Exeter; but Sir John notes the fact: "The coal mines and the steam machinery of Central and Northern England have crushed the ancient industry of the West" (p. 37). Like most of the principal merchants and manufacturers of Exeter, and many of the nobility and gentry of the West, the Bowrings were of Puritan descent, and had remained members of the English Presbyterian Church—a wholly distinct body from the Presbyterian Kirk established on the northern side of the Tweed, and from the branches of it afterwards extended to the southern shore of the boundary river. This body was distinguished from the Baptists and Independents by the practice of free and open communion. The trust-deeds of their places of worship, moreover, rarely specified the doctrines to be taught in them, and were usually conceived in such terms as left room for a progressive modification of opinion.* The congregations worshipping in these chapels, therefore, mostly went through the stage of Arianism on to the Humanitarianism of Belsham and Priestley. George's Meeting-house, in which the Bowring family had been for generations worshippers, was one of these foundations. In this chapel, James Pierce, its minister, at the commencement of the eighteenth century, publicly attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, and began what is known in Nonconformist annals as the Exeter Controversy—*Vixerunt fortes ante Agamemnon*. It may be gratifying to the Vicar of Owston Ferry and his Diocesan to read that the Vicar of St. Leonard's, Exeter, denied Pierce, who was a parishioner, "a just memorial on his tomb," and he lies buried in the churchyard of St. Leonard's beneath a massive stone monument bearing the words "Mr James Pierce's Tomb." A tablet in the old meeting-house commemorates the labours of its former pastor and the jealous bigotry of the minister of the Establishment. In Sir John Bowring's youth the ministry serving George's Meeting still showed signs of the progressive modification of the opinions of the Church.

* *Vide* J. J. Taylor's *Retrospect of the Religious Life of England*, p. 171, Edinb. 1876, notes.

"There were no less than three ministers who served the congregation—Mr. James Maning, an Arian (a forefather we believe of Cardinal Manning!), who was the most popular with the poor, whom he often visited, and always addressed in sweet words and gentle manner.

"There was Mr. Timothy Kenrick, a courageous Unitarian, who was the chosen one of the more intellectual and inquiring; and there was Mr. Joseph Butland, from whom I do not remember ever to have heard a doctrinal sermon;" an amiable and excellent man, whose simple mode of life Sir John illustrates by describing his supper, "which consisted of a farthing's worth of periwinkles (wrinkles is the Devonshire-name), on which he fed himself with a pin." Somewhat of the stiffness and narrowness of Puritanism remained in this good man. "The latter end of his life," writes Sir John, was "disturbed by the introduction of an organ into the meeting-house. It led to a rupture with the congregation, and, even as a hearer, I believe he never attended when the pipes were brought into play. I have seen him glide in to unite with the rest in partaking of the Lord's Supper, and I think when it was known he was to attend the pealing organ was locked into silence" (pp. 39, 40).

• Mr. Kenrick was the father of the eminent Nonconformist scholar and divine, the Rev. John Kenrick, of Manchester New College, who lately died full of years and honours, and of whose career one of his most distinguished pupils relates a noteworthy incident. When the rapid growth of Matthiæ's Greek Grammar, in successive German editions, rendered it necessary to reconstruct Valentine Blomfield's English translation of it on a larger scale, the Bishop of London (Blomfield), who had not leisure for the task, had recourse to Mr. Kenrick as best qualified to undertake it. A new edition accordingly, in which the new matter was incorporated, came out under Mr. Kenrick's editorial care. "The printer had set up the editor's name as 'The Rev. John Kenrick, M.A.,' and sent the proof in that form both to Fulham and York. From the former it was returned with the *Rev.* erased, and from the *Right Reverend* a letter was addressed to the editor explaining the impossibility of conceding the sacred prefix to a person not in holy orders. Dr. Blomfield, the Grecian, could look up to the scholar; but Dr. Blomfield, the Bishop, must look down on the Nonconformist." *

On the death of Mr. Kenrick, he was succeeded in the co-pastorate of George's Meeting by Dr. Lant Carpenter, himself a distinguished minister among the Unitarians, and the father of another, the Rev. Russell Lant Carpenter, and of the excellent woman who has been lately removed from amongst us, Mary Car-

* Dr. Martineau in the "Theological Review," No. LVII., July 1877, Art. "In Memoriam, John Kenrick," p. 306.

penter. For many a year Sir J. Bowring deemed Dr. Carpenter "the wisest and greatest of men, as he assuredly was one of the best." Mrs. Barbauld used to say, that in opulent families the carriages of the third generation always carried their possessors away to the Established Church; and Sir John Bowring records that when he was young the principal merchants and manufacturers of the staple woollen trade at Exeter were members of George's Meeting; but after his return from China and his final settlement at Exeter he says—

"At the moment when I write (1861), not one of their descendants, myself excepted, occupies a place in that once distinguished seat and school of heterodox Christianity." The cause of this falling away Sir John finds in "an indifference to religious questions in general, a yielding to the tide of tendency, and a wish to maintain a social status in a country where a certain amount of opprobrium and degradation has been generally associated with Dissent; these are among the causes and apologies for much real dishonesty" (p. 388).

A judgment in which we thoroughly concur. In addition to the early and permanent influence of George's Meeting on young Bowring, the home influences by which he was surrounded were of kindred spirit. His grandfather was a man of strong political feeling, being deemed by the Exeter politicians of the day a Jacobin, and by Churchmen a heretic. The influence of his Puritan descent showed itself in the fine print of Oliver Cromwell which hung in his parlour, and still more in his warm sympathy with the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers in their war of independence. During that war many prisoners from America were confined at Exeter and old Mr. Bowring did not fail to do all in his power to alleviate their sufferings. Party spirit has always run high in the "Ever Faithful City," and the sympathiser with America was hustled in the streets by Exeter Tories; and at the time of the Birmingham riots, when Dr. Priestley was compelled to flee his native land, the Exeter Church and King Mob showed how they would have liked to have treated his brother Unitarian at Exeter by burning his effigy in the cathedral yard. From earliest childhood, kneeling at the feet of this stout old Nonconformist, the young John Bowring daily said his morning prayers, and afterwards breakfasted, "sitting on a trivet (tripod) kept in a state of beautiful brightness, with a gamecock in the centre, a great object of childish admiration" (p. 32). During these visits, "many a sweet and kind counsel fell" from the old man's lips; and, "well do I remember," continues Sir John Bowring, "the emphasis with which he repeated to me hymns and passages of poetry which left an indelible impression upon a somewhat susceptible mind."

Of his father, our reminiscence tells us, that of all the men he

ever knew, he "possessed the sweetest temper, and only on two occasions have I ever seen it ruffled. My father, though a sound and thoughtful Liberal, took little share in party politics, and when the Municipal Reform Bill passed, refused an offer of the citizens of Exeter to be the first Liberal Mayor" (pp. 34, 35). Sir John's mother, who we believe was Cornish by birth if not by race, was a daughter of the Rev. Thomas Lane, Vicar of St. Ives, Cornwall. She was, with many brothers and sisters, left an orphan, her father and mother having been carried off by a pestilential disease which attacked that ancient and pilchard-producing borough, which, as his first constituency, sent to Parliament Francis Horner, and later on the brilliant writer who, after many changes of name, will be known to future generations as the first Lord Lytton. Of his mother her son writes in terms of grateful and affectionate remembrance.

"My mother was one of the most excellent of women. . . . Education and affection made her devout, and the Bible was a source of habitual enjoyment to her; but her religion was unostentatious and silent, though on all becoming occasions lessons of virtue and wisdom were conveyed to her children. She used no other discipline than that of kind reproof, and in her presence I knew not the emotion of fear or awe. All her influences were gentle and patient" (pp. 34, 35).

An acquaintance which, though of the slightest, extended over the long period of thirty-two years, enables us to bear our testimony that in Sir John Bowring's disposition and manner were shown the same sweetness of temper which he attributes to both his parents, and the effect of the gentle and patient influences under which he was brought up. He, in fact, furnished a good example of Mr. Cobden's theory, so well verified in his own person, "that political economists are amongst the most amiable of men."* If these same influences of home were not brought to bear on young Bowring's school-life, the Nonconformist influence still predominated there. The only school which he ever attended was a small one at Moreton-Hampstead, in the Dartmoor district, the master of which was also the minister of the ancient Presbyterian meeting-house of the place. It is a common saying in Devon that Moreton-Hampstead was made out of the rubbish that was left when the rest of the world was created. The roads were in Bowring's school-days in much the same condition as Lord Macaulay describes them to have been in the seventeenth century.† "They were not passable by wheel-carriages of any sort, and

* Speech at Sunderland, 1844, referring to the late General T. Perronet Thompson.

† Comp. Recollections, p. 44, with Macaulay's History, c. iii., or Trevelyan's Selections from Macaulay, p. 377.

everything was conveyed by horses to and from Exeter *on crooks*, bent branches of trees fastened to pack-saddles." On one of these young Bowring left home for school. Moreton-Hampstead was not a place of high education. The master, the son of an instrument-maker at Ipswich, had been educated in an Academy of Divinity at Exeter; while the scholarship of the master therefore was defective, his moral qualifications for his office were no greater. His pupil describes him as "not a very wise nor a very honest man, but he had in him some dry humour, some knowledge of old books, some amusing stories, and of what was called an affectionate nature" (pp. 44, 45). With this person, who ended by committing forgery and dying in obscurity, was associated a drunken tyrant, whose sole merit was in adorning the pages of the boys' copy-books with those swans' and eagles' and angels' heads and wings with which we of the older generations were familiar. It was not to Moreton-Hampstead that Bowring owed the education which fitted him for his long career of usefulness. Like his friend and fellow-labourer, Richard Cobden, the training for the public life which they both afterwards entered was in the case of each of these eminent men given by himself after he had begun mercantile life. It was not to the minister of Moreton-Hampstead, but, next to himself, to the refugee priest and the French prisoners at Exeter from whom young Bowring learned French, the itinerant vendors of barometers and mathematical instruments from whom he learned Italian, and the mercantile friends by whose aid he acquired Spanish and Portuguese, that he was most indebted for his education. The Nonconformist influences by which he was surrounded produced their natural effect on young Bowring's mind. Although the English Presbyterians or Unitarians did not separate themselves from "the world," its pleasures, and the duties of citizenship, as at the close of the last and the beginning of the present century, was the case with the Methodists and most of the other Evangelical Nonconformists, yet there prevailed amongst the heterodox Dissenters a tone of "seriousness," a vestige of their Puritan descent. This affected young Bowring's views of life.

"In his earlier letters," writes his son, "written when he was twelve or thirteen years old, there prevails a strong religious feeling, tinged with a somewhat didactic and moralising tone, which seems strangely at variance with the buoyancy of youth. Reflections on death, and juvenile verses on the shortness of life and its sorrows, are interspersed freely in these productions, while even in his latter years such thoughts constantly sprang up and acted as a counterpoise to his zest for new impressions."

Sir John Bowring himself says—

"It was a longing desire of my boyhood to be trained to what is called the ministry, but I never gave open expression to my wish, and never even hinted it to my father or to any of my friends. It seemed too lofty an ambition, and I felt as if it would be impertinent and presumptuous to indulge in such aspirations. . . . I had hardly perhaps defined to myself what a dissenting minister was or ought to be, but in the circle in which I moved he was an object of boundless reverence, his visits were anticipated with awe, and sometimes with apprehension, and always recollected among the memorabilia worthiest of note. Then he was the principal actor in the most impressive family scenes—he gave their names to the children when life began, he spoke the eulogiums of the dead when life was ended, he counselled, encouraged, reproved all from the pulpit, and was entitled to speak as no one else spoke in the household. He knew most of hidden things, most of heaven, hell, and God, and had little to do with the working, everyday world. It was indeed a great thing to be a minister of the Gospel, too great a thing for me, and so I glided into other studies and pursuits, still looking back upon that to which I felt I was not worthy to be called" (pp. 52, 53).

Writing towards the close of his life, he seems to congratulate himself on his escape from what he felt would have been an "existence of silent monotony." This leaning towards the ministry led him to engage for years in a fierce theological controversy with a cousin, afterwards a successful Chancery barrister, with the usual result. Neither made any advances towards the conversion of the other, the disputants became angry, each despising his adversary for being blind and deaf to the counter-arguments which each deemed irresistible. "The itch of writing," writes Sir John, "was upon me from my boyhood." "Another result of the Nonconformist training which he underwent was an intense love of liberty and independence of opinion." This, as his son remarks, fitted him later on in life to become the willing disciple of Jeremy Bentham, and the ardent apostle of the principles taught by the philosopher of Queen Square Place.

The first four years after his leaving school young Bowring spent in his native city as clerk in a house the principal of which bore a name then and now much respected in Exeter—that of Kennaway, which was engaged at the same time in the wine and spirit and the Manchester trade. It is not said, but, from Bowring's subsequent devotion to the interests of the cotton trade, we should judge that it was in the Manchester branch of the business in which he was engaged. It was during this period that he learned the rudiments of the six languages which we have specified which he afterwards spoke with ease and fluency.

"Having," writes his son, "the quick ear and ready apprehension

which constitute the linguist, he soon found himself able to converse with facility in the native tongue of any country which he visited. He had a fair acquaintance with Danish and Swedish, and acquired a book-knowledge of Russian, Servian, Polish, and Bohemian, which enabled him to translate the productions of writers in those languages. He studied Magyar also with some success at a later period, learnt a little Arabic during his journeys in the East, and when an old man mastered a good deal of that difficult language Chinese, to which he devoted much attention. Although he was rather a linguist than a philologist, he wrote many articles on some of the less-known tongues of Europe." *

From the breadth of his attainments in foreign languages, Sir John's experience as to the best method of acquiring them is worth transcribing, though it is not novel, but corroborative of that of others.

"In the study of languages for practical purposes, I have found that courage in speaking is the very best means of advancing. Far more is learnt by the exercise of the tongue, which is necessarily active, than by that of the ear, which is necessarily passive. It is a common vanity for people to say that they understand better than they can talk. Such cases are, I believe, rare. Generally speaking, it is more easy to convey one's thoughts by signs and language to others than to receive their thoughts. The art of language-learning is one that requires no superior capacity. There is not much difference in the ages at which different children are able to express their emotions, and if languages were learnt as children learn them, they would be found easy of acquirement. It is scarcely more difficult to acquire five languages than one, and I have known many instances of five or more languages spoken with equal purity and perfection. The proof of the thorough possession of a language is that you are able to think in it, and that no work of translation goes on in the mind. *For myself, I often dream in other languages than English*, and find that associations with particular countries and particular studies do not take the form of English phraseology; but this, of course, depends upon the extent to which foreign languages have been employed in the daily business of life." †

The ancient woollen trade of Exeter, in which the Bowring family had for many generations been engaged, was decaying, and about to vanish away. It no longer afforded the prospect of a livelihood to men like Bowring whose career lay before them; his father, in fact, lived to see its final decay and departure to the North. Bowring therefore followed the path taken by most young men in the country who have to make their way in the world—he came to London. The year 1811 found him engaged in the offices of Messrs. Milford & Co., a firm engaged in the Spanish

* Memoir, p. 4.

† Recollections, Languages, p. 91.

trade. The clannish feeling, still so strong amongst the people of the two most western counties, is illustrated by the fact that John Milford, the head of the firm, was an Exeter man. He seems to have been a man of overbearing disposition, with a strong attachment to the pleasures of the table, and to have been much addicted to magnums of port.* Young Bowring was an inmate in the house of a Mr. and Mrs. Parkes. Mr. Parkes he describes as "an author and a popular one," though we fear his fame has not lasted to this day. His ruling passion was for literary distinction. He evidently had great influence over the mind of Bowring, and so far forth as his commercial success is concerned, it was not an influence for good. Within two years he had risen so high in the opinion of the firm, that in 1813 he was sent on important business to Spain. Not only his business habits, but his mastery of Spanish, gained during his four years' clerkship at Exeter, especially fitted him for the task. This mastery was shown by the fact that though before his landing in Spain he had scarcely ever spoken Castilian with a native, he not only was able to hold converse with the people, but his earliest publication was written *currente calamo* in Spanish. It was a book against negro slavery, and was published at Madrid in 1821.† Three years later he published his "Ancient Poetry and Romances of Spain.‡ He was known in Spain as *el Español Ingles*. His principal occupation was receiving consignments of wheat and stores for the British army, the headquarters of which were at Leraca, a Pyrenean village. These cargoes were consigned to him at the ports of Bilbao, St. Sebastian, and Passages, and the River Adour, between which places he passed constantly to and fro.

He saw much of the horrors of the war, and of the financial economy of the British army, which he thus describes—

"Never was a war conducted with more improvidence and disregard to economy than that of the Peninsula. Everything was bought at extravagant prices; and the want of ready money had thrown British pecuniary reputation into such distrust, that large fortunes were made by the purchase, at an enormous discount, of the promissory-notes of our commissariat officers; 60 to 80 per cent. less was not an uncommon depreciation. The exchange upon London was immensely disadvantageous to the British Government; and instead of providing money by drafts on the Treasury, supplies of hard cash had been sent out. Probably more than half the expenses of the war might have been saved to the public. Our army was at the mercy of contractors,

* See the sketch of him, *Recollections*, pp. 398, 399.

† Its title was "Contestacion a las observaciones de Don Juan. B. Ogavan sobre la esclavitud de los Negros." See Appendix, List of Principal Writings, 1821.

‡ See Appendix.

jobbers, and speculators in exchange, and a thousand classes of adventurers, native and foreign, almost everything being bought at most extravagant rates. This added to the enormous increase of prices which increased demand always produces. There was the additional augmentation, justified by supposed risk as to ultimate payment, and certainty of delay in the examination and settlement of accounts" (p. 56).

The Spanish democratic constitution of 1812, based upon universal male suffrage, had been in force about two years, and seemed to be a great success. "There was much to gratify the friends of progress. Schools were everywhere started, multitudes of newspapers were published, and a free press gave the desirable influence to all the master-minds of Spain."

Bowring became intimate with the leading members of the Patriotic or popular party. The error into which the popular leaders had fallen appeared to him to be the attempt at centralisation. "We ourselves," he admits, "owe much to the pertinacity with which we hold to ancestral traditions and ancestral usages." This is true, but it is not at all in the spirit of Bentham; and we should like to know whether this passage was written before Bowring came under Bentham's influence, or whether it was written after a wider experience of men and public affairs had emancipated him from the somewhat *doctrinaire* views of the great legist. But if this be true of England, it is *à fortiori* true of Spain, where there is more of provinciality than nationality. "There is no abstract Spain, as every Spaniard is prouder of his province than of his country. The provincialities were the true elements of freedom, and should have been carefully and cautiously watched" (p. 102). Lord Holland applied to Bowring to furnish the "Edinburgh Review" with an article on the Spanish position and prospects. He did so, but its tone was too Radical for the Whig organ. It was never inserted, and the writer had his labour for his pains. These "Recollections" supply a corroboration to Lord Beaconsfield's historical sketch of the Jews in Spain, which was much ridiculed at the time of its first publication.*

"Of the great hidalgos of Spain—the sons of something, as the word implies—the dignitaries of the *sangre azul*, there is scarcely one whose ancestry is not mingled with the Hebrew races. Those races have been equally the object of persecution with the Moors, but they have not been extirpated. I have often met with Jews in Spain whose religion was concealed from their Catholic neighbours, but who did not hesitate to avow their faith to those they deemed worthy of their confidence. They absented themselves on some plea or other

during the time when the *viejos cristianos* are required to attend the confessional" (p. 103).

The peace of 1814 brought Bowring back to England, but in 1815 he returned to the Peninsula; not, however, to Spain, but to Portugal, to claim for Milford & Co. from the British Government some accounts in arrear, payment of which he enforced. He found the administration of justice in Portugal was tardy and arbitrary. "It was the custom for the 'Society of Mercy' to supply the instruments of punishment, by bribing whom, the most atrocious criminals escaped from death. They were always present at executions, and when sufficiently paid, provided rotten ropes, which broke with the guilty person, and when he fell they covered him with the flag of mercy, and he was out of the reach of the civil power" (p. 114). Bowring was dissatisfied with the estimate put by his principals on the services he had rendered them abroad, and he accordingly separated from them, and commenced business on his own account. In 1816, in his twenty-fourth year, he married Maria, daughter of Samuel Lewin, and their son records that "during the vicissitudes of forty-two years, in which were blended, as in most human lives, much of happiness and much of sorrow, his wife, by her noble character and equanimity under heavy trials, proved herself a worthy partner, rejoicing in his successes and strengthening him in his reverses."*

As a commercial man Bowring was not successful. He sums up his business career with equal brevity and frankness. "At one time I had realised about £40,000, a sum that ought to have satisfied my ambition. Not once, but twice in my life, I have been possessor of this more than competency, and twice I have lost more than I possessed. I abandoned commerce, for which, in some respects at all events, I was not unfitted" (p. 57).

This modest estimate of his business qualifications he based on two undoubted facts—his thorough knowledge of accounts and a knowledge of languages superior to that of most (we should have said any) of the merchants on the Royal Exchange. He congratulates himself that he utilised his knowledge of accounts by a successful effort to reform our national system of bookkeeping.

"I can now calmly estimate and thoroughly understand I had too much confidence in unworthy men, and was altogether of too adventurous and speculative a nature. Had I been associated with persons of a less sanguine character, and possessing qualities in which I was deficient, I should probably have ended my commercial career in much prosperity and opulence" (p. 291).

^ To these causes his son adds another, which no doubt had a share in producing the catastrophes which marred Bowring's

* Memoir, p. 5.

commercial career, viz., the tendency which he early showed to deviate from a purely business life to literary pursuits, which had for him an attraction that proved irresistible. With regard to the gain to the public from Bowring's commercial experience, it is proper here to state that his (Bowring's) reputation as a man versed in business as early as 1828 attracted the notice of official men, and Mr. Hewies, the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, nominated him one of the Commissioners then appointed to inquire into the state of the public bookkeeping, with a view to its reform. The Duke of Wellington inexorably refused to agree to his appointment, saying "he would never consent to the appointment of such a d——d Radical" (p. 291).

This first Commission proved a failure, but on the access to power of the Grey Ministry, it was reconstituted, and Bowring was made its secretary. Its report, laid before Parliament in 1832, became, he says, with a pride entirely justifiable, "the foundation of all the improvements which have been introduced into our financial records, whose last triumph has been in the Act which requires the payment of the *gross revenues* of the state—the revenues without any deduction—into the Exchequer, thus giving Parliament an absolute control over the whole national expenditure" (p. 291). We may here quote Bowring's estimate of the Duke of Wellington as a statesman—

"He understood very little, if anything, of the questions of state policy beyond the immediate field of his own personal responsibilities and duties. Of political economy he was supremely ignorant, yet his strong common sense enabled him at last to recognise some of its fundamental truths. His speeches on economical subjects teem with puerilities and absurdities, without ingenuity in conception or in expression. Of the ends and objects of Government he had formed no philosophical estimate, nor dreamed that authority had any other duty or function than to cause itself to be respected and obeyed.

"The people were altogether a cypher in his eyes, except as grouped round the sovereignty. All his sympathies were with rulers, whatever was the character of their rule, and he cared nothing for subjects, whatever might be the nature of their subjection. But when dangers menaced the ruling few 'from the action of the serving many,' he had the sagacity to discern that those dangers justified and demanded concessions" (p. 293).

To return for a moment to Bowring's "commercial experiences." He remarks that the men who have amassed the largest sums of money have generally succeeded by the persevering application of some very simple principle as their general rule of proceedings, and gives the following instances of his theory—

"Ricardo said that he made his money by observing that people

in general exaggerated the importance of events. If, therefore, dealing as he dealt in stocks, there was reason for a small advance, he bought because he was certain the unreasonable advance would enable him to realise; so when stocks were falling, he sold in the conviction that alarm and panic would produce a decline not warranted by circumstances. Morrison told me that he owed all his prosperity to the discovery that the great art of mercantile traffic was to find out sellers rather than buyers; that if you bought cheap and satisfied yourself with only a fair profit, buyers—the best sort of buyers, those who have money to buy—would come of themselves. He said he found houses engaged with a most expensive machinery sending travellers about in all directions to seek orders and to effect sales, while he employed travellers to buy instead of to sell; and if they bought well, there was no fear of his effecting advantageous sales. So uniting this theory with another, that small profits and quick returns are more profitable in the long-run than long credits with great gains, he established one of the largest and most lucrative concerns that has ever existed in London, and was entitled to a name which I have often heard applied to him, ‘The Napoleon of Shopkeepers.’ Hudson had his theory too, and a very simple and sensible one. He saw how unnecessarily expensive was the machinery of railway management; that the same staff and plant, generally very costly, while directing only one railway concern, might with a small additional charge be applied to many. Hence fusions and absorptions, and junctions and unions—the *personnel* improved in quality by the selection of the most efficient, and the *materiel* economised by a great extension of its employment” (p. 58).

The years 1819–20 were spent by Bowring in visiting on business for the second time Spain, and for the first time France, Belgium, Holland, and Russia. In France he formed the acquaintance of many of the leaders of the political and literary world.

Through General Dumouriez he became intimate with Louis Philippe, at that time Duke of Orleans, and the object of the suspicions and fears of the restored Bourbons. He was surrounded by spies, and told Bowring that he had not a servant whom he could trust, and that he believed they were all in the pay of the police.

Bowring thought there was no ground for the accusations of plotting brought by the court and its followers against Louis Philippe, whom he describes as “talkative and somewhat swaggering, but really a very timid man.” Elsewhere he speaks of him as “the most insincere of men,” and adds that Thiers once called him “le plus grand fourbe de l’Europe” (p. 137). He had, continues Bowring—

“A notion certainly that the absurd policy of the elder Bourbons, and especially of Charles X., would in the natural course of events

waft the crown of France towards him, and that it would fall on his head. In fact, his work was better done by his foolish relations than he could have done it for himself, and he preferred a safe to an adventurous policy. He was wholly without enlarged ideas, but saw clearly enough in a narrow circle" (p. 132).

Throughout Louis Philippe's reign he kept up an acquaintance with Bowring, and not unfrequently sent for him to consult him on political and commercial questions. Further acquaintance with this monarch did not increase Bowring's respect or esteem for him. Amongst his sketches of various celebrities, there is one of Louis Philippe (p. 258, *et seq.*). It is interesting and impartial, but the writer's estimate of the King is on the whole unfavourable. "As a country squire, he would have held an honoured position; as a monarch, he was beneath mediocrity. He would have quarrelled with England, and under Thiers' impetuosity would willingly have gone to war, but he *dared not*. I doubt if he trusted anybody, though he believed he could control anybody" (p. 265).

13. Some of the personal traits of the King are amusing.

"He was accustomed to interlard his conversation with bits of foreign languages, several of which he spoke well. He called the Duke of Wellington 'comme vous autres Anglais disent a Puss in Boots;' and when speaking of his own possession of the crown he added, 'Possession, vous savez, is nine points of the law.' He (writes Bowring) so little understood the position of a constitutional monarch, that he often boasted of carrying matters against the opinion of his Ministers by his personal will. He said to me, 'Am I to sit in council and be a nullity like the Queen of England?' to which my reply was, 'Sire, vous faites des questions ministerielles des questions monarchiques. You involve yourself in responsibilities which had better be avoided.' In another of his outpourings he said, 'Il n'y a que moi qui puisse mener cette voiture là,' meaning the state carriage; and when Bowring replied, 'Mais, sire, si vous la versez,' he was much displeased, and remarked to Casimir Perrier, 'Bowring avait me dit des choses vertes.'"

During the negotiations for the Spanish marriages he carried on a private correspondence with Bresson, his Minister at Madrid, and in a conversation Bowring had with him at that time he pulled out from his side pockets a quantity of papers, and said, "Croyez vous que mes ministres aient vu cela?" He had a great idea, says Bowring, that was a master of the art of kingcraft, but he certainly had not the *ars celare artem*.

Bowring's first visit to France had an unpleasant ending; he had all along been an object of suspicion to the police (p. 134), and they supposed, not without reason, that he was implicated in a plot

for promoting the escape of the "quatre sergens de la Rochelle," young men of good family, who had been condemned to death for singing republican songs. He was arrested as he was embarking at Calais for England.* Canning was then Prime Minister of England,* and as soon as he was informed of Bowring's arrest, he insisted on his release, or on such an *acte d'accusation* as would justify his detention. The French Government dreaded discussion and exposure, and after six weeks' detention, during which he had several interviews with the Procureur du Roi, who sought to extort from him materials out of which to frame an indictment, and was informed by Bowring that, if brought to trial, he should call attention to facts exceedingly discreditable as to the manner in which judicial proceedings were conducted in France, he was suddenly released, and informed that he would not be allowed again to enter France. He did, however, return, and that ere long. A congratulatory address to the French people on the Revolution of 1830 had been agreed to by a Common Hall of the City of London. The address was Bowring's own composition. He was sent over by the meeting to present it. He was entertained by M. Odillon Barrot, then Prefect of the Seine, at a public dinner given at the Hotel de Ville, and was the first foreigner received by Louis Philippe after the English ambassador had announced to him that England recognised the monarchy of July.

This recognition delighted and so excited the newly made King, that on Bowring and his companion, M. Odillon Barrot, entering the room, he drew with his own hands three chairs to the centre of the room, and saying, "Asseyez vous, asseyez vous," he sat down so violently in the middle chair that it broke down, and the King fell on his back on the floor. He was raised up by the two others; M. Odillon Barrot saying, "Voyez vous êtes entourés des amis;" but the incident, notes Bowring, "was not a very pleasurable one to the incipient monarch."

It was on Bowring's first visit to Paris, and on his introduction to Abbe Gregoire (Bishop of Blois), Laroche, Thierry, Cuvier, Humboldt,† and other men of letters, that he formed the determination which in one of his letters he thus expressed: "It will be the height of my ambition to do something which may connect my name with the literature of the age."

It was during Bowring's visit to Paris in 1830 that he came under the influence of the St. Simonians.

* In this statement we follow the "Recollections," which are confused as to dates. The arrest is said to have taken place in 1822. Canning did not become Premier until 1827.

† See the sketches, of Humboldt, *Recollections*, p. 367; of Gregoire, *ibid.*, p. 391.

Among the leaders of this once famous sect were Michel Chevalier, afterwards the ally of Richard Cobden, and Arles Dufour of Lyons, in which city he was not only an earnest promoter of every philanthropic project, but one of the most efficient advocates in the Chamber of Commerce and through the press of the great principles of free trade.

Some of the most instructive documents which have been published on the free trade question emanated, says Bowring, from Arles's pen. The free-trade tendencies of the St. Simonians attracted Bowring, already a free-trader, to them; he speaks of them in terms of the highest praise.

"Whatever tares and weeds," he says, "may be found in the harvesting of this strange community, there was in all their teachings abundance of the good and prolific seed of a genuine and generous philanthropy, which has produced excellent fruits in many of the leading minds of France. International hatreds have disappeared wherever the St. Simonian creed has prevailed, and with it the conviction has spread that love, not hatred, peace not war, unchecked commercial intercourse, not repulsion, are the motives by which nations should be influenced and the objects for which they should strive; that if God in His all-wise providence has given to each people its advantages of climate, soil, and production, it was not for selfish but for cosmopolitan ends; it was that the superfluities of each may be interchanged with those of all others; it was, in a word, that benefits and blessings might be maximised over the widest space and for the whole human family.*

This passage, both in thought and expression, closely resembles one in Hume's essay on the balance of trade, which is remarkable as containing one of the few religious allusions to be found in his writings. Writing of protective and prohibited duties, he says, "Could anything scatter our riches, it would be such impolitic contrivances; but this general ill effect, however, results from them, that they deprive neighbouring nations of that free communication and exchange which the Author of the world has intended by giving them soil, climates, and geniuses so different from each other."

In 1831 Dr. Bowring, as he came to be called after the University of Groningen, in Holland, bestowed on him the diploma of LL.D., availed himself of his intimacy with Louis Philippe to endeavour to negotiate a commercial treaty on free-trade principles

* Sketch of Arles Dufour, *Recollections*, p. 313. Comp. Sketch of the St. Simonians, *ibid.*, p. 384.

between France and England. Of this negotiation Mr. Greville writes in his journal—

“Poulett Thomson, who has been at Paris some time, has originated it, and Althorp, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, selected George Villiers (afterwards Earl Clarendon) for the purpose, but has added to him as a colleague Dr. Bowring, who has in fact been selected by Thomson, a theorist and a jobber, deeply implicated in the Greek fire, and a Benthamite. He was the subject of a cutting satire of Moore’s beginning—

‘The ghost of Miltiades came by night,
And stood by the bed of the Benthamite.’

But he has been at Paris for some time understanding the subject, and has wound himself into some intimacy with the French King and his Ministers. It is, however, Poulett Thomson who has persuaded Althorp to appoint him, in order to have a creature of his own there.” *

The animus of this passage is plain. It is the dislike the aristocratic writer felt at two City men presuming to interfere in the sacred mysteries of diplomacy, hitherto free from plebeian intrusion. Bowring was no creature of Poulett Thomson’s. On the contrary, Bowring brought Thomson into public life; he introduced him to Joseph Hume, who introduced him to the Radical party at Dover, which constituency first sent him to Parliament; he brought much commercial knowledge and business habits to Parliamentary life, and became a useful ally to Lord Althorp. His appointment as Vice-President of the Board of Trade in the Grey Government was the only one insisted on by Lord Althorp.† He afterwards was one of the two first members for Manchester, and President of the Board of Trade. Subsequently he was Governor-General of Canada and Lord Sydenham. Of his merits and defects as a public man there is not much difference between Greville and Bowring.‡ With regard to the once celebrated lines by Moore, quoted by Greville, which were originally published in the “Times,” Bowring notes an instance of great generosity on the part of Moore, that when a common friend assured him that he had done Bowring great injustice, he immediately consented to suppress the publication of the poem.

As the attack on Bowring’s integrity insinuated by this poem is withdrawn, there can be no harm in reprinting it. As a specimen of versified satire it is inimitable.

* Journal, vol. ii. pp. 219, 220.

† Life of Earl Spencer, p. 263.

‡ Comp. sketch of Lord Sydenham, *Recollections*, pp. 301, 302. Greville Journal, vol. ii. p. 222. Comp. also sketch of him in *Life of Earl Spencer*, p. 237, note.

AH QUOTIES DUBIUS SCRIPTIS EXORSIT AMATOR.*

The ghost of Miltiades came by night,
And he stood by the bed of the Benthamite,
And he said in a voice that thrilled the frame,
"If ever the sound of Marathen's name
Hath fired thy blood or flushed thy brow
• Lover of liberty, rouse thee now."

The Benthamite, yawning, left his bed,
Away to the stock exchange he sped,
And he found the scrip of Greece so high,
That it fired his blood, it flushed his eye;
And oh! 'twas a sight for the ghost to see,
For there never was Greek more Greek than he;
And still as the premium higher went,
His ecstasy rose so much per cent.
(As we see in a glass that tells the weather
The heat and the silver rise together),
And liberty sung from the patriot's lip,
While a voice from his pocket whispered "Scrip!"

The ghost of Miltiades came again,
He smiled as the pale moon smiles through rain,
For his soul was glad at the patriot strain,
And poor dear ghost, how little he knew
The jobs and tricks of the Philhellene crew.
Blessings and thanks were all he said,
Then melting away, like a night dream fled.

The Benthamite hears, amazed that ghosts
Could be such fools, and away he posts.
A patriot still?—ah no! ah no!
Goddess of Freedom thy scrip is low,
And warm and fond as thy lovers are,
Thou triest their passions when under par.
The Benthamite's ardour fast decays,
By turns he weeps and swears and prays,
And wishes the devil had Crescent and Cross,
Ere he had been found to sell at a loss.
They quote him the scrip of various nations,
But spite of his classic associations,
Lord how he loathes the Greek quotations.
"Who'll buy my scrip? who'll buy my scrip?"
Is now the theme of the patriot's lip,
As he goes to tell how hard his lot is
To Messrs. Orlanda and Luriottes,
And says, "O Greece! for liberty's sake,
Do buy my scrip, and I vow to break
These dark unholy bonds of thine
If you'll only consent to buy up mine."

The ghost of Miltiades came once more,
His brow like the night was lowering o'er,
And he said with a look that flashed dismay,
"Of liberty's foes, the worst are they

* The charge (wholly unfounded) against Bowring was, that under pretence of philanthropic motives he had dealt in the Greek loan for his own profit.

Who turn to a trade her cause divine,
 And gamble for gold on Freedom's shrine,
 So saying, the ghost, as he took his flight,
 Gave a Parthian kick to the Benthamite,
 Which sent him whimpering off to Jerry,
 And vanished away to the Stygian ferry."

In Bowring's (p. 350) well-intended efforts to promote greater freedom of commercial intercourse between England and France, he was met by many hindrances. The Minister of Finance, Baron Louis, was a most earnest and conscientious supporter of free trade, but the French Commissioners who met Mr. Villiers and Dr. Bowring were not so. One, the Baron Freville, was "a man of little strength of character;" the other, M. Duchatel, the friend and colleague of Guizot, was more desirous of making himself agreeable to the King than of promoting the general good. The King himself was a deceiver throughout. He was a large forest proprietor, and could not reconcile himself to the losses he anticipated should the importation of English iron lessen the value of the timber employed in the manufactures of the French. His sister, Madame Adelaide, was a partner with Marshal Soult, Duke of Dalmatia, in ironworks, and they furnished supplies to the state. The English Commissioners were all along thwarted by M. Thiers, by a great majority of the peers and deputies interested in the articles protected by the existing tariff, and by M. David, the head of the Douane, the most determined enemy of free trade, all whose subordinates were equally the bitter enemies of commercial liberty, and who held the doctrine, then equally popular in England, and the lingering prevalence of which is abundantly to be traced in Parliament and elsewhere in discussions on cattle importation and other kindred subjects, viz., that the markets of a country belong by right to the natives, and that foreigners are but intruders there. In the course of the negotiation the English Commissioner arranged with M. Thiers for the removal of the prohibition on the importation of the finest qualities of cotton twist. It was promised that the ordinance for that purpose should appear in the "*Moniteur*" of a given day. It did not, whereupon Bowring went to M. Thiers, and taking him by the coat, said, "*Mon ami, il faut que l'ordonnance paraisse sans retard.*" Thiers made some lame excuse about difficulties, but in the end said, "*Bien! ça se fera,*" and the promised ordinance appeared the next day. An exaggerated report of this interview got abroad, which caused Lord Melbourne on one occasion, when Bowring's name was mentioned to him, to exclaim, *more suo*, "Dr. Bowring! d—— him, why he collared a Prime Minister!" On the whole, the negotiations were unsuccessful, and it was reserved for another Englishman, Richard Cobden, and for a less selfish and more enlightened sovereign,

Napoleon III., to lay the foundation of unrestricted commercial intercourse between England and France.* Of Napoleon III. Dr. Bowring had a high opinion. His acquaintance with him commenced when he was residing with his mother at Arenenberg and engaged in military studies. In reference to the Emperor's book on the artillery service, the merits of which is allowed by the highest authorities, but the merits of which have been attributed not to him, but to his instructor, General Dufour, Dr. Bowring tells us that he met the General at Berne, and "took the liberty to inquire how far he had been a party to the composition, but he disclaimed all participation in the work, and said that the Prince, as he then was, was a superior military genius" (p. 140). It was at or about the time of his negotiation at Paris that Dr. Bowring visited most of the wine districts of France, and there learned some facts which are not only amusing but instructive.

"The average production," he writes, "of the four clarets of the first quality does not exceed about 400 tons per annum. These are called *premiers crus*, and are represented by the Médoc vineyards of Lafitte, Latour, Chateau Margaux, and Chateau Haut Brion. It is a curious fact, that while the English were possessors of Gascony, the wines now universally recognised as of the best order were so inferior, that it was made a condition, in order to dispose of them, that a certain quantity should be taken by those who desired to purchase the then superior wines of Blaye. It is believed that more than 30,000 tons are sold in the different markets of the world under the favoured names. In champagne, the two most distinguished vineyards, that of Ai for the sparkling, and that of Sillery for the still champagne, produce very small quantities, though there is no wine merchant who will not agree to provide a supply to any extent. I was informed that there are five countries, England, Russia, France, Turkey, and the United States of America, any one of which consumes more than the whole of the genuine produce of champagne, so that at least four-fifths of the wine drunk under that name is either made in other districts or artificially manufactured. While on a visit to M. Ouvrard, the proprietor of the most celebrated of the Burgundy vineyards, that of Romanée Conti, he informed me that though the wine was nominally sold at every restaurant in Paris, and is to be found in the list of all the principal dealers in wine, he never sold a bottle, the vineyard producing only a few tons, which he kept for his own private use, and for presents to a small number of privileged personages."†

* The writer wishes to state, on the authority of Mr. Cobden, what he believes is not generally known, that the settlement of the celebrated treaty of commerce was much facilitated by Prince Napoleon Louis. Mr. Cobden told the writer that whenever, as often happened, a difficulty arose in the course of the negotiation, he at once applied to the Prince, through whose influence with the Emperor the difficulty, whatever it might be, was generally got over.

† Recollections, p. 374, under the head "Lamartine."

This was written in 1861 seemingly from recollections of what he had learned in 1830-32.

Looking at the great increase in the import of French wines of all names and descriptions since the Cobden treaty,* and the absence of any evidence that the manufacture of the wines of highest quality has or can be proportionately increased, the English drinkers of the so-called *premiers crus* have great and melancholy reason for doubting the identity of the liquors they consume with the winner whose names they bear, and for which names the consumers pay a heavy price.

Very different results followed Dr. Bowring's labours as a free trade missionary in Belgium. King Leopold once told him that by his writings and discourses he had made all the Belgians free-traders. Dr. Bowring had at different times two official missions to Belgium, both connected with commercial subjects. One of these coincided in time with the Belgian Revolution of 1830. He had much intercourse with the Provisional Government. He pointed out to them that the future of Belgium must be settled in London, and not in Brussels. To him belongs the merit of introducing the late M. Van de Weyer into the diplomatic world which he so long adorned. It was at Dr. Bowring's instance that M. Van de Weyer was selected by the Provisional Government as their envoy to the British Cabinet. Dr. Bowring accompanied him, and introduced him to the political circles of London. M. Van de Weyer was the son of an obscure *Juge de la Paix*, his mother kept a small library in Louvain. Prior to the Belgian Revolution he had attained some eminence as an *avocat*, and attached himself to the Republican party. On the success of the Revolution he became a member of the Provisional Government. As a diplomatist he was successful from the first. Talleyrand spoke of him in terms of high praise, and the Duke of Wellington was struck with the *undiplomatic* frankness and ability with which he treated the interests committed to his charge.

"Van de Weyer," says Bowring, "formed a very correct estimate of the tendencies of public opinion at home and abroad. He soon detached himself from the Republican party, and attached himself to the cause of monarchy as represented by Leopold, to whose service he devoted

* This may be inferred from the following figures:—The total average number of gallons of wine imported to England in the years 1840, 1841, and 1842, the last three years of our Protectionist policy, was 8,078,621. The average total number of gallons imported in the years 1872, 1873, and 1874, under the *régime* of free trade and the Cobden treaty, was 19,859,352—increase, 11,790,531. Of this increase in our imports, France supplies a very large, if not the largest share.—*Vide* Ashworth's "Recollections of Richard Cobden, M.P., and the Anti-Corn Law League," Appendix, p. 15.

himself with unswerving faithfulness. It was happy for him that Great Britain was the field in which his talents found their exercise, for in Belgium *the morgue aristocratique* would have rebelled against his elevation, as it did when for a short season, he was invested with Ministerial authority at home" (pp. 273, 274).

With Leopold I. Dr. Bowring had frequent and unrestrained intercourse during the fifty years of that monarch's public life. A common desire to promote sound principles of political economy was the bond of union between them. A very interesting and appreciative sketch of the King will be found in the "Recollections" (pp. 265, 281). We can afford only to notice a few of his more marked characteristics.

"The mind of Leopold, modified as it was by English and French associations, the result of the study of books and men, was markedly of the German type, and though he spoke fluently, but somewhat slowly, the languages of what have been called the two great rival nations, and was well instructed in the history of both, there was a paramount Teutonic influence traceable in his phraseology, which showed that he thought in German, even while his utterances were the idioms of France or England. Even at his table, German was the accepted and preferred tongue, unless when courtesy to guests or diplomatic usages made the employment of French or English more becoming.

"There was always in the mind of King Leopold a longing, a feeling (for which the Germans have in *sehnsucht* a more emphatic word than we possess), there was a longing which led his thoughts towards Claremont. The gardens and conservatories there were called upon to furnish fruits and flowers for his table, and I have had not unfrequently a dinner invitation from the court with the appendix *le panier de Claremont est arrive*.

"A striking evidence of the genuine simplicity of Leopold's nature was seen in his attachment to his country abode at Laeken, which he much preferred to the palatial residence in the capital. In the grounds and gardens, and in the less adorned but very comfortable apartments of his country home, he found much more that was domestic and social than was compatible with the greater glare and splendour of the metropolitan city. Though he visited it for state receptions, for diplomatic intercourse, and for those public displays which are associated with the functions of monarchy, he always returned with renewed enjoyment to the comparative retreat and seclusion of his beloved rural domicile. Not that he was in any way reserved or inaccessible—quite the contrary; for not only did he willingly and cordially receive all those with whom he had to do in private or public life, but there was a courtesy and kindness in his habitual bearing which were singularly winning, and which in his presence left everybody at his ease.

"Among the less important characteristics of King Leopold was this: he seemed to have an affection for old garments, not from any

niggardliness—of which I never heard him accused—but from the mere force of habit, which becomes, as it were, a portion of every day's continuity. Many men confess to a certain weakness in favour of old shoes and old hats, and it is a subject of reasonable complaint that when they become most comfortable, when every toe has found its own particular niche, or when the hat has become plastic enough to accommodate itself to every undulation of the brow, the faithful servant is dismissed on account of some hostile criticism, and a new hat is introduced which pinches the forehead, or a new pair of shoes which inflict agony upon the feet. Now up to the time in which absolute raggedness demands the expulsion of a favourite bit of ancient costume, one may be allowed to hesitate about its rejection, and certainly the gold lace upon King Leopold's *froc* had lost its lustre long before it was dismissed" (pp. 269, 277, 279, 280).

The occasion of Dr. Bowring's last visit to Leopold was characteristic of the peace-seeking and peace-loving disposition which influenced the career of both, though, as will be seen, there were in Bowring's Chinese career aberrations from his usual peaceful tendencies. He had negotiated or been instrumental in bringing about a treaty of friendship and commerce between Belgium and the Hawaiian Islands. The draft treaty contained a clause providing that if there were any difference of opinion between the two Governments which could not be satisfactorily solved by diplomatic correspondence, there should be no appeal to arms, but such differences should be referred to the friendly arbitration and decision of some neutral power. No such clause had up to that time been inserted in any European treaty, and the authorities of the Belgian Foreign Office were aghast at a proposal so unprecedented and foreign to all the traditions of diplomacy. The Ministers specially referred the question to the decision of the King. "*C'est une question humanitaire, ainsi soit il*," was his award, and the arbitration clause remains in the Belgo-Hawaiian treaty. A precedent was thus made which we trust will in the future be universally followed, and so lead to that great desideratum—a code of international law.

We have deviated from chronological order in our narrative of Bowring's career in order to deal connectedly with his French and Belgian labours. We return to it.

In 1819 Bowring visited Russia. We find nothing noteworthy in his Russian experiences except that at St. Petersburg he found—

"Some interesting documents among the manuscripts, namely, the original letters of Mary Stuart written while in prison, and an immense mass of papers purchased by the Russian Ambassador at Paris during the Revolution. I saw the missal of the unfortunate Queen, in which she wrote up to the time of her death. She made it

an album, and appears to have requested the celebrated personages who visited her to write their names in it. Bacon's name is among the rest. Some of her own verses bewailing her fate are beautiful. From the letters of Mary to the French court and others she seems to have been treated by Elizabeth with monstrous brutality. In one of them she complained that the guards insisted on her sleeping with their wives and daughters. Elizabeth's answers to several potentates who interceded for Mary bespoke a cold-hearted cruelty and pride which do her little honour. At the time of the Revolution, these letters were scattered among the mob to be trampled on as the works of 'kings and queens,' and were most of them purchased for a trifle. Some hundred of letters of Henry IV. cost forty francs" (p. 123).

During Bowring's visit to Russia he acquired sufficient knowledge of its language to enable him to give to the world the first specimens of it ever translated into English. These were his two well-known volumes of "Russian Anthology," published 1820-23. He returned home through Finland. The language, the poetry, and the traditions of the Finnish people were to him "full of charms." "Most of the poetry of the Finns is written in that peculiar metre to which Longfellow has given a certain popularity in his 'Hiawatha;' but I believe," adds Bowring, "I may take credit to myself for having been the first to introduce it into our language in an article which appeared in 'The Westminster Review' of April 1827" (p. 126). From Finland he crossed *via* the Gulf of Bothnia to Sweden. His passage was not unattended with difficulties and even dangers. He spent a few days with Frauzen, Bishop of Oretro, one "of the most popular of the modern poets of Sweden." Here a somewhat odd coincidence occurred. A Hindoo escaped from a wreck in the Baltic and sought refuge in the Bishop's house. He had saved from the wreck a copy of Bowring's "Matins and Vespers,"* which he said had been a great comfort to him, and which on parting he gave to the Bishop as a token of gratitude for his kindness, and the Bishop had kept it in his pulpit, little expecting ever to have its author as his guest.

In or about 1821 Bowring made the acquaintance of Bentham, the guide, instructor, and admiration of his riper years, as Dr. Lant Carpenter was of his youth. In that year Bowring published from Bentham's MSS. his first economical work, viz., "Observations on the Restrictive and Prohibitory Commercial System."

The disciple speedily gained the esteem and affection of the master; for as early as 1821 we find him writing to the Portuguese Minister of Justice, "Avez vous besoin, vous autres portugais

* Published 1823. There is some confusion of dates here, as the journey from Russia through Sweden is elsewhere fixed for 1819.

d'un homme que est propre a tout, pourvu que cela ait rapport au genre humain ? Il est actif, indefatigable au plus haut degré ; meilleur cœur n'a jamais existé et n'existera jamais, vous m'avez appelle citoyen du monde, et je le suis, mais je ne le suis pas plus que lui. On ne risque pas en donnant des eloges à cet homme là ; il a autant d'amis qu'il a de connaissances." *

The same affectionate relations between them continued until Bentham's death in 1832. Bowring was the sole companion of his last moments. The dying philosopher ordered the exclusion of every other person from his room, and made the characteristic remark, "Now we have minimised pain."

Of Bentham these "Recollections" tell us little not previously known through the *Life* by Bowring prefixed to his edition of Bentham's works published after his death, in which, according to the "*Edinburgh Review*," he is "typographically interred." † We learn, however, that so much was he—

"In advance of his age, that Romilly recommended him not to publish several of his works, as he felt assured that printing them would lead to prosecution and imprisonment. Many of his writings," continues Bowring, "I have not deemed it safe to give to the world even after his death, so bold and adventurous were some of his speculations, but they remain in the archives of the British Museum, and at some future time may be dragged into the light of day" (p. 339).

Of Bentham's conversation Bowring says that it was often desultory, but that he threw into every remark such originality and power that his observations might serve as texts which require volumes for their development.

Nothing very new or striking appears in the examples given in this volume in the "*Notes of Conversations with Bentham*" (pp. 339, 344). The following anecdote is curious, as, for the first time, if we are rightly informed, it reveals to us George III. in the character of a newspaper correspondent—

"George III. hated me (Bentham) cordially. With Pitt I was on terms, but the malevolence of the former frustrated the intentions of the latter towards me, and prevented the fulfilment even of the most solemn contracts. The origin of the King's hatred was this. He had written in the '*Leyden Courant*' (the then European journal) a dull and prising but most mischievous letter to induce the King of Denmark to make war upon Russia without any motive whatever. The only ground—the fallacy, was the repetition of the idea, 'Check, check, check.' I answered the letter in the indignant strain which Junius

* *Memoir*, p. 8.

† *Jeremy Bentham's Life and Works*, 11 vols., 1843.

had made so popular. I poured upon it a *storm** of contempt. I signed 'Anti-Machiavel.' The King discovered that I was the writer, and ever after put his veto upon everything I proposed; so that, in spite of Acts of Parliament, in spite of the protection and the warm encouragement of several Ministers, I was always sacrificed" (p. 342).

Benthamite poetry is new to us, and we doubt not to our readers. It seems, however, that Bentham, though he always spoke slightly, and even insultingly, of poetry, occasionally made verses. The following "memoriter verses, expressive of the elements or dimensions of value in pleasures and pains," are a specimen of the great utilitarian's poetic powers—

"Intense, long, certain, speedy, fruitful, pure,
Such points in pleasures and in pains endure.
Such pleasures seek, if private be they end;
If it be public, wide let them extend.
Such pains avoid, whichever be thy view;
If pains must come, let them extend to few."

We confess this specimen does not make us wish for more of the outpourings of the muse of Queen Square Place.

The following *dicta* are characteristic of the man—

"It would be a good service to publish an edition of the speeches delivered in Parliament, with a statement at the foot of each of the particular fallacy employed for the purposes of deception. People would soon learn to apply this mode of judgment. Bingham† is heartily tired of the law and of its cheater. More credit is obtained for defending a bad cause than a good one. Rhetoric and delusion are the only currency. The great value of our English law records consists in their proposing almost every possible case which can be the object of legal decision. The cases have wonderful variety. The decisions are often unjust, absurd, and deceptive."

This also is characteristic, and we must add characteristically narrow and absurd:—"The worst of pickpockets is better than the least bad of the judges. They never open their mouths but to lie, to tell money getting lies" (pp. 342, 343). Bentham, it is well known, paid no visits, and usually received but one guest at dinner, for more than one, he said, distracted conversation. To this rule he once made a noteworthy exception. Talleyrand and Bentham had been acquaintances in the earlier period of the French Revolution. So great was the impression made by the philosopher on the diplomatist, that after forty years' separation Talleyrand said "he had known many men, but as a *man of genius* Bentham overtopped them all." Bowring related this to Bentham, who

* Correctly quoted, but we should think *stream* in the original.

† *Sic* in original, but we conceive Brougham is intended.

asked whether the Prince would accept a dinner invitation to Queen Square Place. "Talleyrand said he would give up any and every engagement for the pleasure of meeting his ancient acquaintance. They met, and an amusing and instructive colloquy took place between one of the busiest actors in the great scenes of the world, and the almost inaccessible recluse whose life was given up to meditation and study" (p. 305).

Not the least interesting of these "Recollections" is the description of the relations between Bentham and Brougham—

"O Henry, what a mystery you are !
Nil fuit unquam tibi tam impar,"

was the language in which the great thinker once addressed the great speaker. With equal plainness of speech he said to him on another occasion, "Harry, when you want to study insincerity, stand opposite a looking-glass." After Bentham's death Bowring found the following lines in his writing—

"Frailty ! thy name is woman.
Insincerity ! thy name is Brougham."

Spite of this unfavourable estimate of Brougham's sincerity, Bentham felt for him both admiration and affection. Brougham on his part sought advice and inspiration from Bentham in reference to his speeches and proposals for law reform. "Grand-papa," he wrote to him on one occasion, "I want some pap; I will come for it at your dinner hour." Nevertheless in no one of Brougham's speeches or writings on the improvement of the law did he ever refer to Bentham either in his lifetime or after his death. Nor in Brougham's Autobiography is there any mention of his intimacy with Bentham. Sir Robert Peel also was more than once seen by Bowring in the garden at Queen Square Place discussing with Bentham questions of law reform, but Sir Robert was as reticent as Brougham as to any obligation or inspiration he owed to Bentham. Bowring agrees in the general verdict that Brougham was both vain and insincere. Of his insincerity he discovered a proof in a letter of Brougham to Bentham, found among Bentham's papers after his death, in which he cautioned Bentham against Bowring as a man by no means to be trusted, and no better than a tool of the Tories; and this letter was written at a time when Brougham assured Bowring he was exerting himself to secure for him a professorship in the University of London. Bentham's whims as to the disposal of his remains after death seem to have been various. At one time he was full of the notion of having his head preserved in the style of the New Zealanders, and sent to a physician to consult him about it. Ultimately, as is well known, he left his body to Dr. Southwood

Smith to be dissected. His skeleton in his usual clothes, and with the face restored in wax, remained in the custody of Dr. Southwood Smith until his death, when Brougham, who had not the slightest title to dispose of it, presented it to London University College, where it now remains.

Soon after Bowring's intimacy with Bentham commenced "The Westminster Review" appeared. The funds were furnished by Bentham, the editors being Henry Southern, who had charge of the literary department, while the political was committed to Bowring's care.

The first article in the first number, entitled "Men and Things in 1824," was written by William Johnson Fox, "the Norwich Weaver Boy, afterwards one of the orators of the Anti-Corn Law League," the "Publicola" of the "Weekly Despatch," and M.P. for Oldham.*

About the time of Bentham's death, the proprietorship of the "Review" passed to General Perronet Thompson, the author of the "Anti-Corn Law Catechism." We have on a former occasion briefly expressed our opinion of the character and public services of this excellent man,† and we have read with pleasure Bowring's sketch of him (p. 70). Its tone is admirable, and is characteristic of the writer's amiable nature, for it was not written until after Thompson had renounced all acquaintance with him on account of his conduct in the affair of the *lorcha* "Arrow." "Thompson," says Bowring, "became one of the most efficient auxiliaries of the Anti-Corn Law League, which, I think, somewhat under estimated the value of his services and sacrifices."

In this opinion, which we know was held by General Thompson himself, we cordially agree, and we must add that the same may with equal truth be said of Bowring himself.‡

The year 1828 first saw Bowring employed in the public service. Notwithstanding the Duke of Wellington's refusal to employ him in England, he was sent to Holland to examine the method in which the public accounts of that country were kept. He prepared a report, "the first," says his biographer, "of a long series on the public accounts of various European states. These papers are models of perspicuity, showing considerable power in grasping facts and in arranging them lucidly and intelligibly."§ Bowring's name was not unknown in Holland, for he had published

* The "Theological Review," No. 14, July 1866, contains a full and interesting sketch by Sir John Bowring of Fox, his life, and writings.

† Vide "Westminster Review," July 1866, Art. "Lord Macaulay," notes.

‡ See Ashworth's "Cobden and the League," where slight mention is made either of Bowring or Thompson.

§ Memoir, p. 9.

a volume of translations from the Dutch poets,* and received for it a gold medal from the King. He made the acquaintance of most of the Dutch literary men, and it was from a Dutch University that he received, *honoris causa*, the diploma of LL.D. "In addition to this diploma, he received during his life more than thirty certificates of honorary distinction from various learned societies and institutions in different parts of Europe."† Nor were these literary honours confined to Europe alone, as the list of these distinctions in the appendix to this volume includes the American Antiquarian Society and the New York Historical Society. Last in the list appears a body to the admission of which into the class of learned societies we demur. It is the "Ancient Order of Foresters." We suspect Sir John Bowring sought admission into that respectable friendly society with a view to the vote of its members at the Exeter election, in which, at the date of his admission (1867), he had special reasons for feeling an interest. Prior even to the passing of the first Reform Act, Dr. Bowring, as after 1829 he was generally called, determined to seek a seat in Parliament. Under the head of "Election Experiences" (p. 79) he writes—

"I was inquiring into my chances of return for Penryn.‡ My maternal grandfather was a minister of the Church of England in that part of Cornwall, and I learned that his name was very popular among the people. Both he and his wife died victims of their attention to the poor during a desolating epidemic. An old man came to me on behalf of the Wesleyan Methodists, and told me it was reported that I did not believe in the Trinity, and therefore I must pay double for their votes. They fancied, no doubt, that they ran some additional risk to their souls' salvation, and were therefore entitled to get some premium for the perils they incurred."

Another instance of religious fanaticism, mixed up with electioneering contests, is given by Dr. Bowring in the shape of a letter from a voter in a Scotch constituency, in which the writer, without regard to the consistency of his words, said, "We will have a religious man to represent us, even if we go to hell to find him." There is some doubt as to the constituency where the corrupt Trinitarian lived. General Thompson, who often related the anecdote, which he had heard from Dr. Bowring at the time of the occurrence, used to lay the scene at Blackburn. These "Election Experiences" were not written until 1861, and it is not unlikely that,

* *Batavian Anthology*, p. 1824.

† *Memoir*, p. 9, and Appendix, p. 404.

‡ It is Penzance in the original, but Mr. Bowring, a West countryman, should have known that the most western borough in England has never sent a member to Parliament.

writing at the distance of thirty most chequered years from the event, Bowring confused one constituency with the other. "In Cornwall," writes Dr. Bowring, "the deadening influence of the rotten borough system was such that it was impossible to secure a moment's attention from any auditory." We may add, that one who accompanied Dr. Bowring on his visit to Penryn, told us that during the Doctor's address the people present kept shaking and slapping their pockets, thereby signifying to the aspirant for the honour of representing them it was to that region, and not to their reason or conscience, that his arguments should be addressed.

Blackburn, whether or not it was the home of orthodox corruption, was the constituency first contested by Dr. Bowring. He was received by the people with acclamation, but at the poll was defeated by twelve votes. His defeat led him to resume the negotiations in France and Belgium of which we have spoken. About this time he published "*Bentham's Deontology*," and a smaller work entitled "*Minor Morals*," in which Bentham's principles were set forth in conversational tales suitable for young persons.

At the general election of 1835 he was again defeated at Blackburn, but within a few days he was returned for Kilmarnock by an immense majority. His return was entirely owing to his political reputation, as he had no personal acquaintance in the constituency, and had never been but in one of its districts, and that not as a public man. His heterodox faith and liberal votes on Catholic and Sabbatarian questions were not suited to a Scottish constituency, and at the general election of 1837 he failed to secure his re-election. He was returned for Bolton at the general elections of 1841 and 1847, and finally retired from Parliament in 1849.

Although not an infrequent speaker, he cannot be said to have gained the ear of the House, and his Parliamentary career was not so brilliant, or even successful, as with his undoubted ability and multifarious acquirements might have been expected. Although a fluent speaker—never, indeed, pausing for a word—his voice was monotonous, his manner too didactic or professorial. He had a habit, while speaking, of raising himself on the tips of his feet and letting himself down with some violence. This was done so often during a speech as to become ludicrous. Moreover, his arguments—and the remark holds good of all the Bentham school—were always appeals to abstract *a priori* principles, and therefore not suited to popular assemblies. For the same reason, although a frequent he was not a popular speaker at the meetings of the Anti-Corn Law League. The arrangers of these remarkable gatherings generally contrived that his address should come be-

tween those of two more attractive speakers, fearing that if he spoke first or last, he would fail to keep the meeting together.* In a sketch of Sir Robert Peel as a speaker, reference is made to the enjoyment which he experienced in replying to speakers who laid themselves open to fair retort, *e.g.*, "some philosopher who wanders out of the ordinary track, and draws arguments for annual Parliaments from the annual revolution of the earth." Dr. Bowring was the philosopher here referred to, having on one occasion used this argument in debate. Both while in Parliament and during his exclusion from it, he continued his labours in promoting the freedom of commercial intercourse between European nations. For this purpose he visited the manufacturing districts of Switzerland, regarding which he writes: "By a system of free trade Switzerland has overcome every natural difficulty, and created for herself a real superiority over the protected manufactures of all the surrounding nations."†

In 1836, and again in 1837, he visited Italy on a free-trade mission from the British Government. In Tuscany he had repeated interviews with the Grand Duke, with whom he visited the southern provinces of the then Duchy. The Duke he describes as disposed to listen to suggestions for improvements, but on economical subjects he was utterly in the dark.

"Railways," writes Bowring, "were then beginning to supersede less convenient and rapid modes of communication, but the Grand Duke expressed his apprehension that their introduction might interfere with the interests of his '*poveri vetturini*'" (p. 161). The Pope (Gregory XVI.) was quite as much in the dark on such subjects. When told by Bowring the object of his mission, his Holiness remarked that England must not raise her commercial prosperity on the ruin of other nations, and that she should not absorb the trade of the whole world. "I answered," writes Bowring, "that she could only trade as much with others as others would trade with her, and that trade was but the interchange of common interests, all nations having the same interest when rightly understood. He said that trade was a circle in which there was a great centre" (p. 174).

We fear Bowring's mission to Italy was barren of immediate results.

In 1837 he visited Egypt and Syria. The account of his visit to these countries, and his sketch of Mehemet Ali, are amongst the most interesting of his "Recollections," and will well repay perusal. We regret we cannot afford space for extracts from them.

* Ashworth's "Cobden and the League" does not contain a single extract from Dr. Bowring's League speeches.

† Memoir, p. 17.

In 1839 Bowring was sent by the British Government on another free-trade mission. This was to the meeting of the Zollverein at Berlin. The experience gained by these various missions led him to the conclusion "that Great Britain was ill fitted to be a teacher when a restrictive and prohibitory system formed the foundation of her commercial code." Bowring could easily refute the theoretical arguments of German protectionists, but he could not "gainsay the fact that our own tariffs, and especially those which most interested Northern Germany, by which the import of corn was placed under severe and repelling restrictions, were altogether hostile to free-trade principles." He therefore returned to London, and told the Premier, Lord Melbourne, that if he would have more trade with Germany, he must first abolish the corn laws. The Minister, with one of his usual oaths, exclaimed that Bowring was "only fit for Bedlam" (p. 207). Events were at hand that proved which was the saner of the two statesmen.

In the September of 1839 Dr. Bowring was entertained at a public dinner at Blackburn. The late Archibald Prentice, whose paper, the "*Manchester Examiner and Times*" was one of the earliest journals to advocate free trade, and in which Richard Cobden, under the signature *Libra*, first gave to the world his views on political economy, seized the occasion of Dr. Bowring's passage through Manchester to issue circulars to a number of the more decided local free-traders to meet him. About sixty gentlemen met together, and the meeting was very enthusiastic. Dr. Bowring denounced the corn laws in unmeasured terms. "It is impossible," said he, "to estimate the amount of human misery created by the corn laws, or the amount of human pleasure overthrown by them. In every part of the world I have found the plague spot." In the course of the evening, when the enthusiasm of the meeting had been thoroughly evoked, a Mr. Howie proposed "that the present company at once form themselves into an Anti-Corn Law Association." The proposal was unanimously and heartily adopted. Such was the origin of the National Anti-Corn Law League, the most remarkable political organisation this country has seen. Of the very considerable part which Dr. Bowring took in the counsels and labours of this body, his "Recollections" contain no account, but he has left on record his testimony to the character and services of its great leader, which we gladly transcribe. It is another proof of Dr. Bowring's amiable disposition, for it was written after Mr. Cobden had proposed and carried the resolution of the House of Commons which censured Bowring's proceedings in the case of the "*Arrow*."

"Cobden's name has obtained far too much celebrity, and his history is too well known, to sanction any observations of mine upon either. I deem him to be one of the most privileged, as he deserves to be one of the most honoured, of his race. No man has ever been called on to exercise more important functions, and no man's exertions have been more successful in their issue, or more unpretending in their display. No doubt he has been rewarded by proofs of the most general sympathy. Those were indeed for him proud moments when the 'Times' announced the existence of the Anti-Corn Law League as a great fact; and when Peel avowed that Cobden was the apostle who had converted him from the error of his ways in the field of political economy. Cobden has been tried by heavy domestic sorrow in the loss of his only son, an affliction far more hard to endure than the endless vituperations of which he has been the object. His strength has always been found in his advocacy of sound principles to be carried out in their full extension. No surrender of a truth, no compromise with an error; yet he has always been willing to take reasonable instalments towards the payment of a just debt; he has never sacrificed an obtainable good in the pursuit of an unapproachable better; but has felt that every step forward is progress, leaving less to be done than if that step had not been taken. This is practical philosophy and sound wisdom; it is a disarming of the enemy to employ against him the weapons he has surrendered. Then, again, there has been on Cobden's part no jealousy or distrust of fellow-labourers—on the contrary, they have been most cordially welcomed to co-operate" (p. 300).

We can supply a very apt illustration of this absence of jealousy on Cobden's part towards his fellow-labourers, namely, his testimony to the Anti-Corn Law services and sacrifices of General Perronet Thompson, which shows that Cobden, at least, among the Leaguers, did not under-estimate them.* At the final meeting of the League in 1846, Mr. Cobden, after mentioning that on entering on his career he found mighty impediments removed by the labours of others, proceeded: "There is one man especially whom I wish not to forget—it is Colonel Thompson. (Hear, hear.) Colonel Thompson has made larger pecuniary sacrifices for free trade than any man living, and we all know that his contributions in an intellectual point of view have been invaluable to us. We will not, therefore, forget the worthy Colonel amidst our congratulations amongst each other."†

In Bowring's childhood he dreamed that he was sent by the King of England as ambassador to China. Strangely enough in after life this dream, as Macaulay says of Laud's dream that he had turned Papist, proved to have come "through the gate of horn." He

* Comp. Recollections, p. 72.

† Ashworth's "Recollections of Cobden and the League," p. 320.

had invested all his means in a Welsh iron company. The commercial panic of 1847 so seriously affected the position and prospects of this adventure, that he determined to seek permanent employment under Government. At the close of 1848 he was appointed by Lord Palmerston British Consul at Canton. The next nine years of his life were spent in the East. "I was accredited," he writes, "not to Peking alone, but to Japan, Siam, Cochin China, and Corea; I believe to a greater number of human beings—indeed not less than a third of the race of man—than any individual had been accredited to before" (p. 217). Bowring thought—why it does not appear—that his dignity and position in the estimation of the Chinese would be enhanced if he had a personal interview with the Queen before his departure, but was told by Lord Palmerston "that there was a general rule, through which he could not break, that no persons under the rank of Ministers Plenipotentiary should have special audiences, and that the Queen was unwilling to have her privacy at Osborne disturbed" (p. 280).

The first five years of his Eastern life seem not to have been pleasant.

"Cooped up," writes his biographer, "in the prison-house of the Canton factories, far removed from the political and literary world, and restricted to the dull routine of purely consular duties, he realised in all its sadness the truth of the poet's saying, 'Better fifty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay,' and found his position almost unendurable. He mixed much with the people, however, and gave in his letters curious and interesting details of their religious and social life, their occupations and amusements, their usages and their superstitions." *

It is to be regretted that none of these letters are given in this volume. In fact, one of the noteworthy omissions in the book is the total absence of letters to or from Bowring, which, as he must have had a large correspondence, is remarkable.

From his age and experience, says his biographer, and we should add from mental constitution and habit, the new Consul was not well fitted to serve in a subordinate capacity, and the Consul and the Plenipotentiary (Sir George Bonham) did not always agree as to the line of policy to be taken with the Chinese. In 1853, however, Sir George Bonham retired, and Dr. Bowring, who was in England on a year's leave of absence, was appointed to succeed him as Plenipotentiary and Governor-General of Hong-Kong; he was knighted by the Queen before his departure for the seat of his government.

"My career in China," writes Sir John, "belongs so much to history that I do not feel it needful to record its vicissitudes. I have been severely blamed for the policy I pursued, yet that policy has been most beneficial to my country and to mankind at large" (p. 217).

We have not space or inclination to go into the details of the controversy as to his Chinese policy, but we will state the resolution of the House of Commons in the case of the *lorcha* "Arrow," that our readers may judge whether Sir John Bowring's remarks, which we shall presently quote, are an answer to it. His former associates thought that his proceedings in that case showed a decided preference for the "arm of flesh," little to be expected in one who had been taught to regard "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" as the one principle of government, who had felt strong sympathy for St. Simonianism on account of its peaceful tendencies, and who had been secretary of the Peace Society. Mr. Cobden determined to bring the matter before Parliament. He accordingly moved the following resolution, which had been drawn up by Mr. Milner Gibson,* who is a perfect master of the art of framing Parliamentary resolutions—

"That this House has heard with concern of the conflicts which have occurred between the British and Chinese authorities in the Canton river, and without expressing an opinion as to the extent to which the Government of China may have afforded this country cause of complaint respecting the non-fulfilment of the treaty of 1842, this House considers that the papers which have been laid upon the table fail to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures resorted to at Canton in the late affair of the 'Arrow,' and that a select committee be appointed to inquire into the state of our commercial relations with China."

In his speech Mr. Cobden said that, without going too definitely into what we had actually done, he contented himself with inquiring, Would we have done what we had done if we had been dealing with a strong power, and not a weak one? He contrasted the conduct of the British authorities at Hong-Kong with that which we would have pursued had the Government we dealt with been at Washington, and the transaction had taken place at Charleston. He was supported in debate by Lord J. Russell, Sir E. B. Lytton, Mr. Warren, Mr. Whiteside, Sir James Graham, Dr. Phillimore, Sir Frederick Thesiger, Sidney Herbert, Sir Roundell Palmer, Mr. Henley, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Disraeli. In fact "the whole character and oratorical power of the House, save what was possessed by Ministerialist office-holders and office-

* On the authority of Mr. Cobden.

seekers, ranged themselves under Cobden's leadership. He carried his motion by a majority of sixteen." *

Sir John Bowring defends himself by saying—

"It is not fair or just to suppose that a course of action which may be practicable or prudent at home will always succeed abroad. You can no more apply exactly the same discipline or the same character of reward and punishment to masses of men than you can apply them to individuals. The powers of reason fail when coming in contact with the unreasoning and unconvincible. No man was a more ardent lover of peace than I; in fact, I had been the secretary of the Peace Society, and had always taken an active part in promoting the Peace movement; but with barbarous, ay, and sometimes with civilised nations, the words of peace are uttered in vain, as with children too often the voice of reproof" (p. 217).

To us it appears that this is no answer to the reasoning by which Mr. Cobden guided the House of Commons to adopt his resolution, and it reads like an admission by Sir John that the theories of the Humanitarians, of whom he was a leader, fail when sought to be put in action in the affairs of life. The object he had in view, to secure the admission of foreigners into ~~Canton~~, was no doubt important, and the quarrel he considered as a means to that end; but we concur with his biographer "that it is a subject of regret that a better cause of quarrel was not found than the "Arrow" affair.

It would be absurd and unjust to condemn the whole Chinese career of Sir John Bowring for this one error. We gladly turn to its brighter side.

"I look back with complacency," he writes, "on my government of Hong-Kong, which I held for five years, and on surrendering the post received the thanks of the Conservative Minister of the Colonies. I had during my tenure of office the pleasure of seeing the population nearly trebled, and the shipping trade increased nearly cent. per cent. I not only made the revenue, in which there had been a great deficit, equal the expenditure, but I left a large balance in the treasury chest. I carried out the principles of free trade to their fullest possible extent, and did not impose even a harbour due to pay the expenses of the service. Vessels came from every quarter and from every nation. They entered, they departed, and no official interfered, except to record whence they came or whither they went. The tonnage increased from 300,000 to 700,000 tons of square-rigged vessels, to say nothing of the large native junk trade. The harbour (one of the finest in the world, having an extent of safe anchorage exceeding five miles) is always crowded with shipping, more than a hundred vessels being ordinarily in port, in addition to the steamers, frequently as many as

* M^r Gilchrist's "Life of Cobden," p. 206.

twenty, and the ships of war of all the great maritime powers. An enterprising individual made docks equal, if not superior, to any east of the Cape, and there is no element of prosperity and progress which has not been wonderfully developed.

"The revenues are furnished by the ground-rent of houses, the opium monopoly, the judicial fees, &c., but there is no direct taxation. The value of land has increased rapidly, and indeed land is the main source of income. On my recommendation the Legislative Council had an infusion of many non-official persons, but I am not sure that the colony was ripe for this sort of representation, and I think that more might have been done by the executive without the popular element" (pp. 218, 219).

This disparagement of popular representation shows how far at the close of his life he had departed from the Benthamism of his earlier years.

His Chinese administration was likewise distinguished by successfully negotiating in 1855 an "Anglo-Siamese Treaty of Commerce" which has brought most beneficial fruits. "The number of vessels engaged in foreign trade has been centupled, the sides of the Meinam are crowded with docks, the productive powers of the land have increased, and with them the natural augmentation of property and the rise of wages" (p. 250).

In 1857 an attempt was made to poison the English residents in Hong-Kong through the bread eaten by them. Every member of the Governor's family was more or less affected by the poison, and Lady Bowring's health failed in consequence of it. She was compelled to return to England, where she died soon after her arrival. War broke out again between China and England, and the mandarins set a price on Sir John Bowring's head. Domestic and diplomatic troubles increased, local squabbles disturbed the peace of Hong-Kong; and at length, "nearly worn out by incessant care and anxiety," in May 1859 he resigned his office and finally quitted China. On his homeward voyage he was shipwrecked in the Red Sea, but in the end reached England safely. Shortly after his return he married Deborah, daughter of the late Thomas Castle of Clifton, the lady like himself being a devoted Unitarian. "his second union," writes his son "contributed much to the comfort and serenity which attended his latter days."

The last twelve years of his life were spent in varied occupation. He was precluded by the terms on which he held his pension from re-entering Parliament, but had the satisfaction of seeing one of his sons elected for his native city by the enlarged constituency of 1868. The same pleasure was enjoyed at the same time by another ex-editor of a "Review," Sir John Taylor Coleridge. The ex-editor of the Tory "Quarterly" and the ex-editor of the Radical "Westminster" co-operating to promote the

return of Sir John Duke Coleridge and Mr. Bowring as Liberal members for the capital of the West.

"A political Rip van Winkle" was the term bestowed on Sir John Bowring by the "*Times*," because, after re-settling in Exeter, he made his first public appearance before his fellow-citizens at the Exeter Discussion Society, and delivered a lecture on the Ballot, of which, in common with Bentham, James Mill, Perronet Thompson, W. J. Fox, George Grote, J. A. Roebuck, and most of the old "Philosophical Reformers," as well as the more modern leaders of the Manchester school, he was an unflinching supporter, and which he lived to see carried spite of the sneers and opposition of the "*Times*." He repeatedly gave lectures on Oriental subjects and social questions, he wrote many articles in periodicals, and much fugitive poetry. The Devonshire Association, the British Association, and the Social Association had much of his assistance and labour. But the association to which he gave most time and aid was the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. He remained to the last, as has been said, a decided Unitarian; but his contact with the ancient religions of the East led him to the conviction "that it were well if Christians would recollect that there never was a religion exercising any influence among thoughtful and philosophical men which had not in it some element of truth and consequently of stability" (p. 386).

The last year of his life (1872) saw him with mental and bodily powers alike unweakened. At the meeting of the British Association at Brighton that year he delivered an eloquent and effective speech at the sudden call of the president of the Geographical section, welcoming to this country the ambassadors from Japan. At the Social Science Congress held at Plymouth within two months of his death he was particularly active, speaking at length two or three times a day, and addressing a temperance meeting of 3000 persons "with all the energy of a young man." Shortly after celebrating his eightieth birthday he was seized with illness which speedily proved fatal, and, after all the changes of fortune and of country he had experienced, he died within a stone's throw of the home where he was born.

With such great ability and such varied acquirements, he hardly obtained so high a position as might have been expected. He was a voluminous writer; "ever too rash to rush into literature" is his description of himself. He published, he says, between forty and fifty volumes, in every case, we are glad to learn, with some pecuniary profit; but we do not think he has written anything which will permanently take a high place in English literature. His "*Life and Works of Bentham*" will always be consulted by legal and political students, but probably he will be longest and most generally remembered by his hymns, many of which are to be

found in the various collections used by Unitarian churches. Of his Parliamentary career we have already spoken. He was a free-trader before Cobden was known, but it is Cobden who always is and will be considered the hero and apostle of free trade. Bowring's labours were too discursive, and his powers as a popular orator too feeble, to compete with a man whose principle was, "This one thing I do," and whose eloquence was only the more effective because it was simple and unadorned. Still Bowring did much and well for his country and the world, and we think that such a public servant as he was should not be left without some public memorial of his many labours and his useful life. His bust might well be placed side by side with Cobden's in the great Abbey which holds the memorials of so many of our statesmen; or, if he be thought unworthy of that high honour, the men of Devon are restoring that noble Cathedral which looks over the valley of the Exe, beneath the shadow of whose massive towers Bowring was born and died; in that great historic fane some fitting memorial might well be placed to preserve to future generations the name, the character, and the services of one who may fairly claim to rank among the "worthies of Devon."

ART. VI.—PRE-CHRISTIAN DISPENSARIES AND HOSPITALS.

1. *Mélanges Égyptologiques : La Médecine des Anciens Égyptiens.* Par F. CHABAS. Chalon-sur-Saône. 1862.
2. *Ouvres d'Hippocrate : Introduction.* Par É. LITTRÉ. Paris. 1839.
3. *Travels of Fu-Hian from China to India.* By S. BEAL. London: Trübner & Co. 1869.
4. *Voyages des Pèlerins Buddhistes.* Par STANISLAS JULIEN. Paris. 1853.
5. *Histoire des Médecins Juifs Anciens et Moderns.* Par E. CARMOLY. Bruxelles. 1844.
6. *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine.* Von L. FRIEDLÄNDER. Leipzig. 1869.

FEW movements of recent times have acquired more popularity than the "Saturday" and "Sunday" Hospital Fund. The terrible fact of pain and suffering appeals to our common humanity, and awakens the deepest feelings of sympathy in the hearts of rich and poor alike: "Non ignara mali miseris succurrere disco."

The movement has also called forth some inquiry as to the origin of hospitals, and Jews and Christians both contend for the honour of having given the first hospital to mankind. The impression that hospitals are a Christian innovation is much more widely spread than persons competent to judge of its legitimacy might suppose. Canon Farrar, in a "Life of Christ" which has acquired some popularity, says, "Amidst all the boasted civilisation of antiquity there existed no hospitals, no penitentiaries, no asylums." Professor Lightfoot stated, at the opening of a hospital last year, that hospitals were "a creation of Christianity." It may, therefore, be of some interest to trace the history of the rise of hospitals in the nations of antiquity; and to show that they have not been confined to any one age or nation, and that they are the natural outcome of that tender compassion for suffering humanity which is characteristic of all civilisations and of every cultured religion.

The hospital is simply the development of the dispensary, which is a necessary requirement of the medical officer appointed and paid by the state for the relief of the sick poor. Some room is required by the medical officer in which to see his patients and dispense the drugs, and this room naturally developed into the hospital ward, where the patients could be continuously under his eye, and be more carefully attended than in their own homes. It is therefore in the medical officer appointed and paid by the state that we are to find the earliest germ and first idea of the vast network of hospitals which has spread over the civilised countries of the world.

These medical officers were an institution in Egypt from a remote antiquity, for in the eleventh century B.C. there was a College of Physicians in the receipt of public pay, and regulated by law as to the nature and extent of their practice. At Athens, in the fifth century B.C., there were physicians elected and paid by the citizens; there were also dispensaries in which they received their patients, and we find mention made of one hospital. In the fourth century B.C. an edict was promulgated in India by King Asoka commanding the establishment of hospitals throughout his dominions; and we have direct proof that these hospitals were flourishing in the fifth and in the seventh centuries A.D. There was probably a leper-house outside the walls of Jerusalem; and medical officers were attached in early times to the Temple, and in later times to the synagogues. Among the Romans under the Empire, physicians were elected in every city in proportion to the number of inhabitants, and they received a salary from the public treasury. And the ancient Mexicans had hospitals in the principal cities "for the cure of the sick, and the permanent refuge of disabled soldiers." Army-surgeons are of very remote antiquity, for we

read of them in Homer ; and they won the admiration of Plato, because "they were heroes as well as physicians ;" but there is no notice of the military hospital before the reign of Hadrian. Hospitals exclusively for the treatment of the insane are of comparatively modern growth, and are first found among the Mohammedans ; they afterwards spread among Christian countries, *the earliest being found in Spain, the country most influenced by Mohammedan thought.**

It was around the temples that the early medical schools centred, for it was natural to regard the "divine art of healing" as a gift of the gods.† It is Brahma who writes the Ayur-Veda, the Science of Life ; it is Æsculapius who appears in human form at Epidaurus and extends his saving right hand over all the earth to heal the souls that are in error and the bodies that are diseased ;‡ and Prometheus in the midst of his sufferings declares that he has gifted mankind with the true science of medicine.§ The priests were the first physicians ; and on the walls of the temples of Egypt and of Greece were suspended the observations and the votive tablets of the cures they effected. These tablets are very curious, because they are a strange medley of rational medical treatment with the superstition of charms and incantations ; and they are most important, because they not unfrequently enable us to trace the rise of scepticism in the charm and incantation, and the struggle between the waning power of the priest and the increasing skill of the physician.

The Babylonians and Assyrians alone, among the great nations of antiquity, had no physicians. The sick man was laid on a couch in the public square, and the passers-by were required to ask him the nature of his disease, so that if they or any of their acquaintance had been similarly afflicted, they might advise him as to the remedies he should adopt. || This custom commended itself to Herodotus, who thought it almost as wise as their other custom of selling the girls of the village in marriage, so that the "fairer maidens portioned off the plainer." As a consequence, incantations to drive out the evil spirit of disease were in much request, and the nature of their operation may be gathered from the following tablet :—

"God shall stand by his bedside ; those seven evil spirits He

* Desmaisons, *Des Asiles d'Aliénés en Espagne*, Paris, 1859. W. E. H. Lecky, *Hist. of European Morals*, ii. 85 sq.

† Cicero, *Tusc. Dis.*, iii. 1. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 1.

‡ Emp. Julian contr. Christ.

§ Æsch., *Prometheus*, 476 sq.

|| Herod. i. 197, iii. 129. Strabo, xvi. c. 1.

shall root out and expel from his body; those seven shall never return to the sick man." *

(1.) Egypt claimed the invention of medicine.† This claim is partially recognised in Homer, when Polydamna gives medicinal herbs to Helen in Egypt, "a country producing an infinite number of drugs, and where the physician possesses knowledge above all other men;" ‡ and is fully endorsed by M. Chabas after a careful comparison of the medical papyrus at Berlin with the best medical works of Greece and Rome.§

The extreme antiquity of medical science in Egypt may be inferred from the fact that the medical papyrus at Berlin, fourteenth century B.C., contains the copy of a treatise on inflammation (*ouchet*) which was found "written in ancient writing, rolled up in a coffer under the feet of an Anubis in the town of Sokhen: (Letopolis), in the time of his sacred Majesty Thot the Righteous. After his death it was handed on to King Snot on account of its importance. It was then restored to its place under the feet of the statue, and sealed up by the sacred scribe and wise chief of the physicians." ||

Medical science attained so high a degree of perfection in Egypt, that there were specialists in the different branches of the art, and the physician was only allowed to practise in his own branch. There were oculists and dentists, those who treated mental disorders, and those who investigated obscure diseases—*οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀφανῶν νούσαν.* ¶ There are medical papyri which treat of these several diseases. In the Hermaic books a whole chapter is devoted to diseases of the eye, and mummies have been found in Thebes with their teeth stopped in gold.** Athothos, son and successor to Menes, the first King of Egypt, wrote a book on anatomy.†† The medical papyrus at Berlin contains a treatise on midwifery, and not less than 170 prescriptions for the cure of diseases, of which the diagnosis is carefully recorded.‡‡ In these treatises diseases are regarded as enemies, not simply to be cured, but to be attacked, destroyed, driven forth; §§ a vestige, apparently,

* H. F. Talbot, *Assyrian Talismans and Exorcisms*. Cf. St. Matthew, xii. 45.

† Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, vii. 56.

‡ Od., iv. 229.

§ *Mélanges Egypt.*, La Médecine des Anciens Égyptiens. || Ibid.

¶ Herod., ii. 84. See Sir G. Wilkinson's valuable note; also *Ancient Egyptians*, iii. 388-397.

** A skeleton was found at Quito with false teeth secured with gold-wire.—Bollaert, *Antiquités of N. Granada*, p. 83.

†† Manetho, quoted in Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*.

‡‡ Translated by Brugsch, *Notice raisonnée d'un Traité médical datant du xivme Siècle avant notre ère*; and Chabas, *Mélanges Egypt.*, i.

§§ Chabas, i. 79.

of the ancient superstition that diseases were devils which possessed the patient.

To guard the people against quacks and the rash experiments of young doctors, the Egyptian physicians were required to follow the rules laid down in the medical treatises preserved in the principal temple of each city; the idea being that the old must be better than the new.* Aristotle, however, says that they were allowed to alter the orthodox treatment; yet if they did so, it was at their peril, as their own lives were forfeit for the life of the patient.† This rule, when followed, secured the physicians of Egypt from the accusation which Pliny brings against the profession in his day: It is at the expense of our perils that they learn, and they experimentalize by putting us to death. The physician is the only person allowed to kill with impunity, the blame being thrown on the sick man who is dead and gone.‡

† In Egypt, about the eleventh century B.C., there was a College of Physicians,§ who seem to have belonged to the sacerdotal caste, as did also the embalmers who are styled "physicians" in Genesis. They were not confined to one sex; the sculptures confirm Exodus i. 15 that women practised medicine.

The physicians were the paid officers of the state, and we may therefore conclude that they were required to treat the poor gratuitously;|| and as they were not likely to attend the sick in their own houses, except in extreme cases, we may further assume that, as in the case of Athens, there were official houses to which the sick poor repaired at fixed times, which correspond to our medical dispensaries. Although paid by the state, they were allowed to receive fees.¶ This care for the sick poor is a trait of character we might naturally expect from a people on whose sarcophagi we meet with inscriptions which tell how the deceased "succoured the afflicted, gave bread to the hungry, drink to the thirsty, clothes to the naked, shelter to the outcast; that he opened his doors to the stranger, and was a father to the afflicted."

In the time of Herodotus "every place in Egypt was full of doctors," whence Pliny concluded that no country was so unhealthy; yet Herodotus says that few countries were so salubrious, which he attributes to the uniformity of the climate.**

Although the older papyri show that the medical treatment of disease was rational, *post-mortems* even being made to discover the source of disease,†† yet charms and incantations were by no

* *Biod. Sic.*, i. 82.

† *Nat. Hist.*, xxix. 1.

|| *Sir G. Wilkinson in Herod.*, *loc. cit.*

** *Herod.*, ii. 84.

† *Pol.*, iii. 11.

§ *Brugsch, Hist. d'Égypte*, c. ix.

¶ *Diod.*, i. 82.

†† *Pliny*, xix. 5.

means excluded; and dreams were granted to devout souls who had consulted physicians in vain, and the votive offerings of arms, ears, eyes, &c., which still adorn the ancient temples,* show how readily the superstitious element found its place in Egypt, as it afterwards did in Greece and Rome,† and as it does to this day in many European Christian countries.

There is a curious inscription in the temple of the god Chonson at Thebes, which points to a struggle between reason and faith, between the skill of the physician and the prayer of the priest. Ramses XII. summons before him the "Scribe of the Houses of Life," and orders him to select one who shall be "a man of an intelligent heart and skilful fingers," that he may be sent to cure the young Princess of Bouchten. She is the "little sister" of the royal wife, and bears the Semitic name Bentrash. The physician fails to cure the damsel, for she is possessed with an evil spirit. Then the god Chonson is sent from Thebes to Bouchten in a great barge, escorted by five smaller barges on the river, and by nobles, with the god's chariot and horses, along the banks. When the god arrives, he communicates to the Princess "his virtue of life," and the evil spirit comes forth.‡ We, unfortunately, only possess the priests' version of the story; but it points to a rivalry between the rational science of the physicians and the superstitious faith of the priests.

The fame of the medicine of Egypt spread to all lands. •Cyrus the Persian hears of it, and sends to King Amasis of Egypt for an oculist.§ Darius the Great had at his court "certain Egyptian physicians, whom he reckoned the best-skilled physicians in the world."|| The Hebrew prophet Jeremiah says, "O virgin daughter of Egypt, in vain shalt thou use many medicines; thou shalt not be cured."¶ It lasted until the time of the Antonines, so that Galen, the "wonder-worker," thought it no small gain to have studied in the schools of Alexandria,** and it is preserved to our own day, wrapped up like one of its own mummies, in the words *chemistry*, *alchemy*, which tell us that the cradle of medical science was in the land of the great god Chemmis, who had given to Egypt its ancient name, Chemi.††

(2.) A story told by Herodotus of the Egyptian physicians at the court of Darius will serve to carry us from the school of

* Wilkinson gives some of these *ex votos* in vol. iii. p. 395.

† Friedlander, iv. 239.

‡ Brugsch, *Hist. d'Egypte*, c. ix., Berlin, 1859. § Herod., iii. 1.

|| Herod., iii. 131, 132. ¶ Jer. xlvii. 11. ** Friedlander, lib. ii. c. 4.

†† Chabas, *Papyrus Hierogl.*, p. 55. For some time in England there were two ill-omened days in each month called "Egyptian days," supposed to be prescribed by the Egyptians as unwholesome for bleeding (Dean Stanley's Westminster Abbey, p. 53 n.).

Egypt to the schools of Greece. One day,* when mounting his horse, Darius sprained his foot. The Egyptian physicians thought it was a dislocation, and put the king to such pain by the violence of their treatment, that for seven days and seven nights his sleep went from him. On the eighth day some of the courtiers told him of a Greek prisoner among the slaves of Oroetes, named Democedes, who came from the famous medical school of Crotona. In such haste was Democedes summoned into the King's presence, that he appeared "just as he was, clanking his fetters and wearing his rags." He reversed the treatment of the Egyptians, and cured the king. From that day no one stood so high in the favour of Darius as Democedes. He also cured of a sore in the breast, Atossa, daughter of Cyrus and wife to Darius, and she rewarded him by aiding him to make his escape to Greece; whence he returned to Crotona, and married the daughter of his fellow-townsmen, Milo the Wrestler, who had carried off the prize six times at the Olympic and seven times at the Pythian games (sixth century B.C.). Crotona was celebrated quite as much for her athletes as for her physicians; indeed, it was a proverb that the last among the wrestlers of Crotona were the first among the other Greeks.† This is a point of extreme interest; the same place that produced the best trainer of athletes would naturally produce the best physician,‡ because the healthy condition of the man's body was the aim of both; and as the trainer would soon learn not to trust in charms and incantations as preparations for the games, so would the physician learn to distrust charms, and to strive after a rational system of medicine. The physicians of Crotona would have agreed with Plato that the art of the physician was to cure the sickness and the wounds of men of good constitutions only, and to leave the weak and sickly to their fate; and applaud him when he quoted the tradition that Asclepius had been struck by lightning because he so far forgot the sacred obligations of his art as to allow himself to be bribed to heal a rich man who was at the point of death. Indeed Plato complained of what he calls "our present system of medicine" as being calculated to "educate diseases," and as opposed to the old practice of the Guild of Asclepius. He lays the blame at the door of Herodicus, a trainer who had a sickly constitution: "He, by a happy combination of training and doctoring, found out the way of torturing, first and principally himself, and secondly the rest of the world, by the invention of a

* Herod., iii. 131.

† Strabo, vi. 1, 13.

‡ Aristotle, in Grote's History of Greece, iii. 342-344, ed. 1862. Ouvres d'Hippocrate, Introd. pp. 22, 23, Littré.

lingering death."* Plato might laugh at Herodicus, nevertheless he was the master of Hippocrates, the "Father of Medicine"—fifth century B.C.

All medical science before the time of Hippocrates was, says Pliny, "lost in the densest night; he was the first to compile a code of medical precepts,"† derived partly from the traditions of the family of the Asclepiadæ to which he belonged,‡ and partly from the study of the votive tablets in the great temple at Cos.§ Dion Cassius says that Democedes of Croton,¶ and Hippocrates of Cos were the two most distinguished physicians of antiquity.|| Galen tells us that the Asclepiadæ founded the three great medical schools of Rhodes, Cnidos, and Cos. These were Doric settlements,¶¶ and we find that their influence survived as late as the fifth century B.C. by the use of the Doric dialect both in medical conversation and prescriptions,** and also in the prose oracles given at Delphi, which were so largely consulted by the sick.††

At Athens, in the time of Plato, we find that some of the physicians were elected by the people and paid from the public treasury. Socrates, for instance, speaks of one "desiring to obtain a medical appointment from the Government" (ιατρικὸν ἔργον).‡‡ and there was a technical term applied especially to physicians who practised with a public salary, δημοσιεύειν.§§ These state physicians, after they had been elected in the Ecclesia, or other assembly,||| appear to have appointed slave doctors under them to attend on the poor, while they attended on the rich, and either by their own or the eloquence of some friendly rhetorician¶¶ persuaded the patient to drink the medicine or to submit to the knife and the hot iron. Indeed this system of *persuasion* as a part of the medical art became at last ridiculous: "Foolish fellow! you are not healing the sick man, you are educating him; and he does not want to be made a doctor, but to get well;"*** and in the next generation it was completely exploded; for, as Aristotle says, the duty of a physician is simply to prescribe.†††

Very different is the offhand manner in which the slave doctors treated their patients; they waste no words with them, but run about from one patient to another, and dose them as they

* Rep., iii. 406, ed. Jowett. Cf. the Jewish saying, "Death is better than a continual sickness."—Ecclus. xxx. 17.

† Nat. Hist., xxix. 2, xxvi. 6. ‡ Littré, *Ouvres d'Hippocrate*, introd.

§ Strabo, xiv. ii. 19. Cf. viii. vi. 15. || Dion Cassius, xxxviii. 18.

¶ C. Müller, *The Dorians*, i. 114. The Rhodians spoke Doric in the time of Tiberius.—Sueton., Tib., 56.

** "Medicos dorice loquentes."—Meineke, *Frag. Com. Græc.*, ii. 249.

†† C. Müller, *On the Doric Dialect*, ii. 439.

‡‡ Xen., *Mem.*, iv. ii. 5. §§ Liddell and Scott, *Lex.*

||| Gorg., 456. ¶¶ Ibid. • *** Laws., 857. • ††† Pol., iv. 2.

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think proper; or they "wait for them *in their dispensaries*," ἐν τ. ἰατρείοις.* This passage clearly shows that there were at Athens, in the fifth century B.C., dispensaries to which the sick poor repaired to be treated for their diseases; not indeed by the most skilful physicians, but by physicians paid by the state to look after their ailments. These dispensaries varied in number according to the prevalence of disease: "Where diseases increase in a state, then ἰατρεῖα are always being opened."†

The temples of Asclepius were, however, the schools in which the students who had taken the noble Hippocratic oath studied, partly from the votive tablets, and partly from the treatment of the patients who resorted thither. That patients did resort to the temples is evident from the amusing scene described by the slave who attended Plutus when he went to the temple to be cured of his blindness. When night came on, all were commanded to keep silence, and not to move should they hear the god passing before the altars. The slave peeps through a hole in his threadbare cloak, and sees the priest "consecrate into a sack" the offerings of cakes and dried figs made by the sick.‡ Afterwards there followed the mixing of the drugs with the pestle and mortar, and the anointing the eyes with the ointment. The patients were of both sexes, for it was an old woman whose savoury posset excited the cupidity of the slave Cario.§

There is one, though we regret to say only one, hospital (παιώνιον) mentioned in Greek literature, and that only by one author, the comic poet Crates, middle of fifth century B.C. It was situated probably in the Piræus—ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ. ||

The state physicians did not receive private fees, but their state emoluments may be guessed by the pay of Democedes before he was carried prisoner to the kingdom of Darius. He fled from his father, who was a celebrated physician of his day at Crotona, and came to Ægina, where his skill caused the state to hire him at £243, 15s. a year; in the next year the Athenians engaged him at £406, 15s.; in the next, Polycrates obtained him for £487, 10s.¶ The first payment made to him by Darius was a pair of golden fetters, to remind him, perhaps, that although he would now be laden with honours and wealth, yet he was to remain a prisoner, exiled from his native land.

(3.) Hitherto we have met only with state physicians and dis-

* Laws, 720.

† Rep., 405.

‡ Cf. Hist. of Bel and the Dragon, c. i.

§ Aristophanes, Plutus.

|| Meineke, Comic. Græc. Frag. Θηρ. ii. "Hujus noscomei publica fortasse auctoritate constituti, nullus præterea scriptor memoriam servavit" (vol. ii. p. 239).

¶ Boeckh, Public Economy of Athens, i. 160, London, 1828.

pensaries, and but one hospital; it is to India we must turn to see a system of hospitals spreading over the country.

When Brahma took compassion on the weakness and suffering of mankind, and wrote for them the commentary on the Vedas, he devoted one treatise to the science of medicine. Hence it was that the ancient Hindus ascribed to the medical art a divine origin, and that the Brahmins were the first physicians. Fragments only of this *Ayur-Veda* remain, but they are sufficient to show an advanced knowledge of the art, in that they treat both of surgery and the practice of medicine.*

Soon after the conquests of Alexander the Great, Megasthenes the Greek was sent on an embassy to the court of Sandrocothes, where he resided for some years. Among his notes, preserved by Strabo, we find that "next in honour to the Sramans were the physicians, for they apply philosophy to the study of the nature of man; . . . they cure diseases by diet rather than by medicinal remedies."† The grandson of Sandrocothes was the celebrated King Asoka, 325-282 B.C., one of the greatest monarchs who ever graced a throne. He embraced the religion of Buddha, and almost immediately afterwards promulgated a series of edicts, some score of which still exist inscribed on pillars and graven in the living rock. Among these there occurs the following, as translated by Mr. Prinsep:—"Everywhere within the province of Piyadasi (Asoka), the beloved of heaven, as well as in the parts occupied by the faithful, . . . and moreover within the dominion of Antiochus the Greek [the Bactrian kingdom], . . . everywhere the heaven-beloved Piyadasi's double system of medical aid is established—both medical aid for men and medical aid for animals—together with medicaments of all sorts which are suitable; . . . and where they are not, they are to be prepared, and to be planted, both root-drugs and herbs."‡ There is also a legend that Asoka seeing how people often died from diseases and sores which were at first simple and easily cured, established public dispensaries at the four gates of Patna.§ In the year 400 A.D., seven hundred years after Asoka's edict, the Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hian, visited India, and casually mentions in his Travels that he found hospitals in complete working order at Asoka's own city of Patna: "The nobles and landowners of this country have founded hospitals in the city, to which the poor of all countries, the destitute, the cripples, the diseased, may repair for shelter. They receive every kind of requisite help gratuitously. Physicians inspect their diseases, and according to their cases

* T. A. Wise, *Review of the History of Medicine*, vol. i., London, 1867,

† India, xv. i. 36.

‡ Edict II.

§ Spiers, *Ancient India*, p. 319.

order them food and drink, decoctions and medicines, everything, in fact, which may contribute to their ease. When cured, they depart at their own convenience."*

Two hundred and fifty years later (648 A.D.), another Chinese pilgrim, Hiouen-Thsang, visited India, and mentions hospitals at several places. At the Port of the Ganges "les rois qui aiment à faire le bien, y ont établi une *maison de bienfaisance*, qui est pourvue de mets recherchés et de médicaments de tout genre, pour donner l'aumône aux veufs et aux veuves, et secourir les orphelins." Elsewhere he says: "Les grands personnages des cinq lîdes . . . ont établi des maisons de bienfaisance, où l'on distribue des boissons, des vivres, et des médicaments pour secourir les-pauvres et les malades." "Il y avait jadis dans ce royaume une multitude de maisons de bienfaisance, où l'on secourait les malheureux."† These houses were *hospices* as well as hospitals at the time of Hiouen-Thsang's visit.

At the commencement of the present century there still flourished at Surat a hospital set apart for the treatment of animals. It covered twenty-five acres, and was divided into courts and wards for the accommodation of the dumb patients. When an animal broke a limb, or was otherwise disabled, the owner brought it to the hospital, where it was received without regard to the caste or the nation of its master, and was treated with the greatest care; and, if need be, found a peaceful asylum for the infirmities of old age.‡ "If proper inquiry were directed to this building," says Mr. Prinsep, "I daresay it would be discovered to be a living example—the only one that has braved twenty centuries—of the humane acts of Asoka, recorded at no great distance on a rock in Guzerat."

Further investigation will doubtless bring to light many other instances of this wise and compassionate edict of Asoka having been put in force over the whole country; for, quite recently, Major Kittoe (1852) found, in the course of his excavations at Sarnath, "a large quadrangle or hospital, with pestles and mortars, &c."§

The great interest of these hospitals lies not only in the large-hearted toleration which opened them "to the poor of all countries," and in the liberality which supplied "help to all gratuitously," first fruits of that noble-minded charity which knows no distinction of race or creed in the presence of suffering humanity, and

* Fa-Hian's Travels from China to India, Beal's transl., p. 107.

† Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales, par Hiouen-Thsang, en A.D. 648, translated by Stanislas Julien, ii. 231, 190; iii. 174, 215. Paris, 1857.

‡ Hamilton's East India Gazetteer. Surat is a very ancient town, for it is mentioned in the Rāmāyana. Scavoneur, Voyages, ii. 489.

§ Cunningham's Archæol. Survey of India, i. 126.

which found so tender an illustration in Christ's story of the Good Samaritan, but also in the fact that these hospitals are an evolution such as we might naturally expect from the teaching of the religion of Buddha, which Asoka had adopted. The central point round which all the ethics of Buddhism revolve—the doctrine which imparts to it so great a vitality and strength—is the law of self-sacrifice carried to the point of complete devotion, so that a man should lay down his life for his fellow-men, and in certain extreme cases for the lower animals. Moreover, the problem of existence which Buddha endeavoured to solve is the way by which mankind may be saved from disease, decay, and death. The life of the founder was in itself the highest ideal of his religion, for Buddha was manifested in the form of man because his exceeding love moved him with compassion for the sons of men ; * and he left the home of his reputed father to live among the poor and wretched, in order that he might bring back those who have wandered from the right way, that he might enlighten those who are living in darkness and gloomy error, and that he might remove from the world all sources of pain and suffering and sorrow.†

(4.) On passing from the East to the extreme West, we find that the ancient Mexicans had hospitals in the principal cities, "for the cure of the sick, and for the permanent refuge of disabled soldiers." Surgeons were placed over them, who were "so far better than those in Europe," says the old chronicler Torquemada, "that they did not protract the cure in order to increase the pay." ‡

This care for the sick and disabled might naturally be expected from a people who were accustomed to hear the form of absolution which followed on the confession of their sins close with the words : "Clothe the naked, feed the hungry, whatever privations it may cost thee ; for remember their flesh is like thine, and they are men like thee ;" § and who worshipped God as "The merciful and long-suffering, the enjoiner of charity." ||

(5.) The history of medicine may be traced with tolerable clearness in the Hebrew nation.

So long as diseases were regarded as put upon and taken off men by Jehovah—as, for instance, in the passage, "I will put none of these diseases upon thee that I put upon the Egyptians, for I am Jehovah that healeth thee," ¶—the priests, as His representatives, were the physicians to afflict and to cure. The fame of King

* Catena of Buddhist Scriptures, by Rev. S. Beal, p. 15.

† Romantic History of Buddha, Beal, p. 143.

‡ Prescott, History of Conquest of Mexico, i. 40.

§ Ibid. || Kingsborough, Antiquities of Mexico, ix. 179.

¶ Exod. xv. 26. Carmoly translates, "L'Éternel est le médecin du peuple." —Histoire des Médecins Juifs, Bruxelles, 1844.

Solomon as a physician still holds its place in the traditions of the East, and the Talmud assigns to him a "volume of cures." After his time, when the priestly power declined before the majesty of the prophetic, the influence which medical skill gives among a rude people was eagerly grasped by the prophets, and medicine was taught in their "schools." Their sacred scriptures record that the prophets struck men with two of the most terrible diseases of the nation, leprosy and blindness, and that they cured the sick, and even raised the dead to life. At a prophet's word a king's hand is withered as he stands before the altar surrounded by his court; at the same word the hand is restored to its former strength. The decline of the healing power among the priests is probably marked by the chronicler's lament that King Asa, in his disease, "sought not to Jehovah, but to the physicians."

On the return of the exiles from Babylon, the medical art passed into the hands of the new power in the state—the scribes. They raised the dignity of the physician to a high pinnacle, and the knowledge of medicine became an essential qualification for membership in the Great Sanhedrim: "Honour a physician with the honour due unto him for the use which ye may have of him; for the Lord hath created him. . . . He shall receive honour of the King."* The art reached its fullest development among the Essenes, a Jewish sect who lived an ascetic life, ruled by love to God and man. They studied the sacred books for the service of God, and medicine for the service of man.

The surgeon and the physician are treated as distinct functionaries in the Mishna.† We read of surgery in the Book of the Prophet Ezekiel, and curiously enough in connection with Egypt: "I have broken the arm of Pharaoh King of Egypt; it shall not be bound up to be healed, to put a roller to bind it."‡ Rollers to bind are used to this day. The apothecary's trade is frequently mentioned; for instance, "The Lord hath created medicines out of the earth; . . . with such doth He heal men and taketh away their pains; of such doth the apothecary make a confection."§ Josephus mentions female physicians.||

Physicians had from early times been a necessity to the nation. Manetho's account of the Hebrew slaves in Egypt is, that they were driven away by the king because they defiled the land with their leprosy. This disease became so identified with the nation, not only in their neighbours' eyes but in their own, that to the

* Ecclus. xxiviii. 1.

† R. J. Wunderbar, *Biblisch-Talmudische Medicin*, Leipzig, 1865.

‡ Exod. xxx. 21. Nothing can exceed the skill with which the limbs of the Egyptian mummies are bound.

§ Ecclus. xxxviii. 4, 7, 8.

|| Vita, 37, *ἡ ιατρικὴ*, ed. Haverc.

question asked in the Talmud, "What is the name of the Messiah?" the answer is, "The Leper."* This singular identification of the Messiah with the characteristic disease of the people obtained a place among the Christian legends of the Middle Ages. When, for instance, St. Francis d'Assissi dismounts from his horse to succour a leper, he finds in the leper the Christ.† This strange idea was probably founded on the Vulgate rendering of Isaiah liii. 4, "Nos putavimus eum quasi leprosum." The ceremonial observances which required the lepers to "show themselves to the priest," assumes a knowledge of medicine in some officials connected with the priestly order. Accordingly we find that physicians were in later times attached not only to the temple but also to the synagogues. They were elected, as were the Greek state physicians, by the voice of the people, to whom they were responsible.‡ The physicians in all times, whether priests, prophets, or scribes, received fees §—in early times, "bread and cakes and honey" from the poor, camel-loads of stuffs, with gold and silver, from the rich; in later times, "such things as were commanded."

The contagious nature of leprosy required that the wretched patients should dwell apart from the abodes of men; so we read of them herded together in miserable groups, prowling about the outer gates of cities, or wandering over the country, always raising their weird cry, "Unclean, unclean!" and standing afar off when they saw their fellow-men approaching. It is possible that houses may have been erected for their accommodation outside the city walls of some of the larger towns. Of one such house we read, but as in the case of ancient Greece, of one only, the "several house" into which King Uzziab retired when the "leprosy mounted into his forehead," and the priests with indecent haste thrust out from the sacred precincts of the temple the sorrow-stricken leper, who himself "hasted to go out." Ewald, Gesenius, and other great scholars, see in this "several house," or "house of separation," or "free house," a hospital corresponding to the leper hospitals of later times. It may have been in this house of separation that some leper wrote the touching "Prayer of Grievous Complaint," in which he cries aloud to Jehovah: "I am counted with them that go down into the pit, free among the dead. Lover and friend hast Thou put from me, Thou hast made me an abomination unto them. I am shut up, I cannot come forth."||

* Pearson, Creed, iv. 266 n.

† Stephen's Eccl. Biog., p. 64.

‡ Rev. A. L. Green's letter to "Jewish World," October 1875.

§ In Exod. xxi. 9, the LXX. reads *tarpeia*. May not this word which, as we have already seen, occurs in Plato, have reference to dispensaries, similar to those with which the Seventy were familiar in Alexandria?

|| Ps. lxxxviii.

Care for the sick, a characteristic of the Jews to this day, is what we might look for in the nation whose sacred writings inculcate as the highest religion love to God and love to man; and whose greatest rabbis taught, "Be not slow to visit the sick, for that shall make thee to be beloved,"* and raised the kindly act towards the sick man to the dignity of a deed done to God, for "the glory of God hovers over the couch of the sick."†

(6.) The elder Pliny tells us that for 600 years the Romans had shown a repugnance to the art of medicine, and he boasts that medicine is the only one of the arts of Greece which Romans refuse to cultivate. It was on this account, he says, that the temple of *Æsculapius* was built, in the first instance, outside the city walls, and was afterwards removed to an island in the Tiber. Plutarch revenges himself by saying that the temple was built in imitation of the famous temple at Epidaurus, which was situated at a distance of five miles from the city for the sake of the fresh air and change of scene.

Pliny is probably correct in stating that in the earlier days of the Republic physicians were unknown, and that for some time afterwards they were confined to foreigners, chiefly Greeks‡ and Egyptians, and to slaves. The first physician who came from Greece to Rome, in 219 B.C., had a surgery (*taberna*) provided for him at the public cost, at the Acilian crossway; the Romans called him *Vulnerarius*, the wound-curer; but he lacerated and cauterized his patients so mercilessly, that his name was changed to *Carnifex*, the executioner.§ Cato hated the Greek physicians because they spoke of the Romans as "barbarians" and "clod-hoppers;" and he became possessed with the idea that they meant to poison the Romans wholesale with their drugs. The use of Latin by physicians in our day in their prescriptions may be a survival of the idea, which is by no means confined to Pliny's time, that "people lose confidence in that which is intelligible to them;" for, as he says, even the few Romans who studied medicine thought it necessary to write their prescriptions in Greek, for "if they should attempt to treat of the disease in any other language, they will certainly lose all credit, even with the ignorant who do not know a word of Greek." Slaves skilled in medicine were attached to all the great houses, and Justinian allows the maximum price of sixty gold pieces to be paid for both male and female.||

Pliny accuses the physicians of extreme avarice. Indeed, their

* Ecclus. vii. 35.

† Talmud.

‡ Nat. Hist., xxix. The oculists, whose names we find on their seals, were most of them of Greek origin.—Teuffel, Hist. Rom. Lit., i. 45.

§ Nat. Hist., xxi. 6.

|| Code, vii. 7, 1, 5.

gains were so large, that skilled artisans—bootmakers, carpenters, tanners, and even gravediggers—became doctors, and unsuccessful doctors sank back into the humbler trades.

“Nuper erat medicus, nunc est vespillo Diaulus.
Quod vespillo facit, fecerat et medicus.” *

Their charlatanism, bad manners, and ignorance were so great, that Galen says the greater part of them could read only with difficulty, and he counsels his colleagues to be on their guard lest they should make grammatical blunders when conversing with their patients; and he moreover complains that at the bedside of the patient the rival doctors so far forget themselves that they abuse each other, put out their tongues, and even come to blows. † Pliny laments that there is no law to punish their ignorance, and he chuckles over the well-known epitaph, “*Turbâ medicorum perii.*” Under those circumstances, one is not surprised to find *ex votos* of arms and legs, ears and eyes, and tablets commemorative of successful dreams, adorning the temples both at Rome and in the provinces. One tablet reminds us of the story of the cure of the young Egyptian princess by the god after the failure of the physicians; it is the tablet of a blind slave at Rome to Minerva Medica, the “good goddess,” for the restoration of sight: “After he had been given up by the physicians, he was cured by the grace of our lady and the use of her medicines.” ‡ It was this superstitious element which caused the miraculous cures of the Emperor Vespasian at Alexandria to be attested by many among the great multitude who beheld them, even after the Flavian line had become extinct, and nothing was to be gained by falsehood. §

Physicians and surgeons followed each their own functions; and we read of specialists, oculists, dentists, aurists (*auricularii*), &c.; there were court physicians, among whom we read of one who was above the others (*supra medicos*); and women (*medicæ*) were employed for diseases of women and children.

In the time of the Antonines we read of a “chief of the physicians,” *ἀρχίατρος*. || *Archiatři populares* were provided for every city according to its size; they formed a College of Physicians, and seem to have held a sort of examination of persons qualified to practise. They were elected by a vote of the citizens, and received a salary from the public treasury. They were required to treat all the sick who came to them free of charge, but they were appointed primarily for the sake of the poor. ¶

* Martial.

•† Com. in Hipp. iv. 9, quoted by Friedländer.

‡ Friedländer, iv. 235–241.

§ Tacitus, *Hist.*, iv. 81.

|| A title which St. Jerome applies to Christ, Hom. in St. Luc., xiii.

¶ Dumas, *Des Secours Publics en usage chez les Anciens*, p. 136, Paris, 1813.

It is, however, at Epidaurus that we find a house which was one of the noblest expressions of the tender feeling and gentle sympathy with suffering humanity which in the second and third centuries of our era were becoming such marked characteristics of the cultivated Roman gentleman. Many cultured Romans took the same tour as that described by Livy: Æmilius Paulus went to Athens, "filled with the decayed relics of ancient grandeur;" thence to Corinth, with its beautiful views and busy modern life; and thence to Epidaurus, famous for its temple of Æsculapius, "then rich in offerings, which the wealthy had dedicated to the Deity in acknowledgment of the remedies which had restored them to health, but now," he adds sorrowfully, "filled only with their traces, showing whence they have been torn away." As the tourist of the time of the Antonines approached the walls which surrounded the temple, the sacred grove, and the massive buildings (whose ruined mounds to this day attest their former magnificence†), he would see a house built before the entrance to the gate to shelter the aged, and the delicate women, who were forbidden to tarry within, lest the sacred precincts should be defiled by those who were entering and by those who were leaving life. That house had been erected by the Emperor Antoninus, who won from the Roman Senate and people that most touching of all the titles of antiquity, The Pius.‡

(7.) We read of military surgeons as early as the time of Homer. "In those days," says Plato, "the sons of Asclepius were heroes as well as physicians; for when the arrow of Pandarus wounded Menelaus, they sucked the blood out of his wound, and sprinkled soothing remedies (Il. iv. 218): these remedies they thought to be enough to heal any man whose constitution was healthy and sound."§ The state physicians of Egypt were forbidden to take fees when attached to the army in time of war.|| Cyrus employed surgeons to march with his army; so did the Spartans. Among the Romans, soldiers dressed each other's wounds until the time of Augustus, when we first hear of military surgeons. The German wives and mothers "did not fear to search for and to count the gashes" of the wounded heroes whom they had accompanied to the battle.¶

* Lib. lxxv. 27, 28.

† The sacred character is preserved in its name of *Hieron*, the sanctuary; and the village is called *Koroni*, evidently from Koronis, the mother of Asclepius.

‡ Pausanias, ii. 27. Champagny, Les Antonins, tom. ii. p. 183.

§ S^crep., iii. 406.

|| Diod., i. 82. 'In the smaller temple at Abou Simbel, in Nubia, a surgeon is seen dressing a wound in the foot of a soldier.—Edwards, A Thousand Miles up the Nile, p. 438.

¶ Tacitus, Germ., 7.

It is not, however, until the reign of Hadrian that we find the military hospital, which is called *valetudinarium*. It was under the control of the Prefect of the camp, whose duty it was to see that the surgeons visited their patients.* These *valetudinaria* were always attached to the winter quarters, and those generals who visit the sick and wounded are applauded.†

We have already seen that the ancient Mexicans had hospitals for the care of the sick, and as a refuge for disabled soldiers, institutions which may have foreshadowed our Chelsea Hospital and Les Invalides at Paris.

The most remarkable instance of a military hospital was one in Ireland. The palace of Emania was founded about 300 B.C. by the Princess Macha of the Golden Hair, and continued to be the chief royal residence of Ulster until 332 A.D., when it was destroyed. To this palace were attached two houses,—one the house in which the Red Branch Knights hung up their arms and trophies; the other, in which the sick were cared for and the wounded healed; this latter was called by the expressive name, *Broin Bearg*, the House of Sorrow.‡ The institution of the House of Sorrow spread through Ireland under the influence of Christianity, and the ancient Laws sanction the right of distress to provide for the sick “a physician, food, proper bed-furniture, and a proper house.§

(8.) Such was the progress made by some of the great nations in the noble effort to ameliorate the condition of the sick and suffering, when, towards the close of the fourth century after Christ, Christianity inspired the world with the enthusiasm of humanity. A noble Roman lady, Fabiola, devoted her princely patrimony to build, in a salubrious quarter near the city, a house for the reception of the sick and the infirm who were found homeless and without shelter in the streets. This, says St. Jerome, was the first *νοσοκομείον*.|| The fame of this institution spread throughout the Roman Empire, “from the Egyptians and the Parthians to the isles of Britain.” The work was carried on by St. Basil, who built outside the walls of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, probably on the site of an earlier hospital,¶ the massive pile of buildings which, says St. Gregory Nazianzen, “rose to view like a second city, the abode of charity, the treasury into which the rich poured of their wealth and the poor of their poverty. Here disease is investigated

* Fl. Vegetius, *De re Milit.*, ii. 10.

† Dumas, *Des Secours Publics*, iv. 1.

‡ Sir W. Wilde, *Note on Census for Ireland*, Part iii., *Parl. Papers*, 1854, vol. lviii.

§ Sanchus Mor, p. 123, Dublin, Thom, 1865.

|| Ep. 77, c. 6 (“*prima omnium νοσοκομείον instituit*”).

¶ See Ep. 94, ad Heliam.]

(φιλοσοφεῖται) and sympathy proved." No building of antiquity seemed to him to equal this hospital, not even "Thebes with its hundred gates, nor the walls of Babylon, nor the pyramids of Egypt, nor the Colossus of Rhodes, nor the tomb of Mausoleus." "My brother's hospital, he says, is a tabernacle of witness to the world, like unto that of Moses." *

St. John Chrysostom found at least one hospital already existing when he went to Constantinople, and he built many more on the plan of the *Basileas*. We may form some idea of the number of hospitals at Alexandria from a law of Honorius which mentions no less than six hundred nurses, *parabolani*,† who were placed at the disposal of the bishop for the nursing of the sick—"ad curanda debiliū agra corpora."

Noble ladies like Fabiola gave themselves up to the work of nursing the sick. The Empress Placilla visited the sick in their own homes and in the public hospitals, she stood at the bedside, she tasted the broth, handed the food, washed the cups, and performed other offices with her own hands, such as the meanest servants ordinarily did.‡ The aged Bishop of Carthage, Deogratias, having sold the church-plate to ransom the captive Christians, lodged them in two large churches, and every hour by night and day he visited them, with the physicians, and went from bed to bed to know of what each stood most in need.§ In the great plague at Alexandria (A.D. 260-268) many of the brethren nursed the sick in the height of the disease; they saved many by their care, who rose from their beds to life, while they themselves fell struck by the plague unto the death: "They saved others, themselves they could not save." || This work of the Christians excited the emulation of the Emperor Julian: "These impious Galileans give themselves to this kind of humanity;" and although he thought their motive base,¶ yet he orders Arsacius to "establish abundance of hospitals in every city, that our kindness may be enjoyed by strangers, not only of our own people but of those who are in need." **

To the great hospital at Cæsarea there was attached a "house of separation" for the lepers, of whose wretched condition St. Gregory of Nyssa gives such an appalling account. They wandered in troops over Cappadocia in search of food, and exposed to the inclemency of the seasons. They resembled corpses before death.

* Orat. 20, ed. Colon.

† Cod. Just., i. 3, 18. Strictly speaking, nurses in infectious diseases, for they cast themselves into hazard of their lives with a recklessness which is divine.

‡ Theod., Hist. Eccl., v. 18.

§ Victor. Utic., De Pers. Vand.

|| Euseb., Hist. Eccl., vii. 22. Cave, Primitive Christianity, III. ii. 390.

¶ Frag. 305, Rheinwald, Kirchliche Archæologie.

** Epist., 49.

Clothed in rags, supported by a staff fastened with a string, not to the hands, which had been eaten away by disease, but to the stumps of the arms which were left, driven from the towns and the assemblies of men, tracked as hunters track wild beasts, they did not dare even to approach the wells and fountains on the roadside to quench their burning thirst. "Basil it was who persuaded men not to scorn men, nor to dishonour Christ the Head of all by their inhumanity towards human beings." *

Most if not all of these early Christian institutions were *hospices* as well as hospitals—the home of the stranger no less than the home of the sick. It is interesting to note the difficulty of finding a word to express these new buildings. St. Jerome uses a Greek word, *νοσοκομείον*, for the house built by the gentle lady who herself *cared for the sick* whom she received. St. Basil evidently felt a difficulty in finding a name for his institution. In one letter he speaks of it as the support of the poor, *πρωχοτρῦφειον*,† in another as a place of lodging, *καταγώγιον*,‡ open to strangers passing through the country, and to those who need (*θεραπείας*) peculiar treatment by reason of the state of their health; while Sozomen falls back upon its popular name, *Basilicas*, "that most famous lodging for the poor founded by Basil, from whom it received the appellation which it still retains."§ It was reserved for later times to take one of the most sacred ideas of ancient days, hospitality, and inspiring it with the spirit of Christianity to enshrine it for future ages in the home which is open to all who are suffering from sickness and from pain: "Go out into the streets and lanes of the city, and bring in hither the poor, and the maimed, and the halt, and the blind, . . . that my house may be filled."

Thus we see that the glory of Christianity does not lie in having originated the idea of hospitals, but in having seized it, like the runners the torch in the ancient games, and carried it forward with brighter flame and more intense enthusiasm. The fame of Fabiola and St. Basil has been immortalised by St. Jerome and the Gregorys; the edict of Asoka is graven with a pen of iron in the rock, a living witness to the noble thoughts of his kingly mind; the House of Sorrow, which was built within the ancient *rath* that exists to this day, speaks of the tenderness of the Princess Macha; but no trace remains of the names and titles of the men and women who built the solitary hospital on the sea-shore in the Piræus, who founded the house-of-separation for the lepers in Judæa, and the home for the disabled soldiers in Mexico; or of

* A. Tollemer, *Des Origines de la Charité Catholique*, Paris, 1863. Martin-Doisy, *Histoire de la Charité*, Paris, 1848.

† Ep. 176.

‡ Ep. 94.

§ Hist. Eccl., vi. 34.

those, even more illustrious, who in ancient Egypt conceived the idea of the physician paid by the state to tend the poor—an idea which contains the germ that has borne fruit in the vast network of hospitals which are rapidly spreading over the continents of Europe and America. Their names may be forgotten, but their deeds are immortal; they have joined

“That choir invisible”
Whose music is the gladness of the world.”

A Jewish legend, preserved in the Haggadah, tells us that Abraham wore upon his breast a jewel “whose light raised those who were bowed down and healed the sick;” and that when he died, it was placed in heaven where it shone among the stars. Countless as the stars of heaven and as the sand on the sea-shore are the men and women of all countries and of all creeds who have worn next their heart the patriarch’s jewel of light.

.ART. VII.—RUSSIAN LITERATURE.

1. *Histoire de la Littérature Contemporaine en Russie.* Par C. COURRIÈRE. Paris. 1875.
2. *La Russie Epique.* Par A. RAMBAUD. Paris. 1876.
3. *Tableau de la Littérature Russe, traduit du Russe de Constantin Petiow.* Par A. ROMALD. Paris. 1872.

THE appearance within a short time of each other of two histories of Russian literature must be considered as a sign that an interest has been aroused among the nations of Western Europe in the progress and development of their Slavonic neighbours. A great change has come over the country since Madame de Stael sarcastically said of Russia that some gentlemen had amused themselves with literature there. In the earlier part of the present century a few articles by Sir John Bowring in the “Foreign Quarterly Review” first made people in England conscious that there was such a thing as Russian literature. After the Crimean War, in which it must be candidly confessed the country exhibited to the rest of Europe a figure by no means contemptible, a far greater interest was aroused, and scholars began to pay some attention to this neglected language. The works of Mr. Ralston must certainly not be passed over in an enumeration of the labours of this small but indefatigable band. He was the first to show to Englishmen the great wealth of popular tradition and song which the Russians

possessed. Glimpses of Slavonic treasures had previously been given in the interesting but inaccurate translations by Sir John Bowring from the Servian. The beautiful ballads, in many instances orally communicated, which Vuk Stephanovich published in 1824 had attracted the notice of Goethe, always eager to recognise any new phase of literature. They were more fully made known in the German version of Talvj, the pseudonym adopted by Theresa van Jacobi, who afterwards became the wife of Dr. Edward Robinson of America.

The Russian ballads certainly cannot be said to rival in beauty the Servian, but they possess very great merit, and are additionally valuable as contributions to the ethnological and linguistic history of mankind. One cannot help being struck with the great abundance of them; new collections are continually appearing of pieces which have been orally communicated. The wandering rhapsodist, as he may have appeared in Homer's times, is by no means an extinct being. Russia can still show her Riabanin and Ostap Veresai. We seem to find that condition among Slavonic peoples in which national poetry (in its strictest sense) is possible. Every member of the family—down to the humble Lusatian Wend, almost smothered by his Germanic neighbours—can boast a magnificent flower-show both of lay and legend. It was beautifully and truthfully said by Paul Schafarik that wherever there was a Slavonic woman there also was a song.

We cannot wonder that in an age which has seen nearly all the conventional forms of poetry worn out, that seeks to hide the baldness of its thought and poverty of imagination by affected archaisms, that in such an age this fresh outcome of the popular mind should be welcomed with intense interest. The Russian legendary poems are called *Bylini* (literally, tales of old time), and are most conveniently divided into the following classes—

1. That of the earlier heroes.
2. The Cycle of Vladimir.
3. The Cycle of Novgorod.
4. The Royal or Moscow Cycle.

To these others add a fifth, viz., that of the Cossacks; but as their songs are in the Malo-Russian, a dialect or language spoken over a great part of Southern Russia, they had better be treated separate.

The early heroes are all of a half mythical type, and perform prodigies of valour. To this class belong Volga Vseslavich, Mikoula Selianinovich, and Sviatogor. Volga undergoes all kinds of transformations. We have here the rude Titanic forces found in all the mythologies of the dawn of man's history.

Rimbaud compares Sviatogor with Proteus and Loki ; like them, he can assume any appearance he pleases ;* he becomes an eagle, a serpent, and a wild beast. In the latter guise he succeeds in catching a variety of wild animals, and clothes the young men of his droushina or company in their skins.

And here let us say a few words about the language in which these bylini have been handed down. With the exception of a provincialism here and there, it is good modern Russian, and easily understood. And yet, in spite of this, there can be no doubt of their great antiquity ; the Pagan allusions would be a sufficient proof, even if others failed. The fact is, that generations of minstrels have modernised and adapted them, so that occasionally we come upon interpolations which wear an appearance of gross inconsistency. It will be remembered that the same features are found in our own ballads, and have not been considered as fatal to their antiquity.

One of the most interesting of these heroes is the peasant Mikoula Selianinovich, a character that figures very much in Slavonic legends, having a great deal in common with the mythical Piast and Premysl among the Poles and Cechs. He is a kind of Hercules, in the person of whom physical strength is glorified. Neither Volga nor any of his droushina can lift the hero's plough ; he himself with a single touch raises it from the earth and hurls it to the clouds. The great glory of the Cycle of Vladimir is Ilia Murometz. The bylinas are filled with his magnificent exploits, either alone or in company with Sviatogor. On one occasion he visits the father of the latter hero, who, being blind, wishes to touch the hand of Ilia, to see whether it has the champion's true firmness and strength. Ilia takes a piece of iron, makes it red hot, and offers it to the veteran, who grasping it so tightly that he forces sparks to fly in all directions, exclaims, "Thou hast a strong hand and hot blood ; thou art a true hero." The character of Vladimir is represented as genial and hospitable, but we do not find any particular acts of bravery assigned to him, nor do we trace any of the aristocratic notions of the West imported with regard to precedence at his banquets. On the seat of the heroes sit also Stavre, the rich boyar, and Alesha, the son of a priest, and Ivan, the son of a merchant, and finally Ilia Murometz, a peasant. Equal honour is given to all guests ; the court of the prince is always open ; at the entrance are oaken pillars, and in the pillars steel rings are fixed. When a warrior arrives, he fastens his horse to one of these rings, and forthwith enters the presence chamber, first bowing to the sacred picture, then to the prince and princess,

* Rimbaud, *La Russie Epique*, p. 33.

and after that to each side of the hall, where the assembled guests are sitting. The Grand Duke then inquires of the new-comer concerning his birth and parentage, and either causes to be offered or offers himself "a bull's horn of sweet mead." * This the hero rapidly drains, and we find the complete emptying of the goblet repeatedly dwelt upon as a glorious achievement, reminding us of a passage in the Frithiof's Saga. This feat accomplished, the guest takes his place at the banquet with the others. Afterwards, at that hour "when the day is half spent and the feast is half spent," Prince Vladimir proposes some deed of prowess.

The Cycle of Novgorod, as M. Rambaud very truly remarks, is not so rich as that of Kiev, but the former city must have attained a magnificence at an earlier period of which there is no historical record. The voice of a general tradition, and the discoveries made in those tombs which have been examined in the district, all point to the same conclusion. In the early chronicles we get a continued account of the luxury and turbulence of the inhabitants of the great Slavonic republic. Novgorod was fortunate in its geographical position, not alone as the great emporium of trade, but as being removed from the devastations and lordship of the Tartars, under which Russia groaned for upwards of two centuries. Its independence, however, was crushed by the vigorous centralising measures of Ivan III., to whom the consolidation of the Russian power may be attributed. In 1478 an end was put for ever to the vetch, the national assembly, and the bell which had previously summoned the citizens to the council was triumphantly carried off to Moscow. It is to the period of the great autocracy commenced by Ivan III., and further consummated by his successors, that the bylinas of the fourth division belong. The chief events which they celebrate are the taking of Kazan in 1552, and the conquest of Siberia by Yermak. In spite of all his atrocities, the memory of Ivan is not regarded with any dislike by his subjects. There is a tendency in these poems to repress all repulsive details, and to dwell only on the conquests and glories of the Tzar. Here and there we have the lay of some traitor, who has been sentenced to death, and thanks the Emperor for his kindness to him, even though he has ordered his "rebellious head" to be cut from his "sturdy shoulders." A great subject of song at this period was the infamous Maliouta Skourlatovich, who aided and abetted the Tzar in so many of his atrocities, and appears to have stood in the same relation to him as Tristan, l'Hermite to Louis XI. Indeed, Ivan bears a very great similarity

* "Tourti rog medou sladkago."

to the last-mentioned monarch in his duplicity, his cruelty, his vigorous personal government, and the suspicion with which he regarded all who surrounded him. Nor must his superstition be forgotten. Just as Louis hid himself in his loopholed and well-barricaded castle of Plessy, so did Ivan retire to the gloomy shades of his residence at Alexandrovski.

Many modern Russian historians, such as Karamzin and Soloviev, have spoken of Ivan with a sort of enthusiasm, but most Western readers will probably agree with Kostomarov and others in regarding him as simply a bloodthirsty savage. It is by means of foreign authors—such as Guaguin among the Poles, Oderborn among the Germans, and our own travellers of the Elizabethan period, that the full measure of his iniquities has been made known.

The bylinas relating to Ivan and his predecessors have been orally communicated, and have lived for centuries on the lips of the peasants. It is interesting for Englishmen to know that the first ever committed to writing were preserved by one Richard James, an Oxford graduate, who was in Russia in 1619 as Chaplain of the Embassy. These valuable manuscripts are preserved among the Ashmolean collection, and, as may readily be imagined, have not escaped the notice of Russian collectors.* The Russian national songs are carried on through the troublous times of Boris Godunov and the false Dimitri to the time of Peter the Great, when they seem to have acquired new vigour on account of the military achievements of the Regenerator of his country. Nor are they extinct in our own time (and the Servians have retained them in the same way), for we find the exploits of Napoleon, especially his disastrous expedition to Russia, made the subject of epic verse. The interest, however, of these legendary poems seems to fade away as we advance into later days. The number of minstrels diminishes rapidly, and Riabanin and his companions among the great Russians, and Ostap Veresai among the Malo-Russians, will probably be the last of these generations of rhapsodists who have transmitted their traditional chants from father to son, from tutor to pupil.

The Slavonic races may with good reason be proud of their fine collections of ballads. Besides the Servians and Russians, we have the rich selection from Bulgarian stores published by the Brothers Miladinov at Agram in 1861, under the patronage of the patriotic Bishop Strossmayer. These two unfortunate

* See *Istoricheskie Ocherki Rousskoi narodnoi slovesnosti i iskusstva* (Historical Sketches of Russian Popular Literature and Art), by Bouslaev, St. Petersburg, 1861, vol. i. p. 470.

men, on some absurdly trumped-up charge of treason, were strangled in a Turkish prison. And yet the *Daily Telegraph* was telling us, a short time ago, that the Bulgarians exulted in the proud title of Ottomans! The Western Division of the Slavonic family, including the Poles, Cechs, and Lusatian Wends, cannot indeed boast of such a fine collection as their Eastern brothers, but we must not forget the Kralodvorsky Rukopis (Koniginhof MS.) among the Bohemians.

So much, then, for the Russian *bylini*, or traditional poems, which were treated with contempt by scholars till within the last forty years. The attention paid to national literature throughout Europe awoke also the curiosity of the Russians, who were ignorant of the great treasures which they possessed. Ample justice has, however, now been done to them in the collections of Ribnikov, Kireevski, Hilferding, and others.

As regards the Song on the Expedition of Igor (*Slovo o polkovo Igoreve*), we shall avoid discussing it fully on the present occasion. Some consider it to date as early as the twelfth century, others that it is a modern forgery. The original manuscript is said to have perished at Moscow in the great conflagration of 1812. With many Russian scholars it seems a point of national honour to believe in this composition, but to a foreigner the whole piece appears bombastic, and not without signs of modern falsification. The same remarks apply to the companion prose poem the *Zadoustchina*, first published in 1852 by Undolski.

A great feature in Russian literature is the fine collection of chronicles, which begin with Nestor, a monk of the Pestcherski Cloister at Kiev, who was born about A.D. 1056, and died about 1116. Nestor knew the Byzantine historians well; the early part of his work is a strange medley of fact and legend, and so highly coloured and poetical is the style in many places, that one suspects that he has bodily incorporated *bylini* which are now forgotten, as the Polish historians Gallus, Kadlubek, and Dlugosz did. In very few instances, however, are we able to ascertain the names of the authors of these compilations, which will remind the English reader of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle more than anything else. There is the same curious mixture of the most trivial and most important events; the same juxtaposition of highly wrought narrative with bald and prosaic details. Slender, however, as may be the importance of these productions from a literary point of view, they cannot be ignored by the historian or philologist. The chain of the chronicles extends in almost unbroken continuity to the days of Alexis Mikhailovich, the father of Peter the Great. Of the two breaks which occur, the first is in the time of Vasilii, or Basil, son of Dmitri Douskoi; and the second in the days of Ivan the

Terrible (1534-84). A good edition of these productions was published at St. Petersburg in 1846,* but they can hardly be brought into the legitimate scope of our article, because they belong to the Ecclesiastical or Palæo-Slavonic literature. This is the language which may be said to stand almost in the same relation to modern Slavonic forms as Latin does to the Romance idioms. Even if it be not the mother tongue—and no sound scholar at the present day would recognise it as such—it is the oldest form of Slavonic known, and in it the sacred writings of the Eastern Slavs are contained. The study of this language, so important to the philologist, has been greatly assisted by the labours of Schleicher and Miklosich, who have done for it what Grimm had previously done for German.

We must also omit any discussion of the address of Vladimir Monomakh, and some religious treatises interesting as specimens of the development of the language, but of little literary worth. During the time when Russia groaned under the yoke of the Mongols, the nation remained silent, except here and there, perhaps, in some legendary song, sung among peasants and destined subsequently to be gathered from oral tradition by a Ribnikov and a Hilferding. Such literature as was cultivated formed the recreation of the monks in their cells. A new era was, however, to come. Ivan III. established the autocracy and made Moscow the centre of the new Government. The Russians naturally looked to Constantinople as the centre of their civilisation; and even when the city was taken by the Turks, its influence did not cease. Thousands of learned Greeks fled to Russia, and found a hospitable reception in the dominions of the Grand Duke. During the reigns of Ivan the Terrible and his immediate successors, although the material progress of the country was considerably advanced and a strong Government founded, yet but little was done for literature.

Simeon Polotzki (1628-80), tutor to the Tzar Feodor, son of Alexis, was an indefatigable writer of religious and educational books, but his productions can have no interest now except to the antiquarian. Of a more important character is the sketch of the Russian Government and the habits of the people, written by one Koshikin or Kotoshikin, a renegade diak or secretary, which, after having lain for a long time in manuscript in the library of Upsala, in Sweden, was edited in 1840 by the Russian historian Soloviev.

Kotoshikin terminated a life of strange vicissitudes by perish-

* *Polnoe Sobranie Rousskikh Lietopisei* (Complete Collection of Russian Chronicles).

ing at the hands of the public executioner at Stockholm about 1669.

With the reforms of Peter the Great commences an entirely new period in the history of Russian literature, which was now to be under Western influence.

The epoch was to be inaugurated by Lomonosov, the son of a poor fisherman of Arkhangel, who forms one of the curious band of peasant authors, of very various merit, it must be confessed, who present such a singular and unexpected phenomenon in Russian literature. Occasionally we have men of real genius, as in the cases of Koltzov, Nikitin, and Shevtchenko, the great glory of Southern Russia; sometimes, perhaps, a man whose abilities have been overrated, as in the instance of Slepoushkin. Lomonosov, having exhausted the scanty stock of literature which the miserable village where he lived could furnish, resolved to make his way to the great capital, Moscow. This he effected upon a waggon laden with fish, and, as a candidate for learning, knocked at the doors of an educational establishment of which he had heard mention amid the snows of his dreary Northern home. He was afterwards sent, at the expense of the Government, to finish his studies in Germany. He was for some time at Marburg, but falling into debt there, resolved to betake himself secretly to Lubeck, and from thence to sail to Russia. On his way a droll adventure befell him—at Dusseldorf he met with a Prussian recruiting officer, who, delighted with the ample bulk and vigorous thews of the Russian student, was determined to add him to the number of his conscripts. He accordingly persuaded Lomonosov to drink with him: the future poet became stupified by his copious libations, and on waking up found himself decorated with the Prussian uniform. From the consequences of this disagreeable meeting he was only saved by the intervention of the Russian ambassador.

Lomonosov meets us as an indefatigable man of letters. His writings are on every conceivable topic: we have essays, plays, epics, lyrical poems, and many others—but perhaps he was more successful in natural science than any other subjects treated of by his versatile pen. Such a man frequently springs up in the infancy of the literature of a country. The ground seemed altogether unoccupied for Lomonosov—the old Byzantine culture was absolutely dead; it remained for the new author, following in the path of the labours of Peter, to introduce his countrymen to the culture of the West. He did much to improve the language, reducing it to rules by his careful grammar, which, although not based on sound philological principles, was for a long time regarded as a model for all future attempts. He had to mark more accurately than had hitherto been observed

the exact limits which separated the modern forms of Russian from the Ecclesiastical Slavonic.

Lomonosov, like some of our own so-called classic authors, is more praised than read by his countrymen. His turgid odes, stuffed with classical allusions, in praise of Anne and Elizabeth, are still committed to memory by pupils at educational establishments. His panegyrics are certainly fulsome, but probably no worse than those of Boileau in praise of Louis XIV.; who grovelled with abject servility, without the excuse of the imperfectly cultured Scythian.

The reign of Catherine II. (1762-96) saw the rise of a whole generation of court poets. The great maxim "Un auguste peut aisément faire un Virgile," was seen in all its absurdity in semi-barbarous Russia. These wits were supported by the Empress and her immediate *entourage*, to whom their florid productions were ordinarily addressed. In the strict sense of the word there was no reading public in Russia; only in the dreary huts of the peasants, through the long winter nights, the wandering rhapsodist kept up the tradition of their poetical legends, of which we have previously spoken. But the Gallicised courtier of the epoch of Catherine regarded these productions with contempt as the babble of savages. They were only to be collected in the present century, when the great reaction against the pseudo-classical school had set in. As we do not propose to fatigue our readers with a mere catalogue of names, the majority of which would hardly suit Western forms of pronunciation, we shall leave out all mention of the Kheraskovs, Ozerovs, Sumarokovs, and their satellites. From Byzantine traditions, from legends of saints, confused chronicles, and orthodox hymnologies, Russia was to pass—by one of the most violent changes ever witnessed in the literature of any country—into epics moulded upon the *Henriade*, and tedious odes in the style of Boileau and Jean Baptiste Rousseau.

Oustrialov, the historian, truly characterises most of the voluminous writers of this epoch as mediocre verse-makers; he has reason, however, for claiming merit in the cases of Bogdanovich, Khemnitzer, Von Visin, Dmitriev, and Derzhavin. Bogdanovich wrote a very pretty lyric piece, styled "Dúsheuka," based on the story of "Cupid and Psyche," and partly imitated from Lafontaine, but full of airy grace, and with a sportive charm about the verse which will preserve it from becoming obsolete. With Khemnitzer begin the fabulists; but we shall reserve our remarks upon this species of literature and its Russian votaries till we come to Krilov, who may be said to be one of the few Slavonic authors who have gained a reputation beyond the limits of their own country. In Denis von Visin,

born at Moscow, but, as his name shows, of German extraction, Russia saw a writer of genuine national comedy. Hitherto she had had to content herself with poor imitations of Molière. His two plays, the "Brigadier" and the "Minor" (Nedorosl), have much original talent; no such vigorous representations of character appeared again on the stage till "The Misfortune of being too Clever" (Gore ot ouna) of Griboiedov and the "Revisor" of Gogol. Dmitriev deserves perhaps no more than a passing mention. He enjoyed great popularity in his time, and there is an elegance and finish about his odes which did much to improve the style of Russian literature; they lack, however, originality, and are as frigid as the productions of Mason and others of our own writers at the close of last century. Russia still looked to classical models.

The name of Derzhavin is spoken of with reverence among his countrymen: he was the laureate of the epoch of Catherine, and had a fresh ode for every new military glory. There is much fire and vigour in his productions, and he could develop the strength and flexibility of his native language, which can be made as expressive and concise as Greek. Perhaps, however, we get a little tired of the endless perfections of Felitza—the name under which he celebrates the Empress Catherine. •

In Nicholas Karamzin appeared the first Russian historian who can properly claim the title. His poems are now almost forgotten; here and there we come upon a solitary lyric in a book of extracts. His tales, in which the sentimentalism of Sterne and the "Sorrows of Young Werther" found a Slavonic echo, have also sunk into partial oblivion. "His History of the Russian Empire," however, is a work of the most extensive research, and must always be quoted with respect by Slavonic scholars. Unfortunately it only extends to the election of Michael Romanov. It must be added that the work was more or less "inspired" from high quarters, and most of the sheets are said to have been read to the Emperor Alexander before publication. This was the first regular attempt at compiling Russian history, for the production of Tatistchev was merely a rude sketch, wanting both in critical power and elegance of style.

Karamzin was followed by the indefatigable Nicholas Polevoi, son of a Siberian merchant, who left hardly any species of literature untouched. His "History of the Russian People" did not, however, add to his reputation, and is now almost forgotten. In later times both these authors have been eclipsed by such writers as Soloviev and Kostomarov. A new and more critical school of Russian historians has sprung up, but for the early history of the Slavonic peoples, the great work is still Schafarik's "Slavonic Antiquities," first published in the Bohemian language,

and more familiar to scholars in the West of Europe in its German version.

We shall have occasion to speak of the progress of Russian historical studies in a subsequent page of this article.

With the breaking up of the old forms of government, caused by the French Revolution, came the dislocation of the old conventional modes of thought. Classicism in literature was dead, having weighed like an incubus upon the fancy and fresh life of many generations. England and Germany were at the head of the new movement, which was at a later period to be joined by France. The influence was to extend also to Russia, and may be said to date from the reign of Alexander I. It was headed by Zhukovski, who was rather a fluent translator than an original poet: he has given excellent versions of Schiller, Goethe, Moore, and Byron, and has enriched the literature of his country better in this way than by his original productions. He had, however, some lyric fire of his own: the ode entitled "The Poet in Camp of the Russian Warriors," written in the memorable year 1812, did something to stimulate the national feelings, and procured the poet a good appointment at court. It would be unjust to Zhukovski to ignore the elegance and finish of his verse: his only contemporary rival during the early part of his career was Batiushkov, who has much delicacy but little force, and was not destined to fulfil the great promises which his early productions had aroused. Stricken with that curious mental or moral blight which has paralysed so many Russian authors, the unfortunate poet, quite at the opening of his career, exhibited signs of insanity, and passed a great part of his life in an imbecile condition. Excluded from all intercourse with the outer world, he died in 1855.

We may, perhaps, find here a convenient opportunity for saying a few words on the subject of Russian translations, and it must be acknowledged that few languages exhibit greater powers in the hands of a master. Hence the Russians have long since familiarised themselves with the best products of foreign thought. Excellent translations exist of Shakespeare, Byron, Buckle, Mill, Macaulay, and many other English writers; and we cannot but feel gratified that, in spite of political antipathies, they have shown so great a passion for our literature. The modern school of novelists—Gogol, Tourgheniev, Pisemski, Gontcharov, and others—is formed not upon Balzac and Alexandre Dumas, but upon Dickens, Thackeray, and George Eliot. Before leaving the subject of translations, mention must be made of that of Homer by Guedich, formerly one of the assistants in the Imperial Library at St. Petersburg. This version is very spirited and accurate, and the hexameters are musically

rendered in a corresponding metre. Some of the Russian critics, however, complain that too many archaic forms from the Old Church Language are introduced, and that a rhetorical tone is communicated to the version, alien to the straightforwardness and simplicity of Homer. To us it appears far superior to anything which we can show in our own language as a version of the same classic: we have to choose between the Frenchified prettinesses of Pope's version and the bald commonplaces of Lord Derby's, which, in many passages, does not rise above the level of the translation published in Mr. Bohn's series.

If, however, only a translator was found in Zhukovski, in the next literary planet which "swam into their ken" the Russians were destined to find their greatest poet—we mean Alexander Pushkin. Never had their language appeared to show such elegance as in the young author's "Ruslan and Lioudmila," a charming tale of the half-mythical period of their history—like that of our own Arthur—in which the influence of Byron was visible, but an influence which had never seduced the poet into being a mere copyist. The same may be said of "The Prisoner of the Caucasus," (Kavkaskii Plennik), in which Pushkin had an opportunity of describing the romantic scenery of that wild country, which was then entirely new ground. In the "Fountain of Bakhiserai" he chose an episode in the history of the khans of the Crimea, which he has handled very poetically. "The Gypsies" is a wild Oriental tale of passion and vengeance. The poet, who had been spending some time amid the steppes of Bessarabia, has left us wonderful pictures of the wandering tribes and their savage life.

Many Russians consider the "Evgenii Oniegin" of Pushkin to be his best effort. It is a powerfully written love story, full of clever sketches of modern life, interspersed with satire and pathos. One of the most interesting characters of the piece—we had almost said the *chief* character, but perhaps Oniegin himself must be considered the hero—Vladimir Lenskoi, is killed by his friend in a duel. The whole scene is put upon the canvas very vigorously, and it is not a little curious that Pushkin should have described so pathetically a fate which he himself, in consequence of his own impetuosity, was afterwards to undergo. M. Courrière has given an analysis of a considerable part of this poem: we are precluded by want of space from attempting anything of the kind here, and must send our readers to his pages, unless they can claim some acquaintance with the original Russian, and assuredly they will not find their knowledge of the great Slavonic language without its ample fruits.

Pushkin has shown true genius in his delineation of the character of the passionate and generous Tatiana in contrast to

her commonplace and conventional sister Olga. These are types of character continually recurring in the daily experience of life, and it has been left for George Eliot, in our own time, to reproduce them with renewed vigour.

A criticism of Pushkin would necessarily be imperfect which left out of all consideration his drama on the subject of Boris Godunov. This curious figure in Russian history, who seems to be a *mélange* of Macbeth and Cromwell, offered some Rembrandt-like alternations of light and shade, which could not escape the observation of so keen-eyed an artist as Pushkin. He accordingly treated the subject in a spirited play on the Shakespearean model. Up to this time the traditions of the Russian stage—such as they were—were wholly French. The piece is undoubtedly very clever, and conceived with true dramatic power.

Since Pushkin's attempt, the historical drama, based entirely upon the English, has been very successfully cultivated. A fine trilogy has been composed by Count A. Tolstoi (whose premature death all Russia deplored) on the three subjects, "The Death of Ivan the Terrible" (1866), "The Tzar Feodor" (1868), and the "Tzar Boris" (1869). There must always be a fascination to the dramatist in this fateful epoch of Russian history, with its strange contrasts and terrible issues. There is a weird horror throughout the whole series of events, over which a Nemesis seems to brood as dark as that which directs the catastrophes of Atreus and *Œdipus*. Other authors have followed in the path so well opened up by Pushkin, and the Russians may boast of the existence of a national drama.

The fate of Pushkin was sad in the extreme: it were as well to draw a kindly veil over the sorrows of his domestic life, and to content ourselves with the mere statement that he fell mortally wounded in a duel on the 27th January 1837, and expired two days afterwards in great agonies. M. Courrière has translated the sad letter of Zhukovski, giving an account of the poet's last moments: about thirty years ago a version of it into English was given by the late Thomas Shaw, in some papers contributed to "Blackwood's Magazine" on the poet and his writings.

Such was the melancholy end of a man who has won the foremost place among Slavonic poets; Mickiewicz, the Pole, can alone be allowed to dispute the palm with him. The writings of Pushkin are all characterised by fire and dramatic vigour, and he frequently shows himself capable of the most subtle analysis of character. Among ourselves, who seem (to modify the words of Tacitus) *nostra tantum mirari*, his writings, and indeed his name, are almost unknown, but he has been frequently translated into German and other Continental languages.

The Russian fabulists, whose name is legion, demand some mention. Shall we confess frankly that we have no particular *penchant* for this form of literature, not even in the pages of a Lafontaine? Lessons of worldly astuteness and trickery, of which animals are the mouthpieces, seem more properly to belong to the infancy of a nation and to the traditions of Oriental despotism. The productions of the witty Frenchman produced at the brilliant court of Louis XIV., where, however, so much that constituted true manliness and self-respect was wanting, are in reality no exception to the rule. To us the great bewigged monarch seems in many things to resemble the Grand Turk, presiding at his divan with his obsequious slaves crouching round him. The fable has never been a favourite species of literature among men whose boast it has been that they exercise self-government: there is a childishness about it which renders it unpalatable.

To return, however, to the Russian fabulists. Khemnitzor, Dmitriev, Ivanov, and many others, have attempted this style of poetry, but the palm has been borne away by the celebrated Ivan Krilov (1768-1844). Many of his short pithy sentences have become proverbs among the Russian people, like the couplets of Lafontaine among the French, and Butler's "Hudibras" among ourselves. His pictures of life and manners are most thoroughly national.

In Koltzov, the true voice of the people, which had before only expressed itself in the national ballads, was heard. The life of this sensitive and warm-hearted man of genius was clouded by poverty and suffering. He has, however, been fortunate in his biographer, the truly appreciative Russian critic, Belinski. The poet was born at Voronezh, chief town of the government of that name, in 1809. His youth was spent in driving cattle about the steppes. At the age of sixteen Koltzov first began to compose poetry, but he could not shape his exuberant fancies according to the strict rules of Russian prosody. At a small bookshop at Voronezh he purchased the works of Lomonosov, Derzhavin, and Bogdanovich, and thereby became master of the more artificial portion of his craft. Assisted by the son of a country gentleman, named Stankevich, he was enabled to publish a small volume of poems at Moscow, which immediately created a *furor*, and the shepherd-poet, as he was called, became the lion of the chief salons of the two capitals, where he was generously welcomed by Pushkin, Thukovski, Viazemski, and others. Amidst all these changes, Koltzov, as we are told of Burns, preserved his native modesty and self-respect. His life, however, was embittered by an unfortunate love affair, and the impossibility of emancipating

himself from the gross associations and drudgery of his lowly calling. During the later years of his life, he endured much ill-treatment from the members of his family. His letters give us a sad picture of Russian domestic life among the lower classes. Worn out in body and mind, the unfortunate poet died of consumption on the 19th of October 1842.

The poems of Koltzov are written for the most part in unrhymed verse; the sharp, well-defined accent in Russian amply satisfying the ear, as in German. His poetical taste had been nurtured by the popular lays of his country. He has caught their colouring as truly as Burns did that of the Scottish minstrelsy. He is unquestionably the most *national* poet that Russia has produced. Slepoushkin and Alipanov, two other peasant poets, who made some little noise in their time, cannot for one moment be compared with him, but on the other hand he has been excelled by the fiery energy and picturesque power of the Cossack, Taras Shevchenko. An examination of the works of this latter author can hardly be brought within the scope of our present article, as he wrote in Malo-Russian, the Southern dialect or language. We may possibly return to him at a future period. His fate was almost more melancholy than that of Koltzov.

Since the death of Pushkin, Lermontov alone has appeared to dispute the poetical crown with him. The short life of this author (1814-41) ended in the same way as Pushkin's—in a duel provoked by himself. Many of his lyrics are exquisite, and have become standard poems in Russia. Who has not heard of the "Gifts of Terek," and "The Cradle Song of the Cossack Mother"? In the piece entitled, "Song about the Tzar Ivan Vasilievich, the young oprichnik and the bold merchant, Kalashnikov," Lermontov has imitated the old Russian national legends with great skill. We seem to be reading a veritable *bylina*. His poems are characterised by a terrible vein of irony: the emptiness of life, that "stupid jest," as he calls it, is constantly paraded before us, and the wretched details of the poet's existence are in keeping with such utterances. Pushkin is also tinged with the same feeling, which seems to be something more than a note caught from Byron. Similar sentiments have been reached by Nekrasov, who is still living, and Polezhaev. M. Courrière has omitted all mention of the latter author, but he seems to us to have had considerable lyric force. There is something altogether overpowering in his verses entitled, "Condemned" (*Osouzhdennii*)*. Concerning Lermontov,

* The reader who has at all familiarised himself with Russian should also look at the deeply pathetic poem with the homely heading "Tobacco" (*Tabak*). See *Stikhotvorenia Polezhaeva*, Moskva, 1859, p. 101.

we must mention a fact interesting in our part of Europe: he was of Scotch descent, the original name being Learmont, and the termination merely added to Russify it. The poet has alluded to this fact in some verses, which have not been included in the ordinary editions of his poems, but were published a little time ago in the Russian Review "*Starina*." At what time the poet's ancestors settled in Russia we are unable to state, but any one consulting early documents will find many Carnichaels, Hamiltons, &c., in the time of Alexis Mikhailovich, to say nothing of Scotch soldiers in the pay of the False Demetrius. Every one has heard of the Bruces and Gordons of a later period. In Gogol, who died in 1852, the Russians had to lament the loss of a keen and vigorous satirist. With a happy humour, reminding us of Dickens in his best moods, he has sketched all classes of society in the "*Dead Souls*," perhaps the cleverest of all Russian novels. No one, also, has reproduced the scenery and habits of Little Russia, of which he was a native, more vigorously than Gogol, whether in the pictures of country life, in his "*Old-Fashioned Household*" (if we may translate in so free a manner the title "*Starosvetskie Pomeschiki*"), or in the wilder sketches of the struggles which took place between the Poles and Cossacks in "*Taras Boulba*." The description of the *Sech* or Cossack republic is drawn very vigorously, but the manners are too savage to render the piece interesting. The conclusion, in which the stern, old fanatic, who has burned to death many of his prisoners, meets himself with the same fate at the hands of his enemies, is absolutely revolting. For ourselves the most charming bits in Gogol are the little, quaint, humorous touches, as when he draws his picture of the sleepy, old country-house, and tells us how each of the doors had a separate sound as it turned upon its hinges, and an articulation for those who could comprehend it, just as Dickens puts a life in the bells in his "*Chimes*." In the "*Portrait*" and "*Memoirs of a Madman*," Gogol shows a weird power which may be compared with that of the fantastic American, Edgar Allan Poe. How strange it is that the celebrated Russian has met with such total neglect in this country! *

Besides his novels, Gogol wrote a brilliant comedy, called the "*Revisor*," dealing with the evils of the bureaucracy. . .

It would be impossible in an article like the present to enu-

* We must not forget that some years ago, trading on the universal ignorance, an Englishman had the effrontery to translate "*The Dead Souls*," and publish it as an original work, under the title of "*Home Life in Russia*."

merate even the most prominent Russian novelists. No account, however, of their literature would be anything like complete which omitted the name of Ivan Tourgheniev, whose reputation is European. With the Russians, as we have previously said, the English novel of the realistic type is the favourite model. In this branch of literature French influences have hardly been felt at all. The historical novel—an echo of the great romances of Sir Walter Scott—had its cultivators in such writers as Zagoskin and Lazhechnikov; but at the present time it is a form of literature as dead in Russia as in our own country.* *Habent sua fata libelli.* The novel of domestic life bids fair to swallow up all the rest, and it is to that that the Russians are devoting their attention. Tourgheniev first made a name by his “Memoirs of a Sportsman,” a powerfully written work, in which harrowing descriptions were given of the miserable condition of the Russian serfs. Since the publication of this novel he has written a succession of able works of the same kind, in which all classes of Russian society have been reviewed. No more pathetic tale than “The Gentleman’s Seat” (*Dvorianskoe Gnesdo*) can be shown in the literature of any country. There are touches in it worthy of George Eliot. In “Fathers and Children,” and “Smoke,” Tourgheniev has grappled with the Nihilistic ideas which for a long time have been so current in Russia. The great novelist is still in the vigour of his genius, and much more may be hoped from him.

In the subject of Slavonic philology the Russians only occupy a secondary place, for as yet they have not produced a Schleicher, a Dobrowsky, or a Schafarik; nor can they show such works as the great “Comparative Grammar of the Slavonic Languages,” by Miklosich of Vienna, and the “Lexicon of the Ecclesiastical Slavonic,” by the same author. Still they have done some genuine and honourable work. The cultivation of these studies has of course been recent, and dates from the overthrow of the monstrous incubus of Gallicism. It was not till the beginning of this century that they realised that their past language and traditions were worth studying. The impulse may with accuracy be said to date from the time of Karamzin, whose history, previously alluded to, may indeed contain many faults; but was written in an elegant, almost fascinating style, and with great erudition. The notes teem with proofs of the most wide and varied reading. Soon afterwards, literary and antiquarian societies began to be formed in Russia; and foremost among the in-

* We must not, however, pass over some of the recent productions of Count A. Tolstoi.

investigators of her history must be mentioned Pogodin, Kostomarov and Soloviev. The second of these authors writes in a very iconoclastic spirit, and handles severely many of the most time-honoured legends of Russian history.

Soloviev is still publishing his very voluminous history, which has all the dignity of a great national work. Professor Ilovaïski has been recently astonishing his fellow-countrymen by some very heterodox opinions on the origin of the Russians, whom, in spite of the exhaustive labours of Schäfarik, he affects to consider as the descendants of the Roxolani.

Oustriatov, who died in 1870, and whose memoirs were published this year in the magazine "Old and New Russia" (*Drevnaia i Novaia Rossia*), has made some very important contributions to the literature of his country. His most celebrated production is his "History of Peter the Great," which was written with the help of many documents which had remained up to the time unpublished. The secret archives of Moscow and St. Petersburg were laid open to the author. The whole history of the unfortunate Alexis was narrated in the minutest details, and the circumstances of his fate made clear. Vostokov, a Russianised German, edited the "Ostromir Codex," the earliest manuscript according to some of the Ecclesiastical Slavonic language. It is supposed to have been written in the year 1056, for the use of Ostromir, *posadnik* of Novgorod, who was related to the Grand Duke Iziaslav. The edition of Vostokov was a very valuable contribution to Slavonic philology. A grammar of the language was added; but it has been somewhat superseded by the labours of Miklosich and Schleicher.

Biliarski has published a valuable work on the Slavonic copy of the Gospels, upon which the Kings of France were accustomed to take the oath at their coronation at Rheims before the Revolution. This book was magnificently bound in a cover of plates of gold, ornamented with precious stones. When, in 1717, Peter the Great visited Rheims, it was exhibited to him among the other curiosities of the place, and he recognised it to be written in some Slavonic language. In 1789, an Englishman, Thomas Ford Hill, having been shown some Glagolitic manuscripts in the Imperial Library at Vienna, at once declared that they were in the same characters as the mysterious book at Rheims.

The matter would soon have been sifted, as the curiosity of Slavonic scholars had begun to be excited, when the Revolution broke out in all its fury. The wonderful book disappeared, carried off, no doubt, on account of its precious exterior. Nor

could any trace of it be found, and its loss was naturally deplored by Slavonic scholars, as they imagined it might have contained leaves of the highest antiquity and of priceless value.

The eminent savants, Sylvestre de Lacy and Kopitar, made all possible search for it, but to no purpose. How it ultimately turned up we are unable to state. But it was recognised by the Slavonic scholar Stroiev, of course stripped of its gorgeous environment. The book was found by Paplonski to consist of two parts: 1st, Cyrillian in a Serbo-Russian dialect, written, according to the inscription at the end, by St. Procopius, at Prague, in 1032, but this statement is a mere fabrication, having no doubt been added by a later hand; 2d, Glagolitic of Cech origin, and dating no further back than 1325. Kopitar seems to have made out the history of the volume in the "*Slavische Bibliothek*" very satisfactorily. He thinks that it was purchased by the German Emperor Charles IV., under the impression that it was really written by St. Procopius: about 1451 it seems to have got to Constantinople, and to have been bought there by a French Cardinal, who presented it to the Cathedral at Rheims. The theory of Jerebtzov that it was taken to France by Anne, daughter of Yaroslav, who married Henry I., is groundless.

Two other sound philologists may here also be mentioned—Szegnevski, a writer on the old Slavonic language, of deservedly high repute, and Hilferding, whose premature death a few years ago was a great loss to Russian literature. His works on the history of the Polabes, the old Slavonic tribe on the Elbe, and on the Indo-European affinities of the Slavonic languages, are exceedingly valuable.

The old customs of their race have been explored by Afanasiev, Kastorski, Kotliarevski, Snegirev, and Tereschenko; but it must be frankly confessed that the subject of Slavonic mythology remains up to the present time a chaos. Many works have appeared in various languages, but no one of them has satisfactorily arranged the Slavonic pantheon. The work of Hanns* is full of wild speculations; perhaps the best is Schwenke's. Large collections of national songs have appeared, edited by Kirievski and Ribnikov, and of tales by Afanasiev, Sakharov, and Erlenwein. Valuable books have been written on the characteristics of this early national literature by Buslaev.

We have thus endeavoured to survey the progress of Russian literature from its earliest dawn with Nestor to its later days under Pushkin and Lermontov, Pogodin and Soloviev. At the present time (as with ourselves), the novel appears to be the

* *Wissenschaft des Slawischen Myths*, Lemberg, 1842.

form of literature which is most in fashion. . We have not professed to mention one half of the frequenters of this avenue to fame. Since Lermontov, if we perhaps except Nekrasov, no lyrical poet of eminence has arisen, but the drama has been cultivated with very considerable success. Indefatigable antiquarians have sprung up on all sides, who are busy with taking down old Aryan traditions from the mouths of peasants in song and tale. In following this impulse, the Russians again are in sympathy with the enthusiasms of the rest of Europe. This is essentially the era of popular literature, properly so called; and in our zeal for simplicity, we bid fair almost to run into the opposite extreme, and neglect some of the simplest forms of art. .

The branches of literature which the Russians must be acknowledged to have cultivated with the most success are lyric poetry, the drama, the novel, and history—especially that of their own country and kindred Slavonic nations. Nor must we deny them considerable merit as philologists, both in the Slavonic languages and in those of the East generally. Those publications of the Moscow Society for Natural History which we have seen would lead us to form very favourable opinions on their progress in this branch of learning—opinions which have been further strengthened by what we have heard from men of science in this country well qualified to speak critically. We may hope that, together with their noble language, their literature may become more and more developed, and thus the proud prophecy of Belinski, which M. Courrière has inscribed on the title-page of his work, will be verified.

ART. VIII.—CROSS-FERTILISATION OF PLANTS, AND
CONSANGUINEOUS MARRIAGE.

1. *The Effects of Cross and Self Fertilisation in the Vegetable Kingdom.* By CHARLES DARWIN. London : John Murray. 1876.
2. *Marriages between First Cousins in England, and their Effects.* By GEORGE H. DARWIN. Read before the Statistical Society. March 16, 1875.
3. *Note on the Marriage of First Cousins.* By GEORGE H. DARWIN. 'Journal of the Statistical Society. September 1875.

THOUGH Mr. Darwin's work, "The Cross and Self Fertilisation of Plants," is written primarily as a part of his wide and fertile Philosophy of Nature, it has necessarily also a particular bearing on the subject whether in-and-in breeding is, or is not, harmful in itself, apart from any intensification of morbid inheritance. Mr. Darwin wishes to show that there is no natural and impassable boundary between the various species ; and not only that the various organisms *may* vary through the effects of natural selection, &c., but that they *have* not varied so much but that they can intercross ; that many new varieties have arisen through crosses, and that there is even a natural law that all organisms should occasionally intercross. His work is marked by all the exactness and forethought of so practical a biologist. His results are lit up by the brilliant generalisation to which we are accustomed from Mr. Darwin, but which he shares with scarce half-a-dozen other men in all the world. It is the peculiar prerogative of a great thinker, not only clearly to explain the subject on which he happens to be writing, but to light up every little fact upon which he happens to touch ; and in this quality of suggestiveness Mr. Darwin is particularly happy. Each one of his works supplies food for months of mental digestion ; each one of his works marks an epoch in the history of its particular subject ; and this particular work before us marks an epoch in the history of our knowledge concerning the effects of close interbreeding compared with the effects of crosses.

While physiologists have been busy for centuries in investigating the properties and functions of every organ of the human body ; while they have busied themselves with experiments on the effects of various articles of diet and of medicine ; while they have carefully recorded hundreds and hundreds of observations on the inheritance of peculiarities—such as the possession of six

fingers, or an abnormal number of limbs, or the transposition of the internal organs; or such as the porcupine man, the hairy woman, the Siamese twins, and the two-headed Nightingale—it will scarcely be believed that, until lately, there has hardly been a single serious investigation concerning the results of close interbreeding and consanguineous marriage. Legislation on the latter subject has indeed been common enough, nor is it necessary to say with much the same result as the commercial legislation before the age of Adam Smith. Never, perhaps, has there been a more baneful exercise of authority in matters of opinion in repressing original investigation than in this subject. And the prohibited degrees, as handed down to us, are regarded with a reverence difficult to comprehend, when we know that, so far from taking their authority from the Bible or the statutes of England, they are, in one case, in opposition to these, and in others have no authority at all.

It is, however, beside our subject to enter into any controversy on this question. What we wish to call attention to is the curious ignorance on the authority of our prohibited degrees; the extraordinary fear or apathy with which all inquiry on the subject is regarded, in view of the important interests involved in, and general feeling of alarm as to the consequences of, marriage between first cousins—an alarm which must be widely spread if we may judge by the many letters in medical journals, the inquiries which clergymen and physicians are constantly receiving, and the clandestine marriages which every now and again disturb the harmony of families, embitter the relations between parents and children, and figure amongst the law-news in the daily press.

We should be led too far were we to show that this fear is due to no law, natural or divine, but simply to the spirit of asceticism which flourished in the early Christian Church; that it is inherited from the time when marriage was regarded with pious horror, and only tolerated as the least objectionable means for the production of monks and nuns. Marriage with a niece being first called into question, marriages with cousins were also prohibited. Marriages with more distant relations were in turn forbidden, until a corrupt and powerful Church, finding that people were willing to pay for the privilege of marrying whom they choose, extended the prohibitions from time to time up to the fourteenth degree, and ultimately as far as any relationship could be traced, including also affinity and god-parentage in their wicked and immoral laws. To enforce them was, of course, not intended. They were merely meant to act as a milch-cow to fill the priestly coffers. Their effect, however, upon generations of credulous and unthinking men and women was

to engender the belief that marriages between cousins were immoral, and would be punished by Heavenly wrath; their orchards "would not hit," their sheep would get the rot, and the children would suffer for the sins of their fathers. Few people, we imagine, even nowadays, would think it otherwise than a shocking and a horrid act were a god-father to marry his god-daughter, even though no relationship existed between them.

It was long before any one doubted that consanguineous marriage was harmful to the offspring. For proof, the usual system was to gather a few statistics of cases which happened to have caught the physician's attention because a whole family happened to be dumb or deformed; or, to mention some particular case, where long-continued in-and-in breeding in horses or in dogs had ended badly. What it was mattered little; the fact was undoubted. No one took the trouble to deny it, and few took the trouble to announce it. But at last among practical cattle-breeders it became a practical question. From hearsay and opinion among these, it worked its way into the medical academies, and produced fuller, and apparently most alarming, statistics on the dreadful effects of marriages between first, second, third, or even seventh cousins. The whole question began to assume a more tangible character. Facts could be opposed by facts. But even then the discussion was somewhat one-sided, because on the one side weighed the whole power of the Church and a mighty mass of tradition, while on the other there was little to oppose it; for cases of consanguineous marriage in which there was nothing abnormal failed to strike the attention of any observer, and were not collected.

By little and little the nature of the proofs required began to be recognised. It was shown that the collection of cases was worse than useless; that we must have the evidence of a careful and wide statistical inquiry, or observations on small isolated communities, or observations on the lower animals. The two first would decide the question whether marriages between cousins were practically harmful; the last would decide the question whether the harm done, if any, was due to an intensification of a hereditary taint merely, or whether it was due to an organic necessity that there should be an occasional cross.

This last question is that which Mr. Darwin in his valuable work has attempted to answer, and we fear that the answer is to some extent unsatisfactory. Not on account of what Mr. Darwin has done, however, in the particular branch of inquiry which he has undertaken, but on account of the darkness in which all other branches are left enshrouded. The light Mr. Darwin throws is like that of a bull's-eye, making the surrounding darkness greater by the contrast; and hence there is a probability that this work may induce others without any pre-

vious research to apply his results to other parts of the natural kingdom. Mr. Darwin has indeed made experiments on the comparative growth of many small flowering plants crossed and self-fertilised. He has given a full relation of his manner of procedure, with a judicial account of his results, and has come to the conclusion that there is no necessary intensification of hereditary taints; that in-and-in breeding is harmless so long as the sexual elements are sufficiently differentiated; or, in other words, that plants whose habitat was constantly changed, could be allowed to fertilise each other for ever; while, if this was not attended to, crossed plants, with some exceptions, grew a little taller, or were heavier, or produced more seed. •

We must remember, however, that Mr. Darwin's observations were confined to that part of the organic world in which we should, from theoretical reasons, consider that the prevention of crosses would tell most hardly. These highly organised structures have, as it were, outgrown the position they originally occupied in nature. They require their little luxuries, such as change of soil and climate, or, what comes to the same thing, crosses, as absolutely as we find we cannot do without houses and well-cooked food. They require much, and are rooted to one place. They are, compared to the lowly *Algæ* and *Fungi*, delicate and ill-prepared to withstand the evils of adverse circumstances. They are, like civilised men, unable to live without higher appliances; but *with* those appliances immeasurably superior to their less specialised brethren. In their peculiar line of development, the highest plants are almost as superior in organisation as are the highest animals compared to the lowest. But in one sole point there is an immense difference between animals and plants. When the seed has once struck root, there can be no further change for the higher plant; while the higher animals can and do subject themselves to many and various changes of circumstances. The lower animals and plants, again, have a certain amount of mobility, a shorter life, and being less highly organised, have less need of change. Emigrants to Canada, for instance, are farmers, smiths, carpenters, clothiers, all in one; while in the more highly organised society of England, not only are the different trades followed by different persons, but in factories a man passes his life in performing one simple operation over and over again. We should say, therefore, that change is necessary for the latter individual, while for the former it is not; and so with organic structures the same rule doubtlessly holds good, that the more specialised organisms need change, while the simpler do not. Speaking generally, the higher plants have a longer life, and a more highly organised structure, and therefore require a greater amount of change

than do others. Moreover, their only chance of escaping competition, exhaustion of soil, or that obscure tiring of certain cells called "want of change," is only experienced once, at the beginning of the life of each individual, when the seed is dispersed. If the seed fall close to the parent plant, the young individual would be subject to the same circumstances its parent had experienced, and would be subject also to great competition. Even were it not theoretically obvious, the importance of dispersion of the seed is shown by the great variety and wonderful adaptation of means for their dissemination. It is not improbable, indeed, that it is solely for this reason that the seed and its analogies are formed; for if seeds were formed merely to multiply the plant, this object might as well be attained by means of buds, which drop off and grow around the parent, or by the spreading of roots and growth from them of new shoots; while, if the object of the seed were to secure the preservation of the plant under adverse circumstances, such as frosts or floods, which would kill the parent but not harm the seed, portions of the stem, such as the "eye" of the potato, or certain buds, might easily be endowed with the requisite quality of resistance. Yet so anxious is Nature to scatter the various organisms far and wide, that we find not seed alone supplied with the means of conveyance from place to place, but every stage of the organism, from the first germs of its appearance on the parent, to the time when it finally strikes root, both in plants and in the (comparatively to other animals) non-locomotive lower animals, is also furnished with the means of transport as perfect as is consistent with other necessary conditions of life. In the lower plants, for instance, the *zoospores*, or sexual elements, are frequently dispersed *before* they unite to form a fertile cell or seed; and the seeds of the higher plants have wonderful contrivances by which they may be wafted through the air on feathery plumules, as in the dandelion, or on wings, as in the ash; or they may be carried by birds or quadrupeds, attached to the wool, &c., &c. While in the lower animals the eggs may be dispersed by the parent, as in winged insects, or by water, as the floating eggs of the dog-fish; they may be laid in an animal, or the larval form may itself have great power of locomotion.

But besides this imperative and universal need of *dispersion*, there is another and somewhat antagonistic need of *defence* or parental care. Dispersion is in itself to some degree a defence, because where an immense quantity of seeds are widely dispersed, it is more probable that some will escape adverse circumstances, and light upon favourable circumstances, than were they not widely dispersed. But parental care of the offspring

will undoubtedly prevent the waste production of many which would otherwise be destroyed, and it is therefore a saving of labour. Indeed it seems to be a law, that the higher an animal is in the scale of creation, the longer does it remain a burden to its parents; that is, the higher animals have only arrived at their higher stage of development through circumstances which have enabled them to remain a long time under parental care. The consequence of this antagonism to dispersion is shown in the fact that they are not spread abroad until they have reached a comparatively advanced age. In organisms a little lower in the scale, distribution takes place in the larval form. Lower still, the fertilised seed is distributed; and at the foot of the scale, in those organisms whose life is short, whose distribution must be very wide, or who must run the risk of utter extermination from temporary or local adverse circumstances—in these the distribution takes place even before fertilisation, as in those low organisms which multiply by means of zoospores. But we have already seen that to conquer adverse circumstances by the production of immense quantities of seed is as wasteful as to conquer an enemy by hurling immense masses of troops against him. An unskilful officer does so, but a more skilled throws up temporary defences, or advances under cover. So in plants there is a constant effort to combine judicious defence with attack, judicious dissemination with as much parental care as possible. Thus, to take the most salient instance, in the fern species a seed is not produced immediately from the parent, but an immense quantity of spores or immature seeds, which cost little in the production, because they are as it were unfinished, are scattered far and wide by the wind. By this step, therefore, the fern has produced a greater quantity than would otherwise be possible, and of lighter quality, so they can be widely dispersed; but they are immature, and here is the danger. Many of course fall in unsuitable places, and are lost; many again find themselves unable to struggle with their neighbours, and are also lost; but a greater proportion succeed, and germinate into a sort of plant called a *prothallium*, which only exists to produce the sexes. It is a very simple and unspecialised structure, as the spore from which it grew; and hence it may produce the sexes from almost any part, and throw rootlets out from almost any part: its office is to supply the parental care. It produces and nourishes the sexes, which, when mature, sometimes fertilise each other, and sometimes secure a little further dispersion by conjugating with neighbours. A cell or seed is thus formed, which contains sufficient protoplasm to germinate into a new form, and the process is complete. In short, every plant strives to disseminate its spores, &c., as widely as possible, and, at the

same time, to ensure their growth by supporting them as long as possible.

In this sketch it will be noticed that no importance is assigned to the question of crosses, and indeed we look upon it as something of entirely secondary importance. We do not think that crosses are important enough, or so necessary as to produce the various contrivances for crossing; but we do think that distribution is. For the former we see no obvious necessity; we do not see that it is constant; we do not see that it is fundamental. The importance of the latter is obvious; it is constant and present from the beginning. In the lowest types, those types which were the parents of and formed the habits of the higher, the union of spores is by no means a necessity, and though they do frequently conjugate, they can, nevertheless, develop of themselves. The earliest form of conjugation is but the addition of plastic matter to a growing cell, and is really the same thing as the addition of nutriment to a growing bud. It is extremely difficult otherwise to explain the almost absolute identity of all kinds of spores; as, for instance, in *Ulothrix zonata*, which, though it produces two kinds of spores, small and large, which represent to some extent the male and female elements, yet, as Dr. Arnold Dodel points out,* these need not conjugate. They may do so, but the one will grow without conjugation like a seed. In short, this almost absolute identity, morphologically, of all spores, their power of independent growth, leads us to believe that any difference in size or form between them is not due to a difference of nature between them, but due rather to the division of sex which took place to secure greater perfection and economy of labour. If the sexes became divided for this reason (and why should they not, seeing that all other functions of organised bodies have become subdivided between different organs?), then two sexual elements are produced instead of one, and they must meet to give this sexual perfection effect. Since, however, dissemination is a necessity, one kind is generally motile; and since, also, parental care is necessary, one is generally for a time fixed to the parent until it be still further developed. The former, being motile and soonest cast off from the parent, will have a tendency to be smaller than the other, which is fixed, and in the constant receipt of nourishment. We see, therefore, that the larger or female cell may be identical in constitution with the smaller or male cell, although it may differ in appearance, size, and action. We find, in fact, in nature this constant struggle between dissemination and parental care illustrated in

* *Nature*, vol. xv., pp. 512, 513.

every variety of way. In some plants distribution is so urgent that the conjugation of the two sexes is quite a secondary consideration, notwithstanding that each is probably somewhat deficient in the necessary material; in others, one cell is motile and the other under parental care; in others, again, both may conjugate before dissemination.

In those plants in which the conjugation of two cells has become necessary from the deficiency of plastic material in one alone; the motility of the male spore is an advantage not so great as the motility of the product of the union of the two, but it is nevertheless an advantage, though a lesser one. For suppose a family of plants, which we shall call, for the sake of the illustration, red tulips, among which was a yellow individual which produced more pollen than was needful for fertilising its own female organs; and suppose this superfluous pollen year after year conveyed to the neighbouring tulips, these would after a time produce a series of half-breeds with more and more yellow in their colouring, and with a tendency also to a greater production of pollen, until at last all the tulips growing in that spot would become yellow; they would have become almost entirely the descendants of an individual. By the excess production of one sex only, the tulips therefore would have gained an increase in numbers, which would be equivalent to increased distribution. Indeed, we may imagine some such course of excess of production, being the possible precursor of sex. Suppose a state in which there is no sex, but the plants produce only one kind of spore, which will grow without any conjugation. Their greater production would cause a greater tendency to conjugation; for those which happened to meet and conjugate would possess a greater joint-stock of nutriment, and would, therefore, be less likely to succumb under adverse circumstances. Again, since the two most important objects in reproduction are dissemination and parental care, the tendency will be for certain of the spores to be nourished longer by the parent, and for certain other spores to be produced in greater quantity. As we have seen, the spores which are longest nourished must possess the greatest vitality or size, and will be female spores, while the others, or male spores, have a tendency to conjugation, and, as they are not fixed, increase their tendency to motility and production in greater numbers than is needed for the fertilisation of the female cells. Many of them will, therefore, go to form half-breeds of a like tendency.

A cursory glance at the systems of reproduction in the vegetable world will show a decided disposition, as plants rise in the scale of nature, to reproduce themselves less by immature reproductive cells that is, that the more highly developed and

specialised plants trust less to dissemination by imperfect spores, and more to parental care of the embryo. In the flowering plants there is no reproduction by spores, nor even a go-between such as we have seen in ferns; and before the fertile product of the union of male and female cells is turned loose on the world, it is furnished with a little capital in the shape of a store of nutriment in the seed. Yet they have really undergone the same process as the lower plants. The two generations which go to produce a young form are expressed in the formation of the seed. But when a flowering plant propagates itself otherwise than by seeding, it is almost always by tillering or branching, and the offspring is thus not separated from the parent until it has formed, with parental aid, a step or root for itself. The only form of immature dissemination which they retain is the dispersion of the pollen, or motile male spores, which, however, are incapable of growing by themselves, but retain for the parent, in some measure, the benefit that the plant which succeeds in fertilising most possesses in comparison with others: it fertilises its own flower, and has enough pollen over to fertilise others, and thus produce half-breeds of its own family.* To such an extent is this crossing carried, that many plants depend upon it entirely, and devote their entire energy to the production of one sex.

Now it is urged in favour of the absolute necessity of crosses, that every organism, from the lowest to the highest, sometimes crosses; that there are, besides, many contrivances which prevent self-fertilisation, and favour crosses; that the division of the sexes between two individuals can only be that crosses may occur; that in some plants, pollen from their own flowers is positively poisonous to themselves, while pollen from any other flower of their kind is perfectly fertile; and, finally, Mr. Darwin has shown, by careful and long-continued experiments, that crossed plants are more vigorous than inbred plants.

If what we have urged above, however, has any germ of truth in it, it would be an astonishing thing were any organism never to cross; though the cross in the lower organisms would not probably be a benefit to the one crossed, but to the one which crosses. A plant can never get the full advantage from the

* An instance is recorded by Mr. M. S. Evans, who writes from Natal, that a plant of the sub-order *Coffee* bears flowers so arranged that, to get at the honey, ants must cover themselves with pollen. But the anthers ripen and cover the stigma with pollen before the bud opens. (See *Nature*, vol. xiii. p. 427.) It is, therefore, usually self-fertilised; but, should it miss self-fertilisation, it will be crossed. Moreover, the plant which succeeded in crossing most would also have produced the greatest number of offspring.

division of sex, never devote its whole power to the production of one sex at one time, without becoming at least functionally unisexual. If it is a hermaphrodite, either the anthers will be ready before the stigma, or *vice versa*, and crosses will be necessary, either by means of the wind, or by water, or by insects; but in the last case, the flower must also produce coloured petals, scent, or honey, to attract them. Or it may be that many hermaphrodite flowers first produced honey, &c., to assist in dispersing their pollen and fertilise themselves. When once an hermaphrodite, from accident or division of labour, has become unisexual, it will always cross; and should it afterwards resume the sex it has dropped, and become again hermaphrodite, there is no reason why the customary method of fertilisation should be altered, provided it was efficient. The necessary insects are there, and need not be again formed.* It is by this long-continued custom of crossing that we may probably explain the self-impotency of some plants, and why plants accustomed to cross are benefited by a cross. On the other hand, a plant, when once, by change of circumstances, it has become habituated to self-fertilisation, also seems to suit itself to circumstances, and a cross does not benefit it in the least.

It might be objected to this view, that it is absurd to suppose that all the elaborate structures which secure cross-fertilisation are created in vain; that were crosses useless, plants could as easily adapt themselves to self-fertilisation as they now do to crosses. But we must remember that a cross need not be useless, even though it is of minor importance. We must remember that distribution is the one factor which is ever present, while crosses are not; and that contrivances for crossing, even in the most wonderfully formed flowers, are but the lineal descendants of contrivances for dissemination. If the beneficial effects of crosses were a fundamental, and not a secondary and partial truth, how shall we account for those plants which habitually fertilise themselves? Or how should we explain the superiority of some inbred kinds to the same kind crossed? Why should the sexes be divided in those closed flowers called "cleistogene" which must fertilise themselves? Or why are the sexual organs nearly always enclosed in the same flower, instead of being divided among separate flowers? The only apparent explanation appears to us to be, that the sexes have gradually become divided as other functions have become specialised; and that every care was taken to combine sure fertilisation with as much dissemina-

* The only change that is likely to take place at first would be some such case as that of *Caryanthes macrura*, given by Professor Müller, which is so formed that self-fertilisation by bees is almost a necessity.—*Nature*, vol. xv. p. 358.

tion as possible. Of course there are also other incidental advantages. Plants which have the power of crossing form, as it were, one vast spreading organism; and hence should one set of sexual organs become aborted or useless, the other set will nevertheless be fertilised; while had the flower been unable to cross, the perfect female organs would have been produced in vain. Mr. Darwin also points out that did not crossing occasionally take place, plants might run the danger of becoming too much accustomed to one set of circumstances. They might become perfectly adapted to those circumstances, but were these to change, the plants might be unable to exist. Plants, however, which are subjected to an occasional cross become cosmopolite, and able to withstand the same changes to which their ancestors have been accustomed.

Where we venture to differ from Mr. Darwin is not so much in the deductions which he has drawn from the experiments he has conducted, but in their universal application. It is an application from the particular to the general; and though he appeals to the universality of crosses in nature, that appeal is not absolutely convincing, unless crosses originated merely for the purpose of securing an occasional change—the very thing which requires proof. Because highly organised flowering plants are the better for an occasional cross, it is hardly safe to conclude that all organisms are the better for a cross. Because crosses are extremely usual in nature, it is hardly safe to conclude that crosses are a primary necessity. Observations on highly organised plants may explain their own constitution, but will not explain the constitution of the lower organisms, still less that of the whole organic world.

Since Mr. Darwin looks upon the necessity of crossing as the key to the whole machinery of sex, he does not hold the common belief that in the earliest stage there is no sex, and reproduction takes place through the subdivision of the parent or by budding; that afterwards only a part of the plant is subdivided into spores; that afterwards, in a higher stage, these spores get differentiated and quasi-sexual; that finally different individuals produce the different sexes. He does not, in short, believe that the sexual organs have originated, as the other organs have originated, from a specialisation of function, so as to perform better, and at a less physiological cost, what a less specialised organism performs worse at a greater cost. But he considers the earliest stage to have been unisexual—

“As is still the case to a large extent, . . . if we admit the view, which seems highly probable, that the conjugation of the *Algæ* and of some of the simplest animals is the first step towards sexual reproduc-

tion ; and if we further bear in mind that a greater and greater degree of differentiation between the cells which conjugate can be traced, thus leading apparently to the development of two sexual forms" (p. 409).

Again—

"The object gained by the two sexes becoming united in the same hermaphrodite form probably is to allow of occasional or frequent self-fertilisation, so as to ensure the propagation of the species, more especially in the case of organisms affixed for life to the same spot. There does not seem to be any great difficulty in understanding how an organism, formed by the conjugation of two individuals which represented the two incipient sexes, might have given rise by budding first to a monœcious and then to a hermaphrodite form" (p. 462, 463).

But what was the primary unisexual form ? If unisex is the separation of the two sexes between two distinct individuals, how can we look upon the lowest Thallophytes as the primary form ? How can we look upon any organism as unisexual which produces spores that may unite with spores produced by the same plant, or by another plant, or simply grow of themselves without uniting with any other ? We could hardly call it hermaphrodite, and then only in the sense that we might call formation of free cells hermaphrodite, by the collection of the protoplasm, or contents of the mother-cell, around certain centres, and thus forming so many new cells. Mr. Darwin might instance some of the *Characeæ* as a type which produces the different sexes on different individuals, and yet is almost at the bottom of the vegetable world, but would he consider them to be the primary form of sex ? Moreover, the morphological position of the sexes in those which only produce one sex on each individual would rather point to the suppression of the second sex in each case than to the plant having subsequently developed another sex in those forms which produce both sexes on each individual. We fear that we have misunderstood Mr. Darwin's meaning, but it appears to us that he would recognise no connection, no chain of development, between the different methods of reproduction, between budding, adventitious shoots, subdivision of the parent, subdivision of a part of the parent to form spores, conjugation of similar elements, conjugation of dissimilar elements, hermaphroditism, and unisex. In the absence of instances, we fail to see how the sexes become *united* in an hermaphrodite ; we should rather have put it, became *differentiated*. From a differentiated to an undifferentiated state, from a state in which the two sexes are apportioned between two individuals to a state in which both sexes are given to one individual, seems to us not progression, but retrogression ; and

what warrant is there from the other functions of organisms that the most differentiated state which we know to exist was the primary state of the whole organic world? Indeed, it seems rather that, looking merely at the consequences of the faculty of crossing, any theory would be wanting which ignores the importance of distribution, and the gain of division of labour.

We may admit at once, however, that Mr. Darwin has conclusively shown that crosses in highly organised plants are necessary to plants accustomed to crosses. To have established this is to silence for ever a considerable amount of theoretical doubt as to the desirability of an occasional cross between individuals, and sometimes between distinct species. His experiments besides, however, tend strongly to confirm the truth of the above speculations as to the secondary value of crosses. Mr. Darwin found that certain individuals among the in-and-in bred plants developed a tendency favourable to in-and-in breeding, perfect in one case, less perfect in others, but in most not permanent, because theirs was a struggle. For Mr. Darwin planted a cross-bred seed and an inbred seed on opposite sides of the same pot, and let them struggle against each other. That the crossed plants were generally victorious is not to be wondered at, though it was probably unexpected by most people that the result would be so marked; and all the more since it was the general opinion that in crosses between distinct varieties or species the gain in size and luxuriance was due chiefly to the usually impotent state of the reproductive organs.

"Seeing," says Mr. Darwin himself in a former work (*"The Variation,"* &c., ed. 1875, ii. p. 156), "that almost all organic beings when exposed to unnatural conditions tend to become more or less sterile, it seems much the most probable view that with cultivated plants sterility is the exciting cause, and double flowers, rich seedless fruit, and in some cases largely developed organs of vegetation, &c., are the indirect results, these results having been in most cases largely increased through continual selection by man."

But in these cases the crossed flowers grown in competition with the self-fertilised were, as a rule, the most fertile. It seems, therefore, that in the last case, the gain in crosses must be due to the fact that though these flowers are actually hermaphrodite, they are functionally unisexual; hence we should expect to see in such plants the most vigorous offspring derived from the kind of union which is most natural and customary, and to which they have been adapted by the unbroken practice of generations. It is not at all unlikely that some of these plants, with care, might be bred so as to arrive at a state like that of the pea, the bee-ophrys, and other plants which by

some accident, from a state in which crosses were habitual, arrived at a state in which self-fertilisation became habitual; or that qualities like those which appeared in the sixth generation of *Ipomœa*, which, after long in-and-in breeding, was taller and more fertile than the crossed kinds, and was not benefited by a cross itself, might be developed. At the same time we should not expect such qualities to appear without careful cultivation; for self-fertilisation is useless to all flowering plants—indeed, to all organisms where fertilisation is otherwise assured; while, on the other hand, a unisexual state is the highest degree of economy at which any organism can arrive.

These are our reasons for the belief that Mr. Darwin's book, in careless hands, may lead to careless generalisations; and though what we have advanced is mere hypothesis, we think it notwithstanding may be worth some consideration. Mr. Darwin never advances an opinion without having a vast array of facts in its support; and it is probable that he can substantiate his views even in the lower plants. But he has not done so yet. His object having been to relate the result of his experiments on flowering, honey-bearing, scented, and coloured flowers, we could hardly expect a treatise on flowerless plants. The whole system of reproduction, however, is so finely graduated from the lowest to the highest, that we cannot think his observations on flowering plants alone are applicable to all. We want experiments on plants which do not habitually cross. We want experiments on the lower animals also. Till then, we may not venture to say that the sexes were divided for the benefit of crossing; still less can we say that it is a necessity for mankind occasionally to intercross.

Even were it beyond doubt a law of nature that all organisms should occasionally intercross, we should yet have no proof of the banefulness of consanguineous marriage. To breed from the same flower is probably closer, and at least as close, as the hermaphrodite reproduction in each segment of the tapeworm. To breed from the nearest relatives among animals would not be as close as between different plants growing in the same locality, because the animals are constantly changing their conditions, and the plants are not. How much less, then, is the danger of marriage between near kin among human beings, seeing that no human union could be formed as close as is easily done in quicker breeding and maturing animals? Mr. Darwin says (p. 461)—

“From the facts given in this volume we may infer that with mankind the marriages of nearly related persons, some of whose parents and ancestors had lived under very different conditions, would be much less injurious than that of persons who had always lived in the

same place and followed the same habits of life. Nor can I see reason to doubt that the widely different habits of life of men and women in civilised nations, especially amongst the upper classes, would tend to counterbalance any evil from marriages between healthy and somewhat closely related persons."

There are, however, three classes of direct proof that consanguineous marriages are harmless to the offspring—

1. Observations on individual cases.
2. Statistical observations on large numbers.
3. Observations on isolated communities.

Of the first class, we need say nothing beyond the warning that a case of consanguineous marriage which seems to show a harmful result on the offspring is no proof whatever that consanguineous marriages are harmful, because the harm may be caused by ordinary inheritance, just as in families where the parents are not related. On the other hand, if consanguineous marriage is a cause of harm in and by itself, and we find very many cases where the results do not bear out this view, we cannot believe that it is either a very dangerous or constant cause.

It is a remarkable fact, that though immense labour and pains have been bestowed by statisticians and physicians on observations concerning these marriages, they seem to have been unaware that, for such observations to be of any use, it is of the utmost importance first to find out the proportion that one kind of marriage bears to the other. To say that 1·4 per cent. of the deaf-mutes are born from marriages between near kin, conveys no meaning unless we know whether the proportion of consanguineous marriages to non-consanguineous marriages also stands at 1·4 per cent., or whether it is greater, or whether it is less. Guesses and estimates can only mislead; and while the point is still doubtful, all observations are unripe for deduction.

To Mr. George Darwin belongs the honour of having by a method, or rather series of methods, as ingenious as they were laborious, ascertained with some degree of accuracy the proportion that marriages between first cousins bear to others. Wishing to ascertain whether consanguineous marriage was really as harmful as it was generally considered to be, he was at once confronted with the fact that there was no basis to start from. But, unlike some of his predecessors, he was not satisfied with a rough estimate; and being gifted with a clear sight and fertility of resource, he accomplished what neither physicians, nor statisticians, nor even Governments, have hitherto been able to do. To describe or criticise these methods would take up too much of our space. Let it suffice that his results, although, of course, to some extent conjectural, are beyond comparison safer than

the wild guesses of former writers on the subject. The proportions he gets are that marriages between first cousins, among all classes, are 1·5 per cent. in London; 2 per cent. in urban districts; and 2·25 per cent. in rural districts. While, if we take the different classes, marriages between first cousins are in the proportion of 3·5 per cent. of all marriages in the middle and upper classes and landed gentry, and 4·5 among the aristocracy. Having got these data, he applies them to statistics obtained from various English and Welsh lunatic and idiot asylums; and the results, from somewhat imperfect returns, show that on a total of 4308 patients who could answer, 149 or 142 were the children of first cousins, or 3·45 or 3·29 per cent. If only the most trustworthy returns are taken, on a total of 2301, 92 or 93 were born from first cousins, or as nearly as possible 4 per cent.

It is probable, however, that the returns are even more favourable than this; for it is not enough to state merely the number of patients born from first cousins; we want also to know the number of families represented. It is probable that a far greater proportion of non-consanguineous marriages are affected than consanguineous, because where the parents are relatives there may be some tendency to an intensification of disease, and, consequently, each *affected* family among the consanguineous marriages may produce more deaf-mutes than the others, while a greater proportion of consanguineous marriages may be free from deaf-mutism than the non-consanguineous. And we find this supposition is confirmed by the Irish Census Reports. Taking the average of the last three census returns, we find that every deaf-mute of non-consanguineous origin represents one family; while one and a half deaf-mutes of consanguineous origin go to every family represented; and the proportion would be greater were we only to take first cousins. Now let us take an imaginary case. Say that 10,000 marriages produce 100 deaf-mutes. Of these 10,000 marriages, say 4 per cent. or 400 are between first cousins; and of the 100 deaf-mutes, say that 4 or 4 per cent. are born from marriages between first cousins. Now, since 1·5 deaf-mutes from first-cousin marriages go to a family, these four deaf-mutes represent 2·7 families ($1·5 \times 2·7 = 4$), while the 96 remaining deaf-mutes represent 96 families. Hence we have (10,000 - 400, or) 9600 non-consanguineous marriages, of which 96 or 1 per cent. turn out harmful to the offspring; while we have only 2·7 out of 400 marriages between first cousins turning out harmful to the offspring, or 0·6 per cent. only.

Applying this to Mr. G. H. Darwin's returns, we have a total of 2301 deaf-mutes, of which 93 were born from marriages between first cousins, and represent ($\frac{93}{1·5} =$) 62 families; while

the remaining ($2301 - 93 =$) 2208 deaf-mutes represent 2208 families. On a total then of ($2208 + 62 =$) 2270 families represented, only 62 or 2·7 per cent. proved harmful to the offspring. That is, there is less probability of a marriage between first cousins producing a deaf-mute than a marriage between persons who are not related by nearly half per cent., even though we take the proportion of first-cousin marriages to others as low as 3 per cent.

We must, of course, be careful not to deduce too much from these figures, which are too small to settle the question at all satisfactorily. At the same time, they are valuable as an indication; for though we have other statistics on the same subject elsewhere, we cannot apply them, since we do not know the proportion of all consanguineous marriages to other marriages. Whatever Mr. G. H. Darwin's inquiries may be worth, as far as they go (and they were extended to deaf-mutism, sterility, low vitality, and superior mental and physical power), they show that at least there is no danger from marriages between first cousins. Thus, Mr. G. H. Darwin obtained information concerning 366 families who had furnished deaf-mutes to asylums, of which eight were unions between first cousins, or barely 2·2 per cent. Again, by counting the children of cousins in Burke's "Landed Gentry and Peerage," he found that not only were marriages between first cousins more fertile, but the children of cousins, even if they contracted a non-consanguineous marriage, were also more fertile than the average. If we put the average number of children per non-consanguineous marriage at 2·2, that where one parent is the offspring of cousins will be 2·3, and where the marriage is between cousins the average will be 2·4. Mr. G. H. Darwin thinks that this slight preponderance in favour of consanguineous marriage may be due to accident, since much of his data is founded on estimate; but we think he is wrong here, and undervalues the accuracy of his results. According to Oesterlen, 20 per cent. of all marriages in Great Britain were barren in the year 1851; Simpson found 11·7 marriages in Great Britain were barren; Dr. West found the average about the same; and Dr. Duncan puts it at 15 per cent. Taking a low estimate from the last three, we have 12·8 per cent. as the average of sterility. As for the prolificness of marriages in Scotland, where the average stands very high, 4·64 children were born per marriage in 1861; in England the average is 3·89; in France only 3·1.

Now Dr. Bemiss collected 833 cases of consanguineous marriage, of which only 53, or 6·4 per cent., proved barren; while the remaining marriages produced 3942 children, or an average of 4·7 per marriage, barren and fertile. Of 299 cases collected

from various authors in a recent work on this subject,* we find 17 marriages were barren, or 5·7 per cent. We were inclined to attribute this superiority in fertility of consanguineous marriages to the probability that cousins know more about each other's health before they marry, and also marry earlier, generally, than do persons who are not related; for we know from Dr. Duncan's researches that early marriages are the most prolific. But this would not explain the greater fertility of the offspring of cousins who marry strangers, if we may venture a deduction from 93 marriages only; and Mr. G. H. Darwin suggests that since it is more likely that consanguineous marriages will occur where the family group is large than where it is small, this superior fertility may be inherited.

The general result, then, of such statistics as we possess, in the absence of a census, points to the harmlessness of marriages between near kin. We could bring forward many more figures on this subject, all tending to the same point. But in a short paper of this kind they could not be properly discussed; nor is it necessary, as we conceive that the figures already given are quite sufficient in the present doubtful state of our knowledge on the true proportion between consanguineous and non-consanguineous marriages.

The third proof, or the effects of continued intermarriage in a small community, is next door to direct experiment, and only differs in being less exact. To experiment on human beings, it would be necessary to shut up a community, under favourable circumstances, and see that they contracted only consanguineous and healthy marriages. Luckily, there is a remarkable tendency in all animals to separate off into small communities, and this tendency is exemplified in the human animal by all savage tribes, which refuse to intermarry with their neighbours, or have established castes, and in European countries by many small communities. The fishing populations dotted around the western European coasts regard the peasantry with the greatest contempt, and, of course, refuse to intermarry with them. Inland, the hostility of neighbouring villages has not long been extinct; and in many parts of Europe there are still spots thus artificially or naturally isolated, the inhabitants of which constantly intermarry among themselves. Such instances are particularly valuable in an inquiry of this nature, as the inhabitants not only do not cross, but never subject themselves to any change. We might give many, but confine ourselves to an account of the community at Batz, near Le Croisic, given by Dr. Voisin, who carefully inquired into the history of every marriage.

* See the *Westminster Review* for October 1875.

This commune of Batz is situated on a peninsula, bounded on one side by precipitous sea-washed rocks, and shut off from the mainland by a salt marsh. The inhabitants number 3300, and have but a very limited intercourse with the rest of the department (Loire Inférieure). Their character is simple but intelligent; they are reserved to strangers, and drunkenness and crime are unknown. Though they have been in the habit of closely intermarrying among themselves generation after generation, not a single individual suffered from any disease of the mind, from deaf-mutism, albinism, blindness, or malformation. At the time of Dr. Voisin's visit, everybody was related of course, but 46 marriages were between near relatives, of which 5 were between first cousins, 31 between second cousins, and 10 between cousins of the fourth degree. The 5 marriages between first cousins produced 23 children, or an average of 4.6 per-marriage; while the average for all France is, according to M. Husson, only 3 per marriage. All these children were healthy, but 2 died from acute diseases. The 31 marriages between second cousins produced 120 children, or 3.87 per marriage, none of whom were affected by any congenital malformation or infirmity, but 24 of them died of acute diseases. The 10 remaining marriages produced 29 children, all healthy, but 3 of them died of acute diseases. On the whole 46, only 2 marriages proved barren, or 4.3 per cent.; while the average of barrenness, as we have seen, stands far higher.

We see, therefore, that an ignorant community of people, who are obliged daily to toil in the unhealthy occupation of collecting salt from exposed and foggy salt marshes, may remain healthy notwithstanding constant consanguineous marriages, continued generation after generation. It is, indeed, an extraordinary and unfair test. For, were it even proved that all nations which married exclusively among themselves were dying out, that would be no argument against consanguineous marriage. We might as justly argue, that because the natives of a country where the importation of corn, even in famine years, was strictly prohibited, were in danger of starvation, therefore that country was infertile. The truth is, that any restriction on individual freedom is hurtful in itself, and should be imposed only on the plainest and clearest evidence that freedom causes a greater hurt than its curtailment would produce.

In another way, there can be no doubt that a community isolating itself, whether consanguineous marriage is the rule, as among the Basques, or consanguineous marriage is prohibited, as in China, will fall behind less exclusive communities in the grand struggle for existence. It requires no demonstration that the greater the amount of inter-communication of thought, the

greater will be the progress. But consanguineous marriage need not hinder the exchange of ideas. Such marriages may be constant, as among the Jews, and the community may yet hold unrestricted intercourse with all the world. Or again, there may be impassable barriers between one nation and the rest of the world, and yet marriages between near relations be forbidden. It is the interference with perfect liberty which is the harmful element, whether it acts by forcing or prohibiting marriages of consanguinity.

We regret that the question was not settled once and for ever by the census of 1871, and hope that no misguided opposition may prevent its solution in 1881. Meanwhile, however, we have very various and cogent evidence that such marriages have been unjustly accused. We venture to think that Mr. Darwin's work has not settled the question absolutely as regards the vegetable world; but should other investigations confirm his deductions, it has still to be proved that marriages between near kin are harmful in their results.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

THEOLOGY.

DR. WILLIAM CÆSAR¹ appears before the world as the vindicator of the genuineness and authenticity of the Fourth Gospel. He rightly observes that St. John's Gospel is now on its trial, and is recognised, as the battle-field of the New Testament.¹ Twelve years have elapsed since we controverted in the "Westminster Review" for April 1865 the claims of this book to be regarded as in any sense an apostolic production, and set forth the various arguments in favour of the opposing opinion advanced by Baur, Schwegler, Zeller, and other representatives of the Tübingen school. The hope which we then expressed that Renan would be induced to reconsider his verdict has been realised, and in the thirteenth edition of his "Vie de Jesus," and recently in an article in the "Contemporary Review," he indicates his acceptance of the heterodox conclusion of the Tübingen theologians—a critical change of which Dr. Cæsar does not seem to be aware. In general, however, the author states very fairly the history of the controversy, apprising his readers, for instance, of Keim's closer approximation to the view which assigns a period about the middle of the second century as the probable time of the publication of the Gospel, Keim having advanced the date from 115 A.D. to 130 A.D. In the absence of all direct testimony, the date can only be ascertained within certain limits; inferred, however, not by baseless conjecture, but by well-grounded combinations. Dr. Cæsar, confining himself almost entirely to the question and character of the historical testimony which has been adduced in favour of the genuineness of the Gospel, has almost entirely omitted to grapple with the formidable series of arguments against its genuineness suggested by a searching analysis of its contents. Even with regard to the treatment of the question from a strictly evidentiary point of view, we consider that Dr. Cæsar has done but little to satisfy those who are not predisposed to be satisfied with his estimate of the patristic citations, of which the quantity is far more conspicuous than the quality. Faint resemblances afford no proof; echoes are not voices; documents, the spurious character of which is maintained by unimpeachable erudition, may be quoted with wearisome iteration without producing conviction. Could we be certain of the correctness of Holgenfeld's date of the "Clementine Homilies," we should admit that in this Ebionitish romance we had probable testimony to the existence of the Gospel about the year 160 A.D. Ten years later we have

¹ "The Authorship, and Authenticity of St. John's Gospel." By William Cæsar, D.D. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1867.

apparently a reference to it in a fragment of a work by Apollinaris; but Theophilus of Antioch, 180 A.D., is the first who recognises it as the production of John. The apology of Justin the Martyr, perhaps as late as 145 A.D., mentions neither Gospel nor author, but has undoubtedly numerous passages which sound like reverberations of the teaching of St. John, but which, unfortunately, rather imply an independent version of the doctrine of that Gospel, and which might have been derived from traditionary sources, or from the contemporary Christian philosophical movement. Earlier than Justin is the pretended testimony of the Gnostic Basilides about 125 A.D. Dr. Cæsar here fortifies his position by quoting the words of Mr. Matthew Arnold "in reply to those who allege that Hippolytus mixes up the deliverances of the founder of a school with those of his followers." Mr. Arnold avers that the author of the "*Philosophoumena*," attributed to Hippolytus, distinguishes between the dicta of Basilides and the assertions of his disciples. To the authority of a clever amateur theologian like Mr. Arnold we are content to oppose that of veteran divines and scholars such as Strauss, Zeller, Davidson, and others. Fifteen years have elapsed since we read the "*Philosophoumena*," and we cannot now revert to its pages for verification or disproof of Mr. Arnold's imperious affirmation, but we will quote, in our turn, words from a competent witness, which show how different was the impression made on the mind of that witness, after due inquiry, from that which Mr. Arnold's examination of the work has left on his own mind. Dr. James Martineau, in his "*Studies of Christianity*," pp. 254, 255, tells us that this argument, as stated by Bunsen, appeared to him quite conclusive, "but," he adds, "great was our disappointment on reading the account in the original to find no evidence that any extract from Basilides was before us at all. A general description of the system bearing his name is given, but with no mention of any work of his, no profession that the words are his own, and even so little individual reference to him, that the exposition is introduced as being a report of what 'Basilides and Isidorus and the whole troop of these people falsely say.'" This verdict Dr. Martineau justifies by three examples of irregular citation, which are in our opinion conclusive. Even if it were established that the Gospel was in existence before 130 A.D., it would not follow that it was written by the Apostle whose name it bears. The irreconcilability of the narrative of the Fourth Gospel with the Synoptical narrative; the speculative character of the opening chapter, which takes us at once into the Gnostic circle of ideas, the Logos doctrine, the Paraclete doctrine; the discrepancy between the Synoptics and the Fourth Gospel as to the time of the Last Supper, so courageously admitted by Ebrard, the well-known champion of orthodoxy, and numerous other peculiarities, are considerations which will eventually be found too powerful for the logic of Dr. Cæsar, whose statement of the view which he adopts we nevertheless welcome as a contribution to the discussion of the problem of the authorship and authenticity of the Gospel.

The "*Epistle of Barnabas*," contains textual coincidences which may

or may not imply an acquaintance with some of the New Testament writings.² The Rev. William Cunningham, whose dissertation deserves a respectful mention, sees in the quotation iv. 14 a probable reference to St. Matthew's Gospel. From the errors and misapprehensions which the Epistle betrays, Mr. Cunningham concludes with certainty that it could not be written by a companion of St. Paul. Singularly enough, he agrees with Weizsacker in assigning its appearance to the time of Vespasian, though even to him it seems at first sight to be absurdly early. The best recent critics all place it in the period 119-131 A.D. There are two characteristic chapters in the letter which help to determine its date. One is iv. 14, where the ten kings are the Roman emperors down to Domitian inclusive, Vitellius perhaps being omitted, and where the weak old Nerva is the little king who is regarded as terminating the rule of the three dread Flavii. The second passage is xvi. 4, where, in the expectation of the rebuilding of the Temple, Volkmar, Müller, and Keim find a distinct reference to the time when the promise of Hadrian, about 119 A.D., raised the reviving hopes of the Jews to their highest pitch. The advanced theology of the Epistle, and in particular the citations from the 4th Book of Esdras, if, as generally held, this apocryphal book was written towards the close of the first century, are in our judgment fatal to the early date which Mr. Cunningham claims for it. Nor is his interpretation of the ten kings, including, as it does, Julius Cæsar, more satisfactory than Volkmar's, which, on the principle of accommodation, perhaps, omits Vitellius. The genealogical record at the commencement of the Gospel according to St. Matthew exhibits more than one instance of a coercive accommodation or miscalculation of this kind. We regard it as certain that the Epistle of Barnabas was written at the earliest about 118 A.D., at the latest about 130 A.D. Besides a dissertation of much merit, the little work before us contains the Greek and Latin text as usually published by Gebhardt, Harnack, and Zahn, with appropriate annotations, and a readable version in English of the original document.

Another specimen of translation, a revised version of "Isaiah," by Mr. Samuel Sharpe, the well-known author of the "History of Egypt," carries us back into the Old Testament period.³ Mr. Sharpe has given his readers a running accompaniment of historical notes, which often furnish valuable explanations of obscure passages. His renderings, so far as we have tested them, are correct and picturesque, but he sometimes expresses himself with a certain hermeneutic exclusiveness, as though there could be only one possible equivalent of a difficult Hebrew word; as xviii. i., where he interprets the land of the winged *Tsaltsal* as that of the venomous fly, the *Glossina morsitans*, while several rival meanings might be adduced. The translator is also far

² "A Dissertation on the Epistle of St. Barnabas, including a Discussion of its Date and Authorship." By the Rev. William Cunningham. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

³ "The Book of Isaiah arranged Chronologically." By Samuel Sharpe, Author of the "History of Egypt." London: J. Russell Smith. 1877.

too decided in his application of prophecy. He refers chapter xix. to the time of Ptolemy Philometor, with a minute appropriation of detail which is more curious than convincing. We cannot accept his chronological arrangement, though we commend its ingenuity. In his recognition of more than one unknown prophet, especially of the patriot prophet of the Captivity, as so many contributors to the Book of Isaiah, he is undoubtedly right. The fatal error of the volume is the identification of the "servant of the Lord" with Zerubbabel; of his messenger with Jeshua. Again and again the prophet acts as his own expositor. The servant of Jehovah is repeatedly identified with Israel or Jacob. The collective people—idealised Israel—is the mystical servant and messenger of the predictions of the restoration or return from Babylon.

A more ambitious attempt at translation has been made by the authors of "The Revised English Bible."⁴ Following the authorised version, it is far more correct than it. It seems, however, timid in its renderings. In Isaiah vii. the demonstrative article is an improvement, but the old orthodox rendering "virgin," instead of damsel or young girl, is preserved. In Job xxix., the sufferer's desired days are still compared to the "sand;" and even in the margin the more appropriate *Phoenix* is not recognised. In the obscure passage, Job xix., the true rendering "without" my flesh is acknowledged, though only in a note. The version before us, containing both the Old and New Testament, is offered to the public merely as provisional, and as such may be consulted. Its portability recommends it.

A "Vindication of the Christian Religion," by Gottlieb Joss,⁵ insists on the necessity of reconciling a devout life with science, and demanding freedom from dogmatic restriction; regards Christianity as the realisation of the spirit of Christ, and as the inclusion of all nations in the bond of peace. The "Encyclopædia" of Dr. Doodes⁶ relates to the methodology of the Christian faith; to the literature, the historical, dogmatic, and practical theology of that religion.

With the fourth volume of the "System of Positive Polity" of Auguste Comte ends the arduous enterprise of Dr. Congreve and his colleagues, who have now furnished the public with a carefully executed English version of their master's second great work, further described as a "Treatise on Sociology Instituting the Religion of Humanity."⁷ Dr. Congreve, the translator of this the concluding volume, appears to have achieved his difficult task with the success which is the result of consecutive and thoughtful study. Here and there

⁴ "Revised English Bible," &c. London: George E. Eyre and William Spottiswoode, &c.

⁵ "Die Vereinigung Christlicher Kirchen." Von Gottlieb Joss. Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1877.

⁶ "Encyclopedie der Christelijke Theologie." Door Dr. J. F. Doodes. Utrecht: Kennuk en Zoon. 1877.

⁷ "System of Positive Polity." By Auguste Comte. Fourth and Last Volume, containing the Theory of the Future of Man. With an Appendix consisting of Early Essays on Social Philosophy. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

improvements indeed may be possible, as p. 407, where the substitution of the verb "to restore" for the substantive *restoration* would prevent the obscurity which attaches to the double verb, "proposed to abolish." It is, however, with the work itself rather than the character of the translation that we are concerned here. Regarding society as gradually breaking up and as destined to take new forms; believing the metaphysical method futile, the theological disproved by critical research and philosophical argument, we are naturally inclined to give the "System of Positive Polity" a sincere yet hesitating welcome. In the continued decay of theological faith we see nothing that can serve to concentrate thought, animate sentiment, or regulate action but the religious *ideal* which the Positivist philosophy presents—"the human race conceived as a continuous whole, including the past, the present, and the future." To Comte's doctrine of subjective immortality, the growing influence of individual action or intellect on the subsequent life of mankind, we likewise subscribe, as also to that of the *secondary* interest and solace which the sense of that influence and the contemplation of the future of the race in our opinion undoubtedly afford; though we should be only too glad to unite with this faith in individual subjective immortality a faith in personal objective immortality,—a faith which, as Lord Macaulay asserted, all philosophers, from Plato to Franklin, appear to us to have failed deplorably to demonstrate. If, however, we accord a welcome to these doctrines of the new *synthesis*, we are by no means inclined to assent to the numerous sociological speculations, suggestive, ingenious, and poetical as they often are, which abound in the volumes of a thinker whose fanciful vivacity too often rivals the profundity of his intellectual generalisation. To his rejection of representative government; to his schemes for the amelioration of the working classes; to his conception of woman's true position; to his theory of marriage, which admits separation, though not divorce, save in one single instance; to his doctrine of eternal widowhood; and his claim of constant sacerdotal intervention, we are strongly and irrevocably opposed. His ritual or ceremonial system, again, is one with which we have little sympathy; his imaginative animation of the heavenly bodies and even of space; his conception of the three goddesses, Materiality, Vitality, Humanity; his Utopia of the Virgin Mother, &c., are extravagances which rival a poet's dreams or a mystic's visions. We are far from saying, however, that this remarkable volume of the "Politique" has not considerable value for the student. It is a sort of modern Plato's "Republic," and amid much that is wild and untenable, we find also noble thoughts and admirable provisions. Comte's requirement that every landlord, in the future, should be the superintendent of his own estate; his recommendation of the systematic adoption of children; his suggestion of an order of chivalry, composed of the morally best and most generous of the rich; his insisting on the freedom of bequest beyond the pale of the family; his devotion to a cherished memory or an ennobling ideal; his sense of the worth of the sociable inferior animals, our friends and allies, and of our duties towards them, are so many principles which we can

discuss or prescriptions which we can accept. Nevertheless Comte's chief claim to our admiration and gratitude must be referred to his great philosophical work, the "Course" or "System of Philosophy." His review of the sciences; his law of the progress of human thought in its triple modification; his magnificent historical analysis, though probably all requiring occasional revision and extension, constitute a cardinal title to our respect. But while we find ourselves unable to receive or compelled to censure both method and doctrine in his later work, we must not forget to acknowledge the great service which he has rendered us in indicating at least a basis for sociology, and even in advancing the study itself. Comte has been called hard, yet he has written, "The kingdom of humanity is a kingdom of love perfecting our inward satisfaction by co-operation from without." He has been stigmatised as an intellectual all-in-all; yet he says, "Art satisfies the deeper wants of our nature better than science." He has been denounced for a narrow scientific utilitarianism, yet he has prescribed for all persons, of both sexes and of every degree, a knowledge of the entire series of the abstract sciences more systematic and more philosophical than that which the most highly instructed men and women now possess, besides enforcing the study of the two principal ancient and the five principal modern languages. However true, therefore, it may be that Comte does unduly subordinate science to sociological necessities, it must yet be allowed that no man before his time had ever so true a conception of the intellectual renovation which awaits the race, or ever so manfully and so splendidly asserted the claims of a scientific philosophy as the only possible explanation of man and the world, to the exclusion of the views of the theologian or the chimera of the metaphysician.

Mr. Clark Braden, of Abingdon College, Illinois, should his eyes have glanced condescendingly over our notice of Comte's fourth volume, will at once anticipate our judgment of his own book.⁸ The "Problem of Problems" is an attempted vindication of the old theology, and the leading biblical conceptions which even liberal clergymen in Europe are no longer eager to defend. It is also a ferocious onslaught on the teaching of eminent scientific men. According to an American sympathiser, Mr. Braden's previous "training enables him to deal very decisively with Darwin, Mill, Huxley, Draper, Tyndal, and the like, whom he cuffs and mauls about in his book without the slightest mercy." This Reverend Mr. Thwackum, according to another eulogist, attacks modern scepticism in its weakest point—the problem of life and creation; and shows that as "one swallow does not make a summer, so one of Huxley's fossil horses does not override the Mosaic cosmogony." How vigorously this theological Bombastes Furioso lays about him may be inferred from his tremendous flagellation of the *bigot* Huxley and the *treacherous* Tyndal, though in the case of the latter such exemplary punishment was quite unnecessary, as "the

⁸ "The Problem of Problems and its Various Solutions; or, Atheism, Darwinism, and Theism." By Clark Braden, President of Abingdon College, Illinois. Cincinnati: Chase & Hall. 1877. *

religious world had already taken the marauder in hand and chastised him, and handed him back to his disciples a sadder and it is to be hoped a wiser and a better man." Darwin, again, we are told, displays an utter abnegation of all reason and sense, as not a single fact can be produced in favour of his hypothesis. Mr. Herbert Spencer, too, seems past all hope, for as the *Orbilius plagosus* of Abingdon College cannot literally "use the rod, he cannot cure him," as the boy in the story was cured who would not say A! Mr. Mill and Mr. Lewes scarcely fare better at the hands of the reverend castigator. In fact, his pen, says an admirer, "is never tipped with mercy; his exegesis is as strong and serviceable as a pair of English hobnailed shoes." "None of your German mysticism," continues the immortal Mouser in the "Record and Evangelist." "He will away with your dreams; and as for your speculations, slash goes the knife, and the gash is fatal!" We are so entirely opposed to the doctrine of intuitions, fundamental principles, &c., &c., upheld by this godly and omniscient prize-fighter, that even if we could afford the space, we should decline to discuss the problem of problems based on such a questionable foundation. Mr. Clark Braden will easily console himself for our entire disagreement with him since we repudiate his favourite doctrine of Teleology, and "are therefore not capable of being reasoned with, nor worthy of one moment's further notice, for we have bidden adieu to all common sense!"

In the "Wines of the Bible" we have an instructive and amusing work, which owes its origin to the perverse prepossession of those advocates of temperance who maintain that "it is an innocent un-intoxicating wine which the Spirit of God in His Word commends, while it is a deleterious inebriating wine which He condemns."⁹ The author of this work, the Rev. A. M. Wilson, has himself abstained for more than thirty years, and habit and association would naturally incline him to favour the "unfermented theory." Investigation, however, has constrained him reluctantly to conclude that, so far as the wines of the ancients are concerned, unfermented wine is a myth. To a perverse theory, forced into special prominence by recent discussions on the wine of the Communion, we are indebted for a disquisition on the wines and wine-drinking of the ancients, not only in Judæa, and Greece, and Rome, but Persia, Ethiopia, China, India, Greece, and many other countries. The different qualities of wine and different processes of wine-making, filtration, inspissation, depuration, are described with a remarkable richness of illustration, and after ample if not exhaustive research. In our judgment Mr. Wilson has signally triumphed over the champions of the theory which he opposes, abundantly showing that the wines of the ancients, Greek, Roman, Egyptian, and Hebrew, were all fermented beverages, and that such beverages were necessarily used in the celebration of the Passover, the

⁹ "The Wines of the Bible: An Examination and Refutation of the Unfermented Wine Theory." By the Rev. A. M. Wilson. London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. 1877.

Lord's Supper, and the Agapæ of the early Christian Church. Even the *passum* or raisin-wine, one of the beverages allowed to women, but also noted by Martial as the wine of the poor man, is shown by citations from Mago and Columella to have been a fermented liquor. Victorious as Mr. Wilson really is in his argument, his opponents will of course be of the same opinion still—prejudice, not reason, inspiring the logic which furnishes their conclusions.

We have before us several volumes of what we have formerly denominated fossil theology, which out of courtesy we will particularise. Mr. James Cross,¹⁰ rejecting the doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh or body from the grave, does not reject the scriptural doctrine of the resurrection of the dead, and in a long dialogue between *John* and *Ralph* endeavours to make good the distinction. Beginning with Adam, he ends with the beast, the false prophet, the white horse, and Daniel. There is much curious matter in Mr. Cross's little volume, and those whom it does not instruct it may at least amuse. Rev. John P. Norris has written "Easy Lessons addressed to Candidates for Confirmation"¹¹ of a peculiarly fossil character; and Edward Bickersteth, Dean of Lichfield proposes numerous "Questions Illustrating the Thirty-Nine Articles" like a Dean of the old school.¹² For example: Methuselah lived three hundred years in Adam's lifetime, and Shem lived one hundred years with Methuselah and one hundred with Abraham; so that there were but two links between Adam and Abraham. Such theology, in our Broad Church days, is too palæozoic we are sure for a Dean of the new school, and laymen therefore may be excused for declining to accept it.

To those whom it concerns we may commend the "*Liber Precum Publicarum*,"¹³ a translation of the Common Prayer-Book by William Bright, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, and P. Goldsmith Medd, both Oxoniens. The version before us accords in general with the "*Exempla Recensionis*" of 1661, commonly called the "Sealed Book," in which the articles of Faith and Religion are found wanting. The translators give notice that the word "priest" is rendered *presbyter* where it refers to the three orders of the ministry; *sacerdos* when ministerial functions are in question. In an appendix we find the first Reformed Liturgy, 1549, the Scottish Liturgy, and the Liturgy of the American Church, all in Latin.

The movement in India, known as the Brahmo Somaj, of certain reformers advocating a kind of Theism, is the subject of a new number

¹⁰ "Resurrection of the Dead." By James Cross. London: Houlston & Sons.

¹¹ "Easy Lessons on Confirmation," &c. By John P. Norris, B.D., Canon of Bristol, &c. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹² "Questions Illustrating the Thirty-Nine Articles of the Church of England," &c. By Edward Bickersteth, D.D., Dean of Lichfield. Sixth Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹³ "*Liber Precum Publicarum Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*." A Gulielmo Bright, S.T.P., &c., et Petro Goldsmith Medd, A.M., &c. Latine Redditus. Editio Tertia cum Appendice. Londini, Oxonii, Cantabrigiæ: Rivingtoni. 1877.

of the German serial on questions of the day.¹⁴ Mr. William Whitby, a claimant under the Irish Church Act, calls attention to what he considers the abuses of the Church Temporalities Commission; maintains that the assassination of Sisera was the result of God's contrivance; and, in attempting to rebut Mr. Jellett's "absurdity," only exposes his own ignorance.¹⁵ In "Twenty-one Years of St. George's Mission," the Rev. C. F. Lowder gives an account of its origin, progress, and works of charity.¹⁶ "A Layman's Legacy, in Prose and Verse," consists of selections from the papers of Samuel Greg, the brother of the well-known writer, a pious Unitarian, a manufacturer by vocation, a kindly, thoughtful, and liberal man, whose excellences are attested by the Rev. James Martineau, Rev. Stopford Brooke, and Dean Stanley, whose prefatory letter to Mrs. Greg introduces the volume.¹⁷ "Christian Politics" by the Rev. Julius Lloyd, contains no systematic illustration of the applicability of Christian ethics to the reconstruction of society, but it appears to be tinctured by the liberalism which has grown fashionable with a section of the clergy.¹⁸ For instance, we are required to venerate Buddha's name, together with those of Socrates and Marcus Aurelius. The "Church of Thibet" by Mr. Wordsworth, Principal of Elphinstone College, is a thoughtful lecture by a writer who holds that Christian supernaturalism is slowly dying out in educated Europe.¹⁹ Mr. Wordsworth's statement of the historical analogies of Buddhism and Christianity appears to have alarmed Christian apologists in India. The "Journey to Emmaus" is an anonymous production, in which the negative result is attained that nothing which Jesus had done or taught induced the apostles to believe that He was equal to the Father as touching the Godhead.²⁰ In "Christian Unity," Dr. Flint, Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh, opposes to ritualistic uniformity and ecclesiastical polity the spirit of love and peace, and a true union between Churches as a growth rather than a direct aim.²¹ A similar comprehensiveness of creed seems to manifest itself in the "Basket of Summer Fruit," by Miss Dora Greenwell, to which we find Madame Guyon and Richard Baxter contributing each their "Apple of Gold." But is not the authoress too comprehensive when

¹⁴ "Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen." Jahrgang VI. "Die Reformbewegung des Brahmosomadsch in Indien." Von Christian Hönes, Berlin. 1877.

¹⁵ "Abuses of the Church Temporalities Commission," &c., &c. By William Whitby. Dublin: Robert Chapman. 1877.

¹⁶ "Twenty-one Years of St. George's Mission." By Rev. C. F. Lowder. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹⁷ "A Layman's Legacy, in Prose and Verse, &c., and a Brief Memoir." London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

¹⁸ "Christian Politics." By the Rev. Julius Lloyd, M.A. London: G. Bell & Sons. 1877.

¹⁹ "The Church of Thibet," &c. By W. Wordsworth, Principal of Elphinstone College. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

²⁰ "The Journey to Emmaus." By a Modern Traveller. London: Williams and Norgate. 1877.

²¹ "Christian Unity: A Sermon Preached at the Opening of the First General Presbyterian Council." By Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., &c. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

she dedicates her basket of Catholic and Protestant dainties to the "American Evangelists who lately visited England?"²²

There seems a growing tendency in the vindicators of Christianity to elevate sentiment and practical piety above doctrine, without, it may be, rejecting or even disparaging the latter. The author of the "Gospel of the Nineteenth Century," while he recognises the miraculous element and the Trinitarian confession, curiously enough makes Mill's conception of Christ his starting-point, declares the perfect human example of the Founder of the Christian religion to be the great central truth of Christianity.²³ In the course of his exposition he quotes also a long passage from Mill. Now we do not dispute his right to do this, but we submit that it is a significant mark of the gradual transformation which Christianity seems destined to undergo. Indeed, our author himself looks forward to the good time coming, "when the elaborate definitions which have been rendered necessary in former days by the old warfare between Reason and Faith shall be no more needed than the walls and fortifications which now surround some of our ancient cities. In this opinion we are confirmed by a thoughtful and eloquent volume of addresses and sermons by A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster."²⁴ In these addresses the chief stress is laid on the recognition of God's unity, man's immortality, and a pious and beautiful life. The volume abounds in literary allusions, sympathises with all forms of excellence, appreciates the glories of Shakespeare, Newton, Luther, Wellington; quotes Goethe and Sydney Smith; admires the wise humour, the sagacious penetration, the tender pathos of Robert Burns; admits that the early chapters of Genesis contain many things at which the man of science may stumble; repels the blind tradition which once involved the authorship of the Psalter, the Pentateuch and the Book of Isaiah in artificial monotony, and contends that "a clearer glimpse into the nature of the Deity was granted to Spinoza, the excommunicated Jew of Amsterdam, than to the combined forces of Episcopacy and Presbytery in the Synod of Dordrecht." Here we have at least a Dean of the Neozoic period, with a surprising elasticity of theological consciousness, courageous utterance, and a fine catholic sympathy.

Catholic in a very different sense is that "last flower of Catholic love," Father Newman, whom Englishmen of every creed and no creed, for some reason perhaps incapable of being translated into words, agree in honouring.²⁵ For honoured beyond all doubt in our

²² "A Basket of Summer Fruit." By Dora Greenwell. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co. 1877.

²³ "The Gospel of the Nineteenth Century." Second Edition. London and New York: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

²⁴ "Addresses and Sermons, delivered at St. Andrew's in 1872, 1875, and 1877." By Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, D.D., Dean of Westminster. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

²⁵ "The Via Media of the Anglican Church, &c. Written between 1830 and 1841." By John Henry Newman, of the Oratory, sometime Fellow of Oriel College. In Two Volumes, with a Preface and Notes. Vol. I. London: Basil Montague.

opinion is this high-hearted, accomplished, and genial person. A scholarly man but no distinguished scholar; an author of merit but not the producer of any great work; a writer of poetry but not a poet of a high order; a leader of men by a strange personal ascendancy, but a leader who, from our point of view at least, must be pronounced a blind guide, resolutely shutting his eyes to the true light of heaven to carry men back into the old black shadows of the night of ignorance; while in some respects we have strong sympathies with Dr. Newman, we are quite unable to regard him with that loving veneration which many, though not of his communion, offer him. His catholic teaching includes the developed doctrine of the Holy Trinity, original sin, the necessity of grace and eternal punishment. With him, not religion but theology is the fundamental and regulating principle of the whole Church system, and revelation is the central and essential idea of Christianity. Dr. Newman tells us that science forcibly imposes upon categorical statements of Scripture a figurative interpretation, and thus unconsciously illustrates that evasion or concealment which, as he rightly says, lawyers, physicians, politicians, priests, in short, society itself, practises, seeing that "from the time that the Creator clothed Adam concealment is in some sense the necessity of our state." Dr. Newman, indeed, would not consider this evasion but legitimate interpretation, while as good men as Dr. Newman would contend that it was a perversion of truth, a theological trick to save appearances, though not felt to be such by those who contrive or accept the unnatural and distorting gloss. The reprint of the "*Via Media*," the work which suggests these observations, is a new edition of an essay on the Anglican Church published forty years ago. The reproduction of this work is regarded by its author as a painful necessity. It was a vindication of Anglicanism and an impeachment of "Romanism." It appears now as a refutation of the *via media* once held to be the way of truth, but long since abandoned in confusion and distress. In the reprint Dr. Newman is sanguine that he has been able to reduce uncatholic elements in the earlier edition to the form of answerable, and indeed satisfactorily answered, "difficulties." The book itself he disavows, hopes that no reprint of it will ever be made, or, if it is made, that "the reprint of his first thoughts will in fairness be allowed to carry with it a reprint of his second."

Holding the existence of certain laws of development in the history of religion, in particular convinced that "the religious spirit loves to conceal its deepest mysteries and its most fruitful germs in the calyx of richly-coloured apocalyptic imagery," Dr. Otto Pfeiderer sounds a note in seeming unison with Dr. Newman.²⁶ But the spirit which animates the two divines is a very different one. The German theologian professes, as Dr. Newman might profess, to reconcile scientific theology with the Christian Church, But he does this in a

²⁶ "Paulinism: A Contribution to the History of Primitive Christian Theology." By Otto Pfeiderer, Doctor and Professor of Theology at Jena, &c. Translated by Edward Peters, late of the Madras Civil Service. Vol. I. "Exposition of Paul's Doctrine." London: Williams & Norgate. 1877.

way which would not be even a *via media* for Dr. Newman. The cures which the Englishman would regard as miraculous the German attributes to a heroic faith which, in some instances at least, has a reviving and strengthening effect on the physical organisation of the sick. Then, again, in the critical domain Dr. Pfleiderer would shock Dr. Newman, for while, more conservative than Baur, the former believes First Thessalonians, the Epistle to Philemon, and that to the Philippians to be genuine, he pronounces the Epistle to the Ephesians and the three pastoral Epistles to be unqualifiedly spurious, and Second Thessalonians and Colossians spurious with qualifications. Once more Dr. Pfleiderer finds in all the chief points of St. Paul's doctrine an unsolved antagonism, which must surely be fatal to the Catholic unity of the faith. In particular, the *Eschatology* of St. Paul is incapable of being moulded into a coherent representation of his views. He declares, too, that Paul, together with the entire Primitive Church, expected the speedy return of Christ to the earth in a visible form to undertake the management of His kingdom, which, as the German divine understands it, is hardly the doctrine, as regards St. Paul at least, which Dr. Newman would consider Catholic. "Paulinism," for such is the name of Dr. Pfleiderer's contribution to the history of Christian theology, is not a biography nor literary introduction, but an exposition attempting to show how Pauline doctrine came into existence, and what is the particular significance of each portion. One volume only of the work is before us, as translated by Mr. Edward Peters for the enterprising publishers and promoters of "The Theological Translation Fund." It is worthy of attentive perusal.

PHILOSOPHY.

THE appearance of a "Philosophical Library" amongst us is a gratifying proof of the spread of speculative interest in England. What, indeed, the "Library" intends to do is not yet altogether evident. Will it, like its well-known counterpart in Germany, present us with editions of the more important thinkers of modern times, and translations of the more distinctive works of Plato and Aristotle? or will it occupy itself with current controversy? We trust it will do both. But in any case, the series, if destined to be successful, should be intrusted to an editor whose name would be sufficient guarantee of the intrinsic merit of the books that might appear within the "Library." Meanwhile we must add, the publishers, in commencing the new series with Lange's "History of Materialism,"¹ have shown themselves thor-

¹ "History of Materialism, and Criticism of its present importance." By Frederick Albert Lange, late Professor of Philosophy in the Universities of Zürich and Marburg. Authorised Translation. By Ernest Chester Thomas, late Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford. In Three Volumes. Vol. I. (The English and Foreign Philosophical Library, Vol. I.) London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

oughly alive to the kind of books which it is desirable to introduce to English readers.

The merits of Lange's "History" have been too long recognised by students of philosophy to need to be recounted here. The lucid style, the impartial standpoint, the critical insight of the original, render it well worthy of the labour of translation. But these virtues, great as they are, must not blind us to the real defects and blemishes within the work. The very impartiality of Lange's "History" is attained only at the expense of lowering philosophy to the position of a mere subjective interpretation; whose formulæ are nothing but fictions necessary to satisfy our tendency to unify and comprehend phenomena. The Kantian basis on which Lange writes becomes in his hands too often merely an organ of general scepticism, if not, indeed, of actual nihilism. While also Lange maintains that Materialism, like every other philosophy, has no claim to objective value, he bestows upon it throughout an amount of admiration which he never gives to the idealism of a Plato or a Hegel. Nor, comprehensive though his work is, can it be said to be either exhaustive or trustworthy. It seems rather a misnomer to give the name of "History of Materialism" to a work which gives no account of Heraclitus, and takes little notice of the physical investigations of Aristotle; and Democritus is perhaps not the only thinker whose views are formulated with a systematic conciseness such as the existing fragments of his writings scarcely warrant. It is to be regretted, also, that the author nowhere clearly stated to himself what meaning was to be attached to the subject of his study. The neglect to define strictly what was to be understood by "Materialism" leads to an amount of diffuse and aimless writing which might otherwise have been avoided. Still Lange's "History" is a work of real and permanent value; and Mr. Thomas's translation is in the main a satisfactory substitute for the original. His work is not indeed what it might have been. The clear-cut, straightforward style of the original is often lost in the cumbrous clauses of the English version; and occasionally a thoroughly German sentence recalls us painfully to the fact that it is a translation we are reading. Of actual mistakes the volume contains not a few. Amongst a number which we had marked, two perhaps will be sufficient to display the rather serious ignorance of German which Mr. Thomas is unable to conceal. On p. 23 we find, "in all the presentations of the notion of atoms," as translation of "*bei allen Umbildungen des Atom-begriffs*;" and on p. 133, *bestätigt* is actually rendered by "refuted." It is to be hoped that Mr. Thomas will subject his remaining volumes to such a revision as will make them a more fitting tribute of respect to the many-sided ability of Albert Lange.

Professor Huber's brochure² may fittingly be noticed after Lange's "History." Huber's attitude towards Materialism is less sympathetic than that maintained by Lange. The Kantian standpoint, which in Lange leads merely to an indifference towards every dogmatic form of

² "Die Forschung nach der Materie." Von Johannes Huber. München: Th. Ackermann. 1877.

philosophy, brings Huber to an intellectual idealism which maintains the necessary priority of thought to matter, and the consequent fruitlessness of any attempt to derive the phenomena of mind out of material combinations. Matter, in fact, Huber teaches, as others have taught before him, is necessarily immaterial; it can be nothing but a phenomenon of our consciousness. Science itself is possible only on the supposition that we can rise above the mere immediate intimations of the senses, and so grasp subjective impressions as actual things; in other words, knowledge assumes a permanent self or mind, which, under the forms of time, space, &c., remains one amid the fluctuations of sensation. Nor does the Neo-materialism which begins by bestowing sense and consciousness upon its atoms succeed in overcoming the objection which Materialism has to face. "The modern assumption of animated atoms," says the writer, "is nothing but an attempt to explain, by means of conscious phenomena given us in our minds, processes which, in their ultimate causes, are not sufficiently intelligible; in other words, to elucidate the essential nature and efficient causes of the objective world of matter out of that which we alone immediately know and experience—viz., facts of consciousness." Huber's little work contains in small compass a clear and original treatment of the chief objections that can be brought against a materialistic and mechanical explanation of the universe.

When Dr. Huber comes to rewrite the little work on Ethics which he lately gave us ("Die Ethische Frage:" Ackermann), he may find it worth his while to turn some part of his attention to the work Miss Simcox contributes to the "Philosophical Library."³ We hope, in case he does so, he will find her pages more intelligible than we have done. A book marked by greater obscurity of style and more waywardness of thought it has seldom been our lot to read. Miss Simcox, in fact, has no consideration for her readers. She throws out her thoughts without any regard to the mind's power of assimilation; she scarcely deigns to tell us what her problem is, or, if she states a question, she answers in its stead some other. These eccentricities are the more to be regretted because the work is full of thoughts that indicate a subtlety and insight which might, with some little care, have produced a real contribution to philosophy.

The question which Miss Simcox seeks, as we suppose, to answer is the not entirely modern problem, How far can the forms of legislation, the obligations of morality, and the sentiments of religion be regarded as resting on a natural basis such as science understands by law? Spinoza, most people know, was the first to reduce this conception of morals and religion to a philosophic system; and the frequent references to the "Ethics" show that Miss Simcox has imbibed most thoroughly the sentiments, if not assuredly the method, of the Jewish thinker. "Unless," she holds, "human acts and sufferances are subject to law in the same sense as the regular modifications of natural

³ "Natural Law: An Essay in Ethics." By Edith Simcox. (The English and Foreign Philosophical Library, Vol. IV.) London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

objects, they cannot become matter of knowledge." Law itself she defines with Montesquieu as "a statement of constant relations posited by the nature of things." But between this law, as natural and as positive, there is not so great a difference, Miss Simcox seeks to show, as there is sometimes thought to be. For though the fact that human laws can be disputed or disobeyed seems to point to a real difference in kind between them and the infallible laws of science, on the other hand, it may be suggested "that consciousness and causation are not incompatible, and that the sense of constraint, which undoubtedly belongs to human law, is most intelligible if conceived as the mere addition of consciousness to a real causal or fixed order of relations, as, in fact, the *consciousness of causation*." This naturalistic theory of law and obligation leads to a corresponding explanation of ethical ideas. The perfection of the race becomes the ideal of a naturalistic theory of morals. "The chief good of every existing thing is to exist as fully or perfectly after its kind as it can." The practical duty of man can be, therefore, very shortly stated. "Moral conduct may be defined in general as conduct conducive to the natural good or perfection of the agent, and those persons affected by his action, and the one morally right and dutiful way of adding to the happiness which is a part of the natural good of sentient beings, is by ministering to their perfection, and removing objective obstacles in the way of their sane and profitable employments." Conscience, it follows, can claim no lofty origin for its intuitions; it, or the moral sense, is merely "a naturally conditioned appetite for natural perfection."

It is impossible to examine here this naturalistic theory of virtue. The question is not whether virtue is degraded by being thus regarded as a simple natural phenomenon like hunger, or whether the sanctions of morality are weakened when the moral judgment is viewed as merely natural attraction or repulsion, and we are supposed to condemn certain actions simply by nature, "which reasserts itself after every accidental disturbance of the normal order, and tends to restore the broken harmony." The real question is, What do we mean by nature? And of nature—a term confessedly vague and fluctuating—we get no real explanation in the work before us. The same difficulty, though in a somewhat altered form, meets us when we proceed to the writer's conception of a natural religion in which the supernatural has no place, and God, Spinoza-like, is identified with nature. Still the pages in which Miss Simcox sets forth the natural character of the religious sentiment in human culture must be allowed to be possessed of a peculiar interest. Religion, Miss Simcox holds, is a necessity of human nature. "To a thoroughly healthy and energetic nature impiety is an impossibility, a self-contradiction; for if moral good consists in the struggle after an attainable better, the universe, which has imparted strength for the struggle, cannot be felt as bad." True, Miss Simcox grants, nature is often against us, and natural religion owns no God making the rough places plain. "But, though the struggle is hard, victory is always possible to the single-minded lover of truth and rectitude;" and when the problems connected with the sphere of

government, the end of legislation, the nature of property, the limits of competition are settled in a manner harmonising with social and individual perfection, as Miss Simcox sketches it in Chapter vii., naturalism will have produced an ideal of society in which duty will be co-extensive with ability, and no occasion will be offered for the wailings of a sentimental Pessimism.

Pessimism is a subject in which the readers of the "*Westminster*" may be supposed to take some interest. It was in our pages that the late Mr. John Oxenford introduced, in 1853, the philosophy of Schopenhauer to English readers, and more recently (January, 1876) we presented, for the first time in England, the chief results of the philosophy of Von Hartmann. Mr. Sully's work⁴ discusses the subject at much greater length than was possible in either of these articles; but it may be questioned whether his treatment of the question would not have been more successful had the amount of space at his command been somewhat more limited. As matters stand, his work is painfully diffuse and undigested. We learn, indeed, from the preface, that parts of it have already appeared in various periodicals, and we suspect that the survival of these papers is to blame for much of the patchwork appearance that the work now bears. A writer on Pessimism would naturally, we should suppose, begin by noting the sources and the grounds of Pessimism, but Mr. Sully reverses the ordinary modes of thought, and closes his volume with a chapter on this subject. At the same time, to make matters worse, the writer commences with a historical retrospect of Optimist and Pessimist beliefs, and divides these into reasoned and unreasoned. As if any hard and fast line could be drawn between the philosophical and literary aspects of such a question; or as if the real interest of such a sketch should not lie in tracing the reciprocal influences exercised by the one upon the other! Surely, most readers will agree with us, the natural order of thought would require that the first two chapters should be combined with the last into one comprehensive section, tracing and accounting for the gradual growth of Pessimist beliefs, until they culminated into regular philosophic systems at the hands of Schopenhauer and Von Hartmann. With such a plan there would be no need to consider the literary characteristics of the two high-priests of Pessimism two hundred pages apart from the summary of their lives and doctrines; and Mr. Sully might have found himself enabled to set forth the views of the two great Pessimists with somewhat more sympathetic pen than he actually does.

The critical and constructive part of Mr. Sully's volume strikes us as even less satisfactory than the historical. The same false analysis that breaks up the unity of the one destroys the continuity and weakens the force of the other. Mr. Sully's criticism of the philosophical basis of Pessimism appears to us indeed particularly sound and dis-

⁴ "Pessimism: A History and a Criticism." By James Sully, M.A., Author of "*Sensation and Intuition: Studies in Psychology and Aesthetics.*" London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

criminating. He points out the inconsistency between Schopenhauer's realistic view of will and the Kantian basis from which it started; he doubts whether mental phenomena are ever unconscious; he remarks, with some degree of justice, that Hartmann's method is "as unscientific as that of any of the teleologists of a bygone century." He shows, clearly enough, the insufficiency of the Pessimists' analysis of pleasure; and he directs special attention to the vague sense in which Hartmann and Schopenhauer employ will as co-extensive with desire and emotional phenomena in general. But it is confusing to find the Pessimists' rendering of will examined first as a metaphysical, secondly as a scientific conception, and this last, again, considered from the two points of view of physical nature and psychology.

What, it remains to ask, has Mr. Sully to offer us in place of the philosophy of despair with which Schopenhauer and Hartmann try to drown our souls? The answer must vary according as our logic is that of Aristotle and Bacon or that implicitly adopted by Mr. Sully. Mr. Sully, in other words, tries, we think, to extract from the premises which he enunciates a conclusion which those premises cannot possibly support. The worth of the world, he tells us repeatedly, is to be determined by reference to feeling, or pleasure and pain. "That is good which somehow lessens pain or increases pleasure; and any moment of life and any circumstances of life have a positive value only when the sum of pleasure is greater than that of pain." But this standpoint, like others in Mr. Sully's work, is only stated in order to be presently deserted. Life, Mr. Sully allows, cannot be estimated in this hedonistic manner. "We must, in the present state of our knowledge, abandon the attempt to measure human life directly in terms of single pleasures and pains." Thus, instead of asking "Does pleasure exceed pain?" Mr. Sully goes on to ask, "Is happiness attainable?" It is needless to point out the leap which has here been made, a leap which all Mr. Sully's ingenuity is unable to conceal. Nor does the inconsistency of Mr. Sully's position lessen as we proceed. His analysis of happiness contains, indeed, nothing which will enlighten much any but those whose knowledge of Aristotle's "Ethics" is confined to Sir Alexander Grant's summaries of that work. But in regarding will not as the source but as the foe of human misery, in insisting on the "selective control of our life material" exercised by our volition, in conceiving happiness "no longer as a bundle of unconnected interests, but as a scheme or hierarchy of interests," Mr. Sully does, indeed, supply the real answer to the conclusions of the Pessimist, but he does so at the expense of deserting what the world has hitherto agreed to understand by hedonism. Mr. Sully's conception of happiness rests not on feeling, but on certain permanent elements which feeling itself cannot supply. Though; therefore, we may read with interest much that Mr. Sully writes with respect to the actual realisation of happiness in human life, the necessary co-existence of Pessimism and Optimism as at once criticising and inspiring human effort, though we may appreciate the truth of many of his remarks regarding civilisation and progress, and assent to the practical utility of that creed of "meliorism" which

"affirms not merely our power of lessening but also our ability to increase the amount of positive good," consistency and logic require us to add that, to enable us to act upon these views, we must provide ourselves with an estimate of life altogether different from that which Mr. Sully supposes himself to have adopted.

Dr. Dühring's volume⁵ deals with the same problem as that discussed in Mr. Sully's work. Dühring's name is already well known in England as that of an independent thinker, not disinclined to criticise somewhat freely the institutions of social life and the endowed machinery of education. But, unlike Schopenhauer and other assailants of the official philosophy of *Vaterland*, he is an ardent Socialist, with sanguine visions of the future progress of the world. The "Worth of Life" may be regarded as one of the loudest counterblasts to the Pessimist tendencies prevalent in Germany. The rise of these tendencies Dühring traces in his opening chapter. In particular, he points out how Darwinism, with its doctrine of a struggle for existence, contributed to swell the disposition of the century to view right as identical with might. It has become, he holds, the starting-point for "the glorification of brutality," the popular screen for the most unbounded egoism. But, while Dühring views Darwinism with so little sympathy, he yet adopts a theory of development in which all the forms of outward nature are only means that reach their end in life. Life itself he identifies with the presence of sensation and emotion. Far from regarding the passions as a source of evil, he looks upon them as an indispensable element in human life: they constitute that incessant action, those heights and depths of feeling, without which existence would be simply death. A law of difference or continued variation thus explains to Dühring's mind many of the stumbling-blocks of life. Existence tends to be in all its forms rhythmic, now ebbing and now flowing. Through life this change intensifies our several impressions. The light of day is clearer for the darkness of the night, the work of life more earnest for the goal of death, the sense of pleasure stronger for the contrast which we have in pain. Thus the end of life may be said to lie in keeping up this law of difference, this equilibrium between two opposites. Work is indeed the law of nature, but happiness is lost at once in the grinding poverty which leaves no room for relaxation and the idle luxury which has no interest to exercise its faculties. Such, in outline, are some of the ideas on which Dühring rears his sketch of the society of the future. The moralist and social reformer will find the volume rich in ideas and suggestive criticism. The problems of educational reform and the various questions that connect themselves with the position of woman and the relations of the sexes are discussed with that directness which is, perhaps, nowhere more required than in dealing with such topics.

Mr. Reichel solicits "gentle criticism" for his translation of the

⁵ "Der Werth des Lebens populär dargestellt." Von Dr. E. Dühring, Dozent der Philosophie und Nationalökonomie an der Berliner Universität. Zweite, völlig umgearbeitete, und bedeutend vermehrte, Auflage. Leipzig: Fues's Verlag (R. Reisland). 1877.

volume of Zeller's "History of Greek Philosophy" dealing with Socrates and the Socratic schools;⁶ and we are too alive to the difficulties and depressing circumstances inherent in the work of the translator to refuse his right to be considerably treated. In the present instance, it would be uncharitable not to recognise the benefit which this translation has conferred on students of philosophy in England. Mr. Reichel's volume may be confidently accepted as an equivalent of the historical insight, the scholarly exactness, and even the earnest eloquence, with which Dr. Zeller has depicted the life and character of Socrates, and traced the development of the Socratic teaching in the Megaric, Cynic, and Cyrenaic schools. At the same time, the work is not without passages in which a more accurate rendering would have been desirable. Thus, for example, in p. 1, "dependence" is scarcely the equivalent of *Vertrauen* (confidence); on p. 14, *einheitliche Anschauung* is badly reproduced in "admiring contemplation;" and barbarous though the word "standpoint" is, it may be doubted whether it does not convey the associations of *Standpunkt* better than Mr. Reichel's "platform." And why did Mr. Reichel not see that on p. 15, note, "Io. Schl." was contracted for Io. *Schluss*, and translate accordingly?

"Morals and Religion in History"⁷ is a title which leads us to expect more from Mr. Marshall than we actually find. In fact, as Mr. Marshall considers a science of history to be impossible, "because history is not a repetition of the same phenomena," it would be marked inconsistency in him to supply us with a reasoned statement of the development of moral and religious ideas in the mind of man. The writer's aim is simpler. He has "strung together" a number of somewhat loosely connected papers, the first and most important showing that just as thought finds at the hand of God an outward expression in language, so similarly the moral nature of man would remain undeveloped but for the vivifying power of religion and revelation. Other papers deal with the materialised forms which this revealed religion underwent in the cults of Zoroaster and Buddha, and the purer aspect it assumed in Greek religion and philosophy. Mr. Marshall's glances at Greek ethics will be found instructive by many readers; and he has certainly succeeded in giving respectable translations of many of the finest passages of the Greek tragedians and Plato. But what acquaintance with Greek philosophy is possessed by the writer who speaks of the view that every man is the measure of all things as the doctrine of *Parmenides*? and why should our eyes be repeatedly shocked by such misprints (?) as "Theatatus" and "Thrasemicus"?

Dr. Beck's little volume⁸ supplies, in its English version, a clear

⁶ "Socrates and the Socratic Schools." Newly Translated from the Third German Edition of Dr. E. Zeller. By Oswald J. Reichel, B.C.L. and M.A., Vicar of Spersholt, Berks. Second and entirely New Edition. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

⁷ "Morals and Religion in History: Popular Notes." By John D. Marshall. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

⁸ "Outlines of Biblical Psychology." By J. T. Beck, D.D., Prof. Ord. Theol., Tübingen. Translated from the Third Enlarged and Corrected German Edition. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1877.

and consistent account of the mode in which the biblical writers employ terms relating to the phenomena of mind. But we fancy that the author discovers much more of a system of psychology in Scripture than would disclose itself to the straightforward student. His doctrine, for example, that soul is what effects the union of body and spirit, and enables them to pass into each other and form the individual, seems much "neater" than anything we find in biblical literature. And it is somewhat at variance with the present historical conception of the Bible to find a writer viewing it as one single book, and expecting to discover the same view of human nature in the writings of the prophets and in the letters of St. Paul.

Mr. Magrath's "Selections"⁹ have reached a second edition; but though some six or eight years have elapsed since the extracts were first published, they appear still, it is to be regretted, without the notes and illustrative essays promised in the first edition of the work. Nor does it lessen our regret to find that the want of leisure in a busy life, and a hesitation to propound without further consideration views at variance with traditional interpretation, are to blame for the absence of those aids which would make the work a really useful text-book of Aristotelian logic. In its present form, as no one can know better than Mr. Magrath himself, the book is really unintelligible to the beginners, by whom such a work is chiefly used, without the assistance of the original "Organon" from which the different passages have been extracted, and on the context of which they often closely depend. And meanwhile the "Selections" cost considerably more than the sum for which the complete work can be purchased in the Tauchnitz series.

Herr Kirchmann's energy contrasts favourably with the literary inactivity for which Mr. Magrath asks to be excused. No one who scans the list of books that have been published in the "Philosophical Library" will deny that the editor's life must have been a busy one. And yet within the space of not more than nine or ten years, Kirchmann has translated and commented on the "Metaphysics," "Ethics," and "De Anima" of Aristotle, the "Novum Organon" of Bacon, Locke's "Essay," Spinoza's "Ethics," and a host of other writings. More recently he has turned his attention to the logical treatises of Aristotle; and now we have a volume of explanatory notes upon the "Categories" and "De Interpretatione."¹⁰ The notes are evidently intended not so much for students of the Greek original as for those whose knowledge of the "Organon" is confined to Kirchmann's own translation. For such the notes seem to be excellent: though in many cases a little more conciseness would have been desirable.

⁹ "Selections from the Organon of Aristotle." Edited by John Richard Magrath, M.A., Fellow and Tutor of Queen's College, Oxford. Second Edition. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹⁰ "Erläuterungen zu den Kategorien und den Hermeneutiken des Aristoteles." Von J. H. von Kirchmann. (Philosophische Bibliothek, Band LXXI.) Leipzig: Erich Koschmy. 1876.

"Thoughts on Logic"¹¹ suggest a method of regarding propositions which will not, perhaps, strike formal logicians as so great a novelty as it appears to its discoverer. A proposition the author views as "the affirmative expression of a judgment as to the reciprocal relationship existing between objects of thought in their entirety;" and he accordingly divides propositions into substitutive (denoted by the letter *S*), exclusive (*X*), inclusive (*N*), and Intersective (*I*). It is needless to add that the new analysis removes all kinds of ambiguities, and simplifies to a degree never yet reached the processes of conversion and syllogistic reasoning. . . .

POLITICS, SOCIOLOGY, VOYAGES, AND TRAVELS.

PROFESSOR HOLLAND'S¹ lecture on the "Treaty Relations of Russia and Turkey from 1774 to 1853" is a useful and somewhat laborious contribution to the discussion of the present phase of the Eastern Question. The date of 1774 is selected as being the date of the great Treaty of Kutschouc-Kainardji, which was concluded on the 10th of July in that year, and a translation of which is given in this volume, from an impression published in French at St. Petersburg in 1775. Professor Holland notices, that the other more recent treaties, as those of Jassy, Bucharest, Ackerman, and Adrianople, have one and all this characteristic in common: the Treaty of Kainardji is the text upon which they are but commentaries. The Treaty of Kainardji contains twenty-eight articles, and is recited to be made "in the tent of the commander-in-chief, Field-Marshal Count de Roumanyow, near the village of Kutschouc-Kainardji, upon the right bank of the Danube." The treaty makes, as Professor Holland observes, "a clean sweep of all that has gone before." The words are, "the two Emperors have agreed to annihilate and leave in an eternal oblivion all the treaties and conventions heretofore made between the two states, including therein the Convention of Belgrade, with all those subsequent to it; and never to put forth any claims grounded upon the said convention;" with one minute exception, however, relating to the boundary of Asof, settled by a convention in 1700. The most important articles are those which declare that there is to be a permanent Russian Embassy at Constantinople, the staff of which is to be protected; that, besides the chapel of the Minister, a new church of the Greek rite may be built at Galata, which is to be under his protection, and on behalf of which and of its clergy he may at all times

¹¹ "Thoughts on Logic," or, *The S. N. I. X. Propositional Theory.* London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

¹ "A Lecture on the Treaty Relations of Russia and Turkey from 1774 to 1853. Delivered at Oxford, April 28, 1877." By T. F. Holland, D.C.L. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

make representations, which are to be taken into friendly consideration by the Porte; that the Porte engages always to protect the Christian religion and its churches, and to permit pilgrimages; that the islands of the Archipelago and the Principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia were restored to the Porte only upon condition of their better treatment; that each province should have a Christian *chargé d'affaires* at the Porte, and "these functionaries, notwithstanding their comparative want of importance, shall be considered as persons enjoying an international position, that is to say, as protected from all violence;" and that the resident Minister of Russia might, as circumstances require, make representations which should be favourably listened to by the Porte. There was to be unimpeded navigation for the merchant ships of both states in all the seas which wash their shores. Professor Holland summarises the contrast between the design and spirit of this treaty and that of the Treaty of Paris of 1856 in the following way. The programme of the Treaty of Kainardji was the gradual advance of Russian territory at the expense of Turkey, and the assumption by Russia of a special protectorate of the Christian vassal states of the Porte. The programme of the Treaty of Paris was the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, the negation of the right of any one power to exercise a special protectorate over the Christian subjects of the Porte, and the substitution for any such protectorate of the collective guarantee of all the powers.

Events have moved so rapidly in the east of Europe since last autumn, that the account of a somewhat hasty journey through Servia, Roumania, and Bulgaria as far as Constantinople, and back through Greece, has not the novelty, nor perhaps the interest, which it would have had if published a few months earlier. Nevertheless, it has the advantage of being read by a better-informed public, and by one which, in the presence of fuller and more carefully digested evidence than was at first accessible, may be presumed likely to share in the calm judicial temperament of the traveller, Mr. Dudley Campbell.² Some of Mr. Campbell's narrative is extremely lifelike, and its simplicity is not without a peculiar charm of its own. Mr. Campbell travelled occasionally in the company of Sir George Campbell, M.P., who has also given his experiences to the world. The present narrative treats very scantily of purely political topics, though the writer, on the whole, seems to incline to the belief that Turkish government is hopelessly bad everywhere, and that, whatever may be the motives and the results of Russian interference, the only relief to the Christian populations must come this way. Some of the scraps of purely social description in this work are very suggestive; such as the account of a resident Englishman, who had settled down as a Turkish farmer after being an undergraduate at Oxford, and gaining a prize there for Greek prose. This gentleman thought "there was an excellent opening for Englishmen in this line, the only considerable drawback—one which he, however,

² "Turks and Greeks: Notes on a Recent Excursion." By Hon. Dudley Campbell, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

did not regard as a clear disadvantage—being the absence of conventional society.” Any one, he said, with ordinary prudence, might count on making at least 15 per cent. The greater part of his land he had let, and found his tenants very conscientious in paying their rent. An Englishman, who had been in the country long enough to speak on the subject with authority, told Mr. Campbell that there was not more than one Turk who had any profound insight into the principles of finance; and, according to this and other informants, the Turkish mode of conducting business was most unsatisfactory. Mr. Campbell gives a somewhat striking account of Greece as it impresses a casual traveller of intelligence. He was assured that brigandage had now entirely disappeared from Greece. Stories were told of even persons in position having been in the habit of courting the favour of the brigands. “I heard one man,” says Mr. Campbell, “I am not sure he was not a Minister at the time, who, living in their neighbourhood, thought it prudent to conciliate them by occasionally becoming godfather to their children; and at elections, so it is said, much courtesy has been extended to them by various parties, in order to gain their political support.” The local and antiquarian curiosities of modern and ancient Greece are touched with a light and sympathetic hand. On the whole, this little work belongs to a very commendable and useful class of travel literature.

Lieutenant-Colonel Baker's³ “Turkey in Europe” has reached a third edition, and the mass of information of an apparently trustworthy character which it contains sufficiently explains its popularity. Most of the facts concerning the history of “Turkey in Europe,” and the administration of the Turkish Empire, are now tolerably familiar to the public through the numerous publications which have issued from the most opposite quarters, and the incessant communications of “special correspondents” of the daily newspapers. But Colonel Baker has brought into light some facts which the smoke of war is apt to obscure, and yet which are of a character to lend a more subtle interest to the war itself. Thus, one chapter relates to land tenure in Turkey, and to the methods of agriculture now in use. By the Turkish law, any one may settle upon the waste lands, and, if he pays a fee, varying from 9d. to 1s. 6d. per acre, builds a house upon it, cultivates it, lives there, and pays tithes for twenty years, he can then get a Government title to his estate, and can make it freehold. In 1867, a law was passed granting foreigners the right of holding real property in Turkey. All title-deeds now emanate from the Government, and are registered. The process of transfer of landed property is described as very simple and expeditious. Landed proprietors in Turkey are, almost without exception, non-resident, and their estates usually compose what is called the *beylik*, or home-farm; the *yeradjees*, or tenants on the *métayer* system, which is prevalent over nearly the whole of Southern Europe; and the *grazings*, that is to say, the tenants are

³ “Turkey in Europe.” By James Baker, M.A. Third Edition. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin. 1877.

permitted to graze a certain number of beasts on the pasture-land, which, subject to this right, is let to flockmasters for grazing. The drawback to labour in Turkey is the difficulty of getting a man to do any work but that which he considers his particular line, so that a ploughman will not make a ditch, and a ditcher will not make a fence. In Macedonia, a pair of working oxen costs from £12 to £18, packhorses from £5 to £8, riding-horses (small) from £10 to £30. Sheep-farming pays well in Turkey if properly managed. Cotton is extensively cultivated in Macedonia and in many other parts of Turkey, as the soil in some parts and the climate are well suited to it. Tobacco grows in great perfection in many parts. Vineyards are very extensive, and the climate is admirably suited to the growth of the vine. Silk cultivation is decreasing. Colonel Baker says that the general products of Turkey might easily be raised to five times their present amount by some energy and honesty on the part of the Government. Colonel Baker is, on the whole, disposed to recommend Turkey as a field for emigration for the right sort of emigrants. The roads in Turkey are, for the most part, merely tracks made by the passage of carts and the like over the same ground; but of late years large sums of money have been spent by the Porte in making military roads of communication; but they are, for the most part, useless after their construction, in consequence of not being repaired. The constant change of Government districts interferes greatly with roadmaking. Much has been done in the way of telegraphs, and they now extend to all the principal towns. Colonel Baker, in speaking of the defence of Turkey, says, that the numerical superiority of the Russians is so great, that the attempt to fight her anywhere near her base would seem to be hopeless. The only hope for Turkey is to make every use of the natural defences of the country, and to oblige Russia to fight as far from her base as possible, and at the same time to harass her communications. This is the sort of policy which Turkey has, in fact, been pursuing.

Proposals for England to complete its pecuniary transactions in Egypt by buying up the rest of the Suez Canal shares and otherwise assuming responsibilities in Egypt come in from so many quarters, that it is worth while calling attention to a very condensed pamphlet by an anonymous "Englishman,"⁴ in which a "Proposal" is "submitted to the people of England," very characteristic of the general class of such proposals, and yet having the somewhat rare advantage of being distinctly and specifically explained. The burden of the whole existing Egyptian debt is now, in round numbers, £7,500,000 *per annum*, diminishing to £4,670,000 after 1886. The proposition is, that the whole of this debt should be bought by England, on terms that, it is said, would be eagerly accepted by the bondholders and the tribute assignees. The estimated cost of the Suez Canal is, in this account, put down at £20,000,000; the estimated payment to the Porte for the

⁴ "England in Egypt the Highway to India: A Proposal Submitted to the People of England." By an Englishman. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

reversion of the tribute and suzerain rights at £5,800,000; and the principal of debt contracted on various terms and conditions, including the value of the Canal shares already purchased by England, at £74,200,000—making in all about £100,000,000 guaranteed debt, which, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., would cost England £3,250,000 *per annum*,⁵ and absolve her from all other liabilities to Egypt. As a merely pecuniary speculation, the transaction seems sound, but the general policy of implicating the English Government in transactions of this sort cannot be looked at apart from the consideration of the policy of indefinite annexation, which must be argued on its own grounds.

It would be difficult to name a writer who has done more of late years to render political economy a science replete with instruction and guidance for the actual exigencies of national existence than the late Mr. Walter Bagehot.⁶ Not only in his systematic treatises, but in his cursory articles in the "*Economist*," he displayed an almost unrivalled capacity for exhibiting truths of the utmost practical moment in a form which carried the evidence with it, and arrested the attention while it compelled conviction. The republished articles of Mr. Bagehot's, written during last year, on the subject of the depreciation of silver, are excellent illustrations of the writer's style, while they are in themselves, in spite of the want of continuity, and the unavoidable repetitions incident to the mode of their original publication, invaluable contributions to the discussion of a subject of urgent importance. There is appended to the volume Mr. Bagehot's evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the depreciation of silver, on the report of which Committee some of the articles in the "*Economist*," now republished, were a comment. Mr. Bagehot considered that the depreciation of silver as compared with gold which has been complained of is due to definitely assignable causes, which either are transient in their nature, or, if left to themselves, must operate so as to bring their own remedy with them. The most distinctly noticeable of these causes are—(1.) The rapidly increased and increasing production of silver in the United States, the production having been from 1849 to 1858, £10,000 a year; in the year 1859, £20,000; in 1861, £400,000; in 1863, £1,700,000; in 1871, £4,600,000; in 1874, about £7,000,000; and in 1876, £9,000,000. (2.) The introduction of a gold currency into Germany in place of a silver one. (3.) The altered policy of the States of the Latin Monetary Union, comprising France, Belgium, Italy, Switzerland, and Greece, by which, after recognising a double standard of gold and silver, they suddenly refused to take the "cast-off" German silver, and limited the amount of the silver they would coin. (4.) The increase in the amount which the Home Government draws upon India, the disbursements of the Home Government in the name of India, and charged upon India, having risen since the Mutiny from £5,000,000 to £15,000,000. It does not appear that the first of these causes can have operated other-

⁵ "Some Articles on the Depreciation of Silver and on Topics connected with it." By the late Walter Bagehot. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

wise than by rendering the markets unsettled and sensitive, inasmuch as it must remain long uncertain what will be the permanent and settled value of silver as estimated by cost of production. Very little of the new silver has as yet found its way to England or to India, and the prices of commodities in India, as estimated in silver, have shown no disposition to rise. The real problem resolves itself into the question as to how the individual persons and interests who and which for the time suffer by the lowered value of the rupee in the European gold market can be helped over the period which must intervene before the course of trade between Europe and India drives silver into India to pay for Indian exports, now greatly stimulated, and so at once creates a fresh demand for silver in Europe, thereby raising its price there, and raises, or tends to raise, general prices in India, by which fresh silver will be demanded for circulation. The large interest on debt and other payments due from India only operate for a time to delay this natural adjustment. So much less silver goes to India in payment for exports from India, and, therefore, so much must those exports be increased before a sufficient flow of silver to India is produced to act on the price of silver here, and on general prices there. Some of the ablest chapters of Mr. Bagehot's work concern fallacious and spasmodic remedies for depreciation.

Mr. William Holms, M.P.,⁶ has done well to publish in a compendious form his speech in the House of Commons, delivered in April last, in support of his motion, "that, in the opinion of this House, the incidence of imperial taxation has so changed, that the proportion borne by the poorer classes has greatly increased, and ought to be diminished by a readjustment of such taxation." The facts on which Mr. Holms based his argument admit of demonstrative proof, and the practical conclusion to which he pointed it is difficult to resist. His charge against the existing system of taxation is not based on any positive injustice, or iniquity, or obvious inexpediency attaching to particular taxes, or on the general moral claims to exemption on the part of this or that class of the population, or of this or that interest. The charge is, that whereas during the past fifteen years taxation has been so readjusted as to relieve the pressure upon all classes of society, yet the middle and higher classes of society have been relieved to a far greater extent than the working classes below them. For instance, Mr. Gladstone, in 1873, adopted the estimate that the working classes contribute one-sixth of all local rates, and the upper and middle classes five-sixths. Lord Beaconsfield, on the same occasion, took the proportions as one-fifth and four-fifths. Since 1872, the working classes have, on this last estimate, been relieved of local rates to the extent of £400,000 a year, and the upper and middle classes to the extent of £1,500,000 a year. What is taken from the local rates is added to the imperial taxes, and this addition has hitherto been entirely on

⁶ "Changes in the Incidence of Imperial Taxation, and in the Proportions Borne by the Richer and Poorer Classes." By William Holms, M.P., London: William Mallan & Son. 1877.

articles of consumption, of which additional ~~tax~~ the working classes pay about three-fifths, and the upper and middle classes two-fifths. The duties at present levied on articles of food which are of the greatest importance to the working classes, such as tea, coffee, cocoa, chicory, currants, raisins, and preserved fruits, make in all about £4,500,000. Now, Mr. Holms conclusively proves that, owing to the mode in which taxes have been remitted, the upper and middle classes paid £2,500,000 less, and the working classes £4,000,000 more, during each of the three years ending 1876, than they did during each of the three years ending 1864. The abandonment of the duties on what are, to the working classes, almost necessities of healthful existence, is the policy Mr. Holms advocates as a means of remedying the inequality.

It is difficult not at least to try to deal tenderly with those who are constantly starting afresh on Quixotic excursions after economic panaceas, such as are to be found in the general substitution throughout the world of paper money for a metallic currency, and the like. It is sufficient to say that Mr. James Harvey,⁷ in his honest and ardent enthusiasm for paper money, has contrived to collect together a good deal of curious historical and biographical matter, which serves at least to show how hard it has been for the simplest economical principles to make their way, and, where they have made it, to retain anything like the unquestioned ascendancy which belongs to the truths of physical science. Political economy will probably always afford the best and fullest reservoir of fallacies for the student of logic in search of examples.

The propriety of publicly discussing the subject of checks on population, and the legal limit within which the advocacy of the use of certain classes of checks is permissible, have attracted some attention of late through the notoriety accorded to the successful prosecution of the publishers of a work which dealt with the subject of restraints on population, and contained implicitly an advocacy of the general use of certain checks. Mrs. Simpson's⁸ paper, read before the London Dialectical Society—a society which usefully occupies itself with discussing questions of moment, the mere ventilation of which is tabooed elsewhere—on Malthus's law of population, brings into relief some of the misconceptions which have clouded the argument from the first. Mrs. Simpson attacks the reasoning and conclusions of Malthus from a very different ground from that of the arrogant and ignorant prejudice which Malthus's assailants usually occupy. And yet, while Mrs. Simpson uses no poisoned weapons, and in no way wilfully misrepresents Malthus and his economical followers, she indirectly places the only part of the so-called Malthusian theory for which Mr. Malthus and his economical school are responsible in a false light. Mr. Malthus's position was, that all over the world the tendency of population

⁷ "Paper Money." By James Harvey, Liverpool. London: Provost & Co. 1877.

⁸ "Malthus's Law of Population: A Paper Read before the London Dialectical Society." By Mrs. Jane Heavisides Simpson. London. 1877.

is to increase at a more rapid rate than the means of subsistence; and that, in some states of society, particularly among the states of the Old World, where land is monopolised and cultivated to the utmost, unless some conscious and voluntary efforts are made to repress the increase of population, that increase will be constantly arrested by checks which will be productive of a vast amount of misery. It is, therefore, according to this view, a matter of benevolence, or rather of the barest humanity, to endeavour to substitute the less for the more painful check. Thus the only question is, what checks had best be chosen, keeping in view the interest and happiness of the largest number of persons capable of being affected, and not omitting to trace the probable indirect moral operation of the general use of any particular check? Thus the alternative is not, as Mrs. Simpson's argument seems to treat it, between a society constituted of large families and a society constituted of small families, but between two kinds of society, in one of which the size of the families generally is adjusted to the means of subsistence, and in the other of which the families of the rich are subject to no check, and the families of the poor are subject to the cruellest possible checks, that is, such as are implied in pauperism, disease, and gradual physical degeneration. It is, again, not fair for Mrs. Simpson to speak enthusiastically of the value of the presence of children as among "the greatest incentives to human happiness and improvement," as though her opponents were less attentive than herself to this consideration, and treated checks on population as other than presenting a choice among competing evils. Mrs. Simpson, indeed, herself seems to throw doubt on the economical facts on which Malthus's argument rests, and intimates that it may yet be proved that, with the increase of population, the checks upon it are not increasing but diminishing. Malthus would, no doubt, have admitted that at certain times and in special circumstances, such as the sudden growth of new manufactures, this phenomenon might be temporarily witnessed. It certainly is not witnessed at present in the leading states of Europe and Asia, and thus for more than half the world Malthus's argument applies at once.

The "Howard Association" are issuing a very valuable series of unpretending pamphlets, giving, in the briefest and tersest language, an account of the present condition of the different branches of their work, and stating the practical conclusions at which they have arrived. On the subject of convict prisons⁹ it is complained that convict gangs, as employed in English prisons, have a very mischievous effect as compared with the separate (but not solitary) system resorted to in Belgium, Germany, and Holland. Another equally judicious complaint is that the English system is too exclusively military, the officers and warders being very frequently old soldiers. Convict prisons, again, are "closed to independent inspection;" and the principle is laid down

⁹ "English Convict Prisons: Some Needed Reforms. With a Letter to the Chairmen of Directors of those Prisons." Issued by the Howard Association of Great Britain. London. 1877.

that "really reliable and frequent inspection by independent outsiders is therefore a *sine qua non* of good convict prison administration." The Howard Association have also bestowed unremitting attention on the subject of capital punishment, with a view to obtaining its general abolition, and on the modes of diminishing intemperance. On the last topic, Mr. Luke Owen Pike¹⁰ has reprinted from his "History of Crime" some interesting notices of legislation from the time of Edward VI. "Alehouses were the subject of an Act in this reign, commonly known as the Act touching the keepers of tippling-houses, and offences under it may be found without difficulty on subsequent rolls." A curious account is also given of the "Gin Act" of the 9th of George II.'s reign, by which duties so high as to be prohibitory were placed on gin.

Speaking at the meeting of the Birmingham Branch of the British Medical Association, Mr. Gamgee¹¹ reviews the medical charities of that town, and comes to the conclusion that they are the occasions for abuse by the public of the charity of subscribers, of the unpaid medical men in hospitals, and of those in private practice. He considers the system of free admission to the benefits of hospitals, which has had a fair trial in Birmingham, and which he shows to have produced results conclusively proving that "the free system applied to any institution of limited means, limited staff, and limited accommodation, is not only a mistaken but also a mischievous policy" in the midst of a vast artisan population. The check of a registration fee he also dismisses as worthless and mischievous. And he advocates provident dispensaries as the true means for checking the undue pressure on the resources of hospitals. Many readers will earnestly demur to Mr. Gamgee's theory that hospitals exist now less for the relief of suffering than for the promotion of "the advancement of knowledge in all that concerns human diseases." Subscriptions are neither openly asked nor given for that.

Dr. Charles West's¹² little volume is interesting and valuable for its suggestions about the practical organisation of hospitals, especially of those for children, of the best-known of which—that in New Ogmond Street, London—he is the founder and moulder. He discusses the various merits of nursing by sisterhoods or otherwise, and urges the necessity of the supreme control being secular. It appears, from some passages, that Dr. West regrets being in some way excluded from the management of the hospital he founded.

Dr. Wiese,¹³ late Privy Councillor in the Ministry of Public "Instruction in Prussia," and an experienced educator, has for five-and-

¹⁰ "Intemperance." Extracts from "Pike's History of Crime." London. 1877.

¹¹ "Our Medical Charities: An Address delivered at Birmingham." By Sampson Gamgee, F.R.S., Edin. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1877.

¹² "On Hospital Organisation." By Charles West, M.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

¹³ "German Letters on English Education." By Dr. L. Wiese. London: W. Collins, Sons, & Co. 1877.

twenty years had an unusually intimate acquaintance with educational matters both in England and Germany, and now publishes a series of letters from England to friends in Germany, comparing the two systems and their results. He would, however, probably object to this use of the word "system," for he finds chaos reigning at least in England, though he gladly announces the fact that England is now sharing with Germany the anxious effort to solve the principal problems of national education in a manner consonant with the national temperament. He comments with severity on our present excessive and disastrous reliance on examinations as a stimulus and a test for the learner. He notes our lack of examination in order to ascertain the qualifications of the would-be teacher. He dwells on the dangers to Germany, on the one hand, of limiting education to instruction, and to England, on the other hand, of giving mere instruction too insignificant a place in education. He describes with a grave, and possibly almost unconscious, irony the preponderance in some English schools of physical over intellectual exercises, and says that this is a thing that is not likely ever to become possible in Germany. He rates highly the manly freedom and self-reliance of boys at English public schools, and appears to attribute rather too readily these qualities—so far as they are admirable—to those schools, not observing that they exist quite as notably in boys belonging to other classes of society in England. He discusses the vexed questions of classical and scientific education, and of the sort of literature that should be put into the hands of the young, commenting with surprise on the freedom with which Shakespeare is given to mere children. Indeed, on all questions concerning the education of boys and young men, his work is most interesting and full of valuable experience and sound observation; but on the questions—commonly, if erroneously, considered to be different—concerning the education of girls, he is decidedly not helpful, discussing them in a page or two, written in the spirit of the German male—a species which holds itself carefully aloof from the female,—aghast at the aspirations of American women, and ardently hopeful that they may never appear in the Fatherland. At the same time, he strangely acknowledges the power of that self-same woman as a teacher of boys. He is somewhat amused at the dread entertained by English teachers on all hands of Government or State control or organisation, patriotically and reasonably pointing out the benefits derivable from it, as well as from a moderate amount of unfettered private enterprise alongside of it. The translation is, with a few blemishes, on the whole good.

It is interesting to find in the report of an Italian Minister addressed to his own Government a complete and faithful account of the system of land tenure existing in England. The account furnished by the Italian Minister of "Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce"¹⁴ is one of a series of "studies in comparative legislation and statistics, as

¹⁴ "Studi di Legislazione e Statistica Comparata sulla proprietà Fondiaria in Europa. I. Gran Bretagna." Memoria dell' Avv. Francesco Colaci. Roma. 1877.

bearing on landed property "in Europe." The writer has strongly possessed himself with a knowledge of his subject, and he treats it, as he is bound to do, from a strictly historical point of view. But he examines the most recent history as well as the more ancient, and, furthermore, scrutinises with great care all the various and most recent proposals for reform, especially those for assimilating the modes of conveyance of personal and real estate, and for favouring the introduction of a system of small proprietors. The bearing of the Irish Land Act of 1871 is explained, and the evils of entail and of large estates remaining in the hands of encumbered landlords, as well as the injurious political influence of the English land laws, are thoroughly appreciated. This comparative view of European systems of tenure will form, when complete, a valuable work, of the highest authority, and it ought to be translated into English under Government authority.

We have again the pleasure of noticing the elaborate, exhaustive, and systematically arranged reports published by the Italian Minister of Agriculture, Industry, and Commerce on the "Progress of Shipping in the Principal Ports for the Year 1876,"¹⁵ and on the "Changes in Population for the Year 1875."¹⁶

It is a great advantage to political controversy when claims which shock all the best-established theories of public liberty and national independence are expressed in such clear and intelligible English as is employed by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster.¹⁷ In a few brief and effectively-written chapters, the general title of which is "The Independence of the Holy See," Cardinal Manning endeavours to show that the temporal sovereignty of the Pope is a Divine ordinance; that it is necessary as a provision for the independence of the spiritual power; that its negation "is a violation of the providential order of the Christian world;" and that the revolt from the Pope has found a Nemesis in deluging Italy with revolution, in breaking up the political unity of Italy," and "in breaking up so far as was possible even the Catholic and religious unity" of Italy. One argument to which the Cardinal recurs more than once is that the present Government of Italy very far from efficiently represents the people. "The present Chamber, elected by less than a hundredth part of the Catholic Italian people, represents the Revolution, and nothing but the Revolution. The Catholic electors refuse to vote: less than 250,000 elect the Parliament, which Englishmen believe to represent the 26,000,000 of Italy. The whole Chamber is revolutionary, both Right and Left alike. And the Left are now in power. The present legislation against the clergy is not the work of the 26,000,000 of Italians, nor even of the 250,000, but only of the majority of those who go to the ballot-box."

¹⁵ "Navigazione nei Porti del Regno." Parte Prima. Anno 1876. Roma. 1877.

¹⁶ "Popolazione, Movimento dello Stato Civile." Anno 1875. Introduzione. Roma. 1877.

¹⁷ "The Independence of the Holy See." By Cardinal Manning. With an Appendix containing the Papal Allocution of March 1877, and an English Translation. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

Among the ever-increasing number of travellers' guide-book writers, Mrs. Macquoid¹⁸ has previously secured for herself a distinguished place, and has before, as now again, a somewhat exceptional advantage, in that her husband adorns her pages with illustrations that are enough to tempt the most phlegmatic of stay-at-home readers to venture on a visit to some unfrequented spot in Brittany, where English-French will prove nothing but a weary delusion and a snare. And then she proceeds to make the whole thing look easy, by giving a list of the places best worth visiting, of distances, prices, hotels, and almost everything a timid tourist might wish to know beforehand. For those whom home ties or stronger attractions elsewhere enable to resist her charming, there is much to interest in her present volume, for she has apparently taken pains to learn the various Breton dialects, and to hold close and sympathetic communication with the people on those sides of their lives which present themselves to her as a lover of tradition and history and the daily companion of an artist. To-day's politics and social interests do not show themselves in her pages, but those of earlier times are very vivid to her. Mrs. Macquoid recommends those who wish to see the Celtic Bretons to travel chiefly in the districts of Morbihan and Finistère, and offers for their investigation the native homes of Arthur and Merlin and Bluebeard. The inhabitants of the different districts are curiously different, the Vannetais being sombre and stern and taciturn, the Kernewotes¹⁹ dirty, excitable, noisy, the Séonnais extremely devout but gloomy, and so on. Their customs at festivals of all sorts are carefully described, with their popular stories and traditions and dress. On the whole, the impression left on the mind is of a peculiarly simple and sincere people, having little affinity with the nation of which they scarcely consent to be reckoned a part, but which must soon, by the aid of the advancing railways, assimilate them, and profit possibly more by the change than the Bretons themselves may do. It will, however, tell in favour of the Breton women, "for the Breton peasant woman, spite of her rich costume on Sundays and gala-days, is after marriage a mere hewer of wood and drawer of water, often the slave of her drunken, unfeeling husband." Something like what is common among some classes in Britain! There is a fine story of one woman in a fishing-village who swims so well as to have saved eleven lives. Strangely enough, Mrs. Macquoid commiserates this woman's husband.

The Eskimo are beginning to be appreciated at the same time that they are in danger of being exterminated. The volume containing an account of their native land, their customs, and resources by Dr. Rink,¹⁹ is made especially interesting by its illustrations of Eskimo life by native artists, and by its selections from Eskimo contributions to periodical literature. Both drawings and writings give evidence of great vigour and originality, and yet the decay of the nation has been

¹⁸ "Through Brittany." By Katharine S. Macquoid: Vol. I. South Brit. tany. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co., 1877.

¹⁹ "Danish Greenland." By Dr. Henry Rink. London: Henry S. King & Co.

unmistakable, and, since the famine of 1844, rapid. The real causes of this decay are not easy to detect, for coffee is the universally favourite luxury, the morals of the people as among themselves are good, and they appear to be at least the intellectual equals of their Danish neighbours. The Danes first colonised Greenland more than a century ago, and introduced Christianity by the instrumentality of the Moravian missionaries, the traces of whose quaint simplicity of life is yet plainly visible. Dr. Rink says that the influence of these missionaries was rather that of the "white man" coming in contact with people who, "as regards their state of culture, were to be compared with people of the Age of Stone," than that of the teachers of a new religion. All these possessors of strange tools and weapons and knowledge appeared to the Eskimo to be "*angakoks*" or priests. Now their laws—precise and ascertained enough—and customs were founded upon and intimately blended with the religious teachings of their own *angakoks*, and the social revolution produced by these new *angakoks* may be imagined when it is remembered that the Supreme Being, Tornarsuk, was represented as being the Devil, the heroes who were glorified with him as demons, and the priests, who were also the sole lawgivers and magistrates, as persons who must be done away with altogether and speedily. Dr. Rink sums up his elaborate account of the past, transitional, and present condition of Greenland by saying that a sort of semicivilised state has resulted from the combination of the newer and the ancient elements. The book is apparently absolutely exhaustive, and is certainly remarkably interesting. Is it possible that a more widely spread knowledge of them might result in perpetuating a race whose vices seem so far to seek, and whose virtues, and even whose capacity for æsthetic culture, are above that of the average of nations?

Lady Barker's²⁰ energy and vivacity are already well known, and secure for her new volume an expectant attention which is again well repaid. For quick and brilliant observation and description she is rarely surpassed, though in matters political and social she is out of her depth as soon as her pen travels beyond the limits of the English people with whom she habitually associates. It is unsatisfactory, to say the least, that any lady with her previous opportunities of information should have gone to look at Langalibalele in his captivity, and flippantly talk about him as like one of "the big monkeys at the Zoo," as looking "the picture of sleek contentment, as well he may," and talk funnily about his wives not coming to share his banishment, and end up with saying "the impression here seems to be that he is a restless, intriguing, and mischief-making old man." Surely English ladies of position going out to our colonies with official husbands ought to be ashamed not to know something of the condition of the colonies and the relations of the colonists to the native tribes around; and ignorance or apathy in this particular case happens to be a specially grave offence.

²⁰ "A Year's Housekeeping in South Africa." By Lady Barker. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

Lady Barker talks very sympathetically of the labours of various missionary societies among the Kafirs, and speaks highly of the Christianised natives, but still the comic aspect of the natives is the one that presents itself most naturally to her, and it is to be feared that her year's housekeeping there will not have proved as effectually helpful to missionary effort as it ought to have done. It was not her business, perhaps, to evangelise, but it is not any one's business to laugh at people suffering under the injustice of English officials. But Lady Barker is very good company, and her spirited conflict with the dust and the infinite difficulties of domestic life in Natal, with its execrable climate, is decidedly cheerful. It is perhaps just because she might have helped the Kafirs so much had she turned her great capabilities to account that her readers are necessarily provoked by her skindeep reflections upon them and their condition. Her caricatures of the Kafirs are notably clever, and her volubility is undeniably attractive. It is, however, difficult to select from her amusing pages any passage giving new information on Natal, and they must be recommended merely as a pastime.

We think it an encouraging sign of the interest taken in legal studies that Mr. Almaric Rumsey's "Chart of Hindu Family Inheritance"²¹ has reached a second edition. This remark is not meant as any disparagement of Mr. Rumsey's capacity for his work or of his success in its achievement, but merely as measuring the wearisome intricacy and superficial unattractiveness of the subject. It appears that the Hindu law, though it claims to be derived entirely from sacred texts, has gone through considerable fluctuations in the course of ages, and has come to be divided into no less than five distinct schools or systems. Three of these, the Bengal, the Benares, and the Mithila, flourish in the north; while two, the Maharashtra and Dravida, are accepted in the south. The Bengal school includes Calcutta and the greater part of the north-east of India. The fourth chapter of Mr. Rumsey's treatise, which explains the part of the chart dealing with married women's separate property, is of considerable general interest, as illustrating some pressing European problems. The separate property of a woman, married or single, is called *stridhan*, and, like the Roman *dos*, the course of its descent depends on the manner in which it was acquired. Sir H. Maine has called attention in a well-known chapter of his work on "Early Institutions" to the historical import of the regulations relating to *stridhan*, and Mr. Rumsey's chart will be found very serviceable in the study of this curious subject.

Rear-Admiral Maxse's²² arguments against what he calls the "counterfeit" and the "true" woman suffrage ought to be read and studied by all who are favourable to either the one or to the other or to both. The "counterfeit" woman suffrage is that which does not include wives in the proposed enfranchisement, and the "true" woman suf-

²¹ "A Chart of Hindu Family Inheritance, With an Explanatory Treatise." Second Edition, much Enlarged. London: W. H. Allen & Co. 1877.

²² "Woman Suffrage: The Counterfeit and the True. Reasons for Opposing both." By Rear-Admiral Maxse. London: W. Ridgway. 1877.

frage that which does. Admiral Maxse is a prominent Liberal, and indeed Radical, in his opinions ; and, consequently, his objections are not based (so far as he himself suspects it) on prejudice or on unreasoning antipathy to change, but seem to be the products of argument, and are manfully defended by argument. Admiral Maxse seems to object to the political enfranchisement of women mainly on the ground that, on the whole, the admission of women to a share in direct political power will prove unfavourable rather than favourable to political progress, and to all that is or ought to be meant by good government. He dismisses altogether the question as to whether women may be said in any sense, or on any theory of political ethics, to have a "right" to a vote ; and he would not probably care to dispute as to whether average women are as much qualified, intellectually and morally, as average men to decide between the claims of two competing candidates, and to give their vote seriously, fairly, and uncorruptly. His contention is, that whereas no woman suffrage scheme is true to its own programme which excludes married women from having a vote, the position of married women in relation to their husbands, and of all other women in relation to some men (generally spiritual guides of some sort), is and must always be such that, by the admission of women to the suffrage, the course of political reaction will be far better served than that of political progress. Admiral Maxse regards the existing incapacities of women as directly flowing from their "natural" relation to men. His words are, "When I say 'natural,' I do not mean 'usual ;' I mean natural in the sense of conforming to a known invariable relation between persons or things. Defined thus, I do not shrink from asserting that women have a natural province, and that the exercise of political power or government is inconsistent with it." Here the Admiral distinctly joins issue at more points than one with all the most competent defenders of the Woman Suffrage movement. They allege that it is only by tentative efforts, based on a succession of carefully-recorded experiments or observations, that what is best for the good of society can be discovered, and what is best in this sense is what may be called "natural," that is, truly conformable to the nature and constitution of the things and persons concerned. They further allege that where, as in politics, experiments are of little value, and observation, as in this special case, yields no fruit, there deduction from well-established maxims affords the only sure footing for fresh enterprises. There are just as many and as precious political maxims in favour of conceding the suffrage to all citizens of mature age and understanding, as there are in favour of confining the suffrage to one class of such citizens accidentally born into the world as men. It is quite as reasonable to say with Mr. Mill that women's dependence on men is a consequence, as to say with Admiral Maxse that it ought to be a cause, of her political nullity.

Mr. Bastard²² has published a second edition of his little work on

²² "Scepticism and Social Justice." By Thomas Horlock Bastard. Second and Enlarged Edition.

"Scepticism and Social Justice," the object of which seems to be to establish that the sceptical objections to Christianity as now received are evaded by those who ought seriously to consider and to reply to them; and while new works are being constantly poured forth from the press in vindication of Christianity, these works either ignore well-known difficulties, or only give a colourable and superficial explanation of them, or distract attention from them by floods of voluble rhetoric. Mr. Bastard makes an appeal to all "who consider themselves to be undoubtedly orthodox" to answer "in a direct manner the views and opinions put forth, and the points made in sceptical writings, both old and modern, and otherwise to explain and remove the difficulties which prevent the now very large number of serious and reflective men and women from believing that the Scriptures were written under any supernatural inspiration." And if "no one is prepared to undertake this great and necessary duty, or until it is performed," Mr. Bastard claims "from all who are concerned with the upholding of justice to render it to sceptics and unbelievers, and to treat them equally with believers in inspiration as honourable members of society." It is not necessary for us to add any words for the purpose of emphasising Mr. Bastard's claim.

Professor Geikie's "*Elementary Lessons in Physical Geography*"²⁴ is a volume full of the most minute and varied information on a class of topics which every one professes to know something about, and yet which few persons ever study, and therefore of which most persons are profoundly ignorant. Physical geography has the misfortune to lie on the border-land of so many other subjects, that it is rather evaded by accident than shunned on principle, and it is a great service to claim for it, as Professor Geikie has done, a distinct place in ordinary school education. The subject, as presented by Professor Geikie, is a very far-reaching one, stretching, indeed, from the astronomic view of the motions of the heavenly bodies, on the one hand, to the streets of Pompeii and the geographical distribution of plants and animals, on the other. The work itself is thoroughly well done, and is beautifully and appropriately illustrated. The subject is made as attractive as possible, without any sacrifice of precise and minute accuracy. . .

Xenophon's²⁵ "*Anabasis of Cyrus*" has always been a favourite school-book, at least with schoolmasters; and Mr. Taylor, in his edition of it, has done everything to make it intelligible and instructive as a help to the study of Greek. The work contains a short Greek syntax, grammatical references, and (what is a much-to-be-commended feature) a clearly-marked map. Mr. Taylor seems to have bestowed scrupulous pains on making the book as trustworthy and useful an one as possible—all the most recent treatises and sources of information having been turned to account.

²⁴ "*Elementary Lessons in Physical Geography.*" By Archibald Geikie, LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

²⁵ "*Xenophon's Anabasis of Cyrus.*" Books I. and II. By R. W. Taylor, M.A. London: Rivingtons. 1877. .

SCIENCE.

NO one is better qualified than the Warden of the Standards to give us authentic information on the subject of our national standards of weight, length, &c.; and we welcome with much pleasure this little book,¹ the contents of which appeared in a series of articles in "Nature." In the compass of less than 200 pages we have presented to us an exceedingly interesting account of the origin and construction of our imperial standards of measure and weight, and of the corresponding standards of the metric system, together with a chapter giving an admirable description of the instruments now employed by the Standards Department for accurately verifying or comparing weights and measures. Strictly speaking, measure includes weight, which is the measure of the gravitation of bodies towards the centre of gravity of the earth; but in Mr. Chisholm's account of the science of measuring he confines the term to measure of extension only.

In the introductory chapter the author enters into some detail in reference to the variation of gravity at different points of the earth's surface, the ellipticity of the earth, &c. The most recent as well as the most complete and valuable determinations are those of Colonel Clarke, published in 1866. Colonel Clarke's results were computed not from pendulum experiments, but from the combination of all the separate measurements of arcs of meridians in Peru, France, Prussia, Russia, Cape of Good Hope, India, and the United Kingdom. He took the metre at the temperature of 32° F. from his own measurements to be equal to 39.37043196 inches, instead of the more generally received determination of Captain Kater of 39.37079 inches, and from the determination of the earth's dimensions its mean ellipticity was computed to be $\frac{1}{298.3}$.

In the next chapter, in which it is clear that pains have been taken to consult the best authorities, we have an able digest of the systems of weights and measures in use amongst the ancient Egyptians, the Jews, Babylonians and Chaldees, the Greeks, Romans, &c. With regard to our English standard units, we find that the yard, pound, and bushel have come down to us from the Saxons, though some modifications of the two last-mentioned have since been made. The Normans at the Conquest do not appear to have meddled with the Saxon system, except in so far that they transferred the standards from the city of Winchester to Westminster, and placed them in the crypt Chapel of Edward the Confessor, in the cloisters of the Abbey, since known as the Pyx Chapel. After 1758 the standards were left in the custody of the Clerk of the House of Commons, and in 1866, when the Standards Department of the Board of Trade was created, all

¹ "On the Science of Weighing and Measuring, and Standards of Measure and Weight." By H. W. Chisholm, Warden of the Standards. With Numerous Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. "Nature" Series. 1877.

the standards passed to the custody of the Warden of the Standards. It is only within a comparatively recent period that weighing and measuring could justly be considered a scientific operation. The author says, "It is to the general advancement of science, and more particularly to the voluntary and disinterested labours of scientific men, that the civilised world is indebted for improvements introduced from time to time in existing systems of weights and measures, as well as in accurate weighing and measuring, and in the construction of instruments of precision. In this country very little, indeed, has been done by the Government to obtain these advantages for the people, and for what has been actually accomplished the whole credit is due to the individual exertions of several of our most eminent men of science, and to the Royal Society as a scientific body.

In the fire which destroyed the Houses of Parliament in 1834 all the old standard weights and measures were rendered valueless, and our present legal imperial yard and pound date from the Standards Commission, which was appointed in 1843. The primary standard of weight is the pound avoirdupois (previous to 1843 it had been the pound troy), made of platinum, in the form of a cylinder with a groove cut round it, the secondary standard being of gun-metal, and intended to regulate the weighings in air of all commercial weights. The standard yard is also made of gun-metal. It is a line-measure, *i.e.*, the yard is defined as being the distance between two fine lines drawn transversely across the bar, differing in this respect from the French standard metre, which is an end-measure.

Then follows a chapter on the metric system, which describes the operations carried out by the French Commission appointed by the National Assembly in 1790 with a view to the accurate construction of the new standards. The metric system is now exclusively adopted not only in France, but in many other Continental countries, and we trust the day is not far distant when the British Government will have the courage to introduce it (permissively, perhaps, in the first instance) into this country. The metric system may justly claim pre-eminence over all others, not because it is constructed on strictly scientific principles, but because of the simplicity and uniformity of its decimal scale, and the simple relations it presents between the units of length, weight, and capacity. A metre being the unit of length, a tenth of a metre cubed is the unit of capacity (the litre), and the weight of a litre of water at a particular temperature is the unit of weight (the kilogram). Now what, in our so-called system, is the connection between the yard, gallon, and pound? We give them here in two statements: the cubic capacity of the standard gallon containing 10 lbs. of water is 277.274 inches, and a cubic inch of water weighs 252.458 grains. Nothing further need be said of the relative simplicity of the two systems; our own seems to have been specially designed to test our capacity for making mistakes in multiplication and division.

The most interesting of the instruments of precision described in the last chapter is the vacuum balance made for the Standards Department

by Oertling. In this balance all the operations required in comparing two weights, the addition or withdrawal of weights to or from either pan, and even the interchanging of the pans themselves, can be performed without in any way interfering with the vacuum. This is effected by means of iron tubes containing mercury, opening above into the balance-case and below into cisterns of mercury—barometer tubes, in fact. Steel rods pass through the mercury tubes, and, by means of an arrangement of levers worked from the outside, all the kinds of motion required inside the balance-case can be effected.

In conclusion, we would suggest to the author the desirability of modifying one or two passages in the introductory chapter. For instance, he speaks of "the density of a weight," which is somewhat slovenly, and he states further, that "the relation of the bulk or volume of a body to its weight is expressed both by its density and its specific gravity, these terms being used indiscriminately," a statement which is doubly incorrect.

We owe Mr. Todhunter gratitude for the admirable mathematical text-books he has given us, especially perhaps for those of an elementary character. He is now extending his labours into the field of natural philosophy, the first part of his "*Natural Philosophy for Beginners*"² having already appeared, while the second part is promised in a short time. Part I. deals with the "Properties of Solid and Fluid Bodies;" Part II., completing the work, will treat on "what Dr. Whewell has called the *Secondary Mechanical Sciences*, namely, those relating to Sound, Light, and Heat." We presume, accordingly, that an account of the phenomena of electricity and magnetism will find no place in this "*Natural Philosophy*," which is to be regretted. Mr. Todhunter claims for his work "a distinct position among the numerous publications which have appeared with somewhat similar aims. On the one hand, great pains have been taken to render the book intelligible to early students; the amount of mathematical knowledge assumed is merely a familiarity with the elements of arithmetic. On the other hand, the subject is presented, it may be hoped, with adequate fulness." In many respects, this little book is all that could be desired as a text-book for beginners. The language is simple, the explanations lucid and sufficiently ample, and illustrations of scientific principles derived from familiar objects are brought before the reader in a very attractive way. We quite agree with the author that a person who has mastered the work will have gained considerable acquaintance with the principles of natural philosophy. Nevertheless, we are not satisfied with the book. We cannot but think that it does not quite represent the science of to-day. It is built on too antique a model, writers of a later period than Dr. Whewell and Sir J. Herschell being seldom referred to. The author follows too tamely the old-fashioned methods of treatment, hesitating to strike out a new line for himself, or even to

² "*Natural Philosophy for Beginners, with Numerous Examples.*" By J. Todhunter, M.A., F.R.S., Honorary Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. Part I. "*The Properties of Solid and Fluid Bodies.*" London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

follow in the steps of those who have sought to free themselves from the trammels of the old mechanical method. The expression, "It is usual in works of this kind to consider so-and-so," occurs more than once. Thus: "It is usual to consider the mechanical powers to be seven in number;" "Levers are sometimes divided into three classes;" "It is usual to give an account, in connection with hydrostatical instruments, of the thermometer and the steam-engine." It would appear that the author did not venture to think for himself to what part of his subject the treatment of the steam-engine properly belonged, but classed it amongst the hydrostatical instruments, such as the syphon and spirit-level, because it is usual in text-books of this kind to do so. Another objection we must urge is this, that the purely experimental side of the subject—surely of the first importance—is not brought so prominently before the reader as we think it should be; while, on the other hand, terms and phrases are occasionally employed which can only have the effect of confusing "the beginner." For example, what use or interest have the terms "accumulated work," "labouring force," except of a purely antiquarian character? Mr. Todhunter's book indeed savours rather of the library than the laboratory.

Professor Everett's text-book³ is to be regarded rather as a framework on which the oral instruction of the teacher is to repose than as a complete course of physics. It deals with the subjects which are commonly treated in such text-books, viz., dynamics, hydrostatics, heat, light, sound, electricity and magnetism; and we venture to predict that it will enjoy considerable popularity among science teachers and others. The arrangement is good, and an attempt is made from the very first to instil into the reader's mind a proper conception of the words "force," "energy," "absolute measure," &c. Many of the latest advances of physics are referred to or embodied in the work, which is thus thoroughly abreast of the times. The examples and questions at the end of each chapter are a valuable adjunct to the book, and their number will probably be increased in a later edition.

Dr. Hartwig's new volume, "The Aerial World,"⁴ will bear favourable comparison with any of its predecessors, "The Subterranean World," "The Tropical World," &c. It is characterised by the same comprehensive treatment, the same richness of illustration, and the same soundness of the scientific principles involved. It cannot fail to be popular. The greater part of the volume is, of course, occupied with matters which belong strictly to the domain of meteorology, e.g., pressure and temperature of the atmosphere, weather prognostics, winds, cyclones, dew, clouds, rain, thunder-storms, &c.; but besides these, there are interesting chapters on the aerial life of insects and birds, and as many as eighty

³ "Elementary Text-Book of Physics." By J. D. Everett, M.A., D.C.L., F.R.S.E., Professor of Natural Philosophy in the Queen's College, Belfast. London: Blackie & Son. 1877.

⁴ "The Aerial World: A Popular Account of the Phenomena and Life of the Atmosphere." By G. Hartwig, M. and P. D., Author of "The Sea and its Living Wonders," &c. &c. With Eight Chromo-lithographic Plates, a Map, and Numerous Woodcuts. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

pages are devoted to the subject of balloons and balloon ascents. The account which is given of aerolites and shooting stars, and of their probable connection with comets, is very fair. The arrangement of the subject-matter under each of the heads under which the aerial world is considered is maintained throughout with tolerable uniformity. Let us take the chapter on "winds," as an example. We have first an account of the old classical traditions about the wind-gods, illustrated by quotations from Homer, Virgil, and Horace; then a description of the actual phenomena of winds, trade-winds, monsoons, &c., with a description of their causes; and, finally, historical stories of famous hurricanes.

We have not much to say about Mr. Jordan's book on "The Winds."⁵ We have read it, and are not much edified. The greater part of the book is occupied with a discussion of the trade-winds, and with an attempt to show that solar radiation has little or no connection with their cause, which is to be found in the gravitating action of the sun and moon, causing the winds to blow northwards and southwards from a line somewhere in the temperate regions. A similar effect is attributed to the earth's rotation about its axis. In considering Mr. Jordan's arguments, it must be remembered that he denies the truth of Newton's first law of motion; that bodies in motion have a tendency to move uniformly forward in straight lines when unacted on by external forces, he regards as mere assumption, not warranted by any known phenomena. If Mr. Jordan will take advice, he will read Professor Tait's remarks about the use of the small word "force," and will refrain from using the terms "force of inertia," "centrifugal force," "revolving force," &c., until he has quite satisfied himself what he means by them.

Mr. Lockyer's Manchester lectures⁶ on the chemical and physical constitution of the earth in relation to those of the heavenly bodies as taught us by the spectroscope are now published, and will be found worthy of a careful perusal. Mr. Lockyer deals with the various classes of heavenly bodies in succession, nebulae, comets, meteorites, stars, the sun, and the planets, discussing the spectra of each, and then shows us why (according to the evolution theory) the earth's chemistry is what it is. With respect to nebulae, he seems inclined to adopt, with some modifications, Sir William Thomson's view, which regards them, as well as comets, as being immense clouds of stones, and not masses of gas. The heat developed by the collision of the stones one with another would be quite sufficient to render incandescent any circumambient gas. In speaking of the constitution of the sun, Mr. Lockyer states that the most probable position for the metalloids, if they exist at all in the solar atmosphere, is outside the metallic strata, *i.e.*, outside hydrogen. Dr. Draper, by the discovery

⁵ "The Winds and their Story of the World." By William Leighton Jordan, F.R.G.S. London: Hardwick & Bogue. 1877.

⁶ "Manchester Science Lectures for the People." Eighth Series. Winter Session, 1876. "Why the Earth's Chemistry is what it is." By J. Norman Lockyer, F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

of oxygen and nitrogen bright-line coincidences in the solar spectrum, has rendered it extremely probable that the metalloids do exist in the sun.

In a course of two lectures⁷ to science teachers at South Kensington, in connection with the Loan Exhibition, Mr. Bramwell contrived to convey a vast amount of information on the subject of the steam-engine. Although the time at his disposal was so short, he found an opportunity not only of tracing the history of the steam-engine from its primitive form, and describing the various types, vertical, horizontal, oscillating, &c., now chiefly employed, but he went into the question of boilers and economic stoking, and gave an explanation of the action of the injector, an explanation which he claims to have been the first to publish in a popular form. Mr. Bramwell is to be complimented on having given his lectures so attractive a character.

Another set of two lectures belonging to the same series were delivered by Mr. Bottomley on electrometers.⁸ Mr. Bottomley gives a detailed account, more complete and satisfactory than is to be found in any of the text-books of physics, of the latest and best forms of electrometers. We have Contomb's torsion balance first referred to, and then follow the various types invented by Sir William Thomson, the attracted disc, divided ring, the portable and the quadrant electrometers. The quadrant, as being the most important and the most widely used, receives a fuller treatment than the others, its gauge and other connected parts being fully described. Physicists ought to be grateful to Mr. Bottomley for putting into their hands such a useful little book of reference.

We have received two more of the excellent series of scientific publications edited by Virchow and Von Holtzendorff.⁹ The first of these, by Dr. Toepfer, gives a popular account of the modern kinetic theory of gases. The first part consists of a sketch of the discovery and early history of the elementary gases, and their chief physical properties, and the laws of Boyle and Gay Lussac. We are glad to see the claims of our countryman, Robert Boyle, as the discoverer of the law which bears his name, so emphatically asserted. Boyle's investigations were conducted in 1660, while Mariotte's results were not made known until 1676. There appear to be good reasons for considering it very improbable, though not impossible, that Mariotte should have been ignorant of Boyle's results. The author then goes on to discuss the evidence in favour of the molecular theory, and gives a brief but

⁷ "The Steam-Engine: Two Lectures to Science Teachers." By F. J. Bramwell, M. Inst. C.E., F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

⁸ "Electrometers." By J. T. Bottomley, M.A., F.R.S.E., Demonstrator of Natural Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. With Illustrations. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

⁹ "Die gasförmigen Körper und die heutige Vorstellung vom Wesen der Gasform." Von Dr. H. Toepfer.

"Das Gesetz im Zufall." Vortrag von Dr. Moritz Cantor, Professor in Heidelberg. Berlin: Verlag von Carl Nebel. 1877.

intelligible account of the development of the theory at the hands of Clausius, Maxwell, and others. The pamphlet is, of course, quite elementary in its character, and does not touch upon any of the real difficulties of the kinetic theory, but, so far as it goes, it is an admirable sketch of the subject of which it treats.

The second of the publications referred to above is a popular lecture on the theory of probabilities. From the consideration of such simple cases as the chance of drawing a given card or set of cards from a pack, or of throwing a given number with a pair of dice, the author passes on to the application of the theory to cases of a more complicated character, *e.g.*, to questions of population, mortality, and statistics generally.

The report of the Department of Mines of New South Wales for the year 1876,¹⁰ though it gives evidence of the wide-spread and continued activity with which mining operations are carried on in that colony, is in some respects discouraging. There is a falling off in the yield, as compared with the previous year, of all the principal mineral products of the country. In the case of gold, the chief mineral of New South Wales, this falling off is attributed to a very great extent to the effects of the drought, which in some places seriously retarded and in others put a stop to gold-mining. The aggregate value of the mineral products of the colony, including gold, coal, shale, tin, copper, iron, silver, lead, and antimony, for the year 1876, amounted to £2,183,095.

The official report¹¹ of the Bengal cyclones of October 1876 is especially interesting from the account which it gives of the Backergunge cyclone, which will long be remembered for the unprecedented loss of life it occasioned, due to the flood of waters poured over the islands at the mouth of the Megna by the storm wave which accompanied it. The reader of this report cannot fail to be struck with the curious fact—a fact not as yet fully explained—that even in districts where 70 per cent. of the population were destroyed and the huts all swept away, the crops were comparatively uninjured. Thus it was that the survivors, though they lost much, were not destitute of the means of existence. We have not space to follow Mr. Elliott into his theory of this cyclone, and that at Vizagapatam, but the views he expresses appear to be borne out by the evidence derived from the meteorological observatories, and by the logs of ships which were at the time in the Bay of Bengal. The report deserves the attention of meteorologists.

Messrs. Robinson and Melliss¹² have done useful work in collecting

¹⁰ "Mines and Mineral Statistics. Annual Report of the Department of Mines, New South Wales, for the Year 1876." Sydney: Charles Potter, Acting Government Printer. 1877.

¹¹ "Report of the Vizagapatam and Backergunge Cyclones of October 1877." By J. Elliott, Esq., M.A., Meteorological Reporter to the Government of Bengal. Calcutta: Printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press. 1877.

¹² "Purification of Water-Carried Sewage: Data for the Guidance of Corporations, Local Boards of Health, and Sanitary Authorities." By Henry Robinson, M. Inst. C.E., and John Charles Melliss, Assoc. Inst. C.E. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.

together and giving to the public in a handy volume trustworthy information relative to the various methods already adopted by different towns throughout the country for purifying and disposing of their sewage. They remark that although sanitary authorities are more or less acquainted with the various systems employed for the treatment of water-carried sewage, they are generally perplexed when they have to apply their knowledge to the place under their immediate care, and frequently find that it is proposed to employ a system unsuitable to the special circumstances of the case, on the ground that the same plan has succeeded at another place, where the surrounding conditions were peculiarly favourable to it, but which are wanting in the locality under consideration. Such a course has led to an increase of the rates which might have been avoided if some of the simplest rules which govern the case had not been disregarded. The object of the book is to review and arrange the information obtained from the reports of various committees and returns presented to Parliament, and to draw conclusions for the guidance of those who have to deal with the purification of water-carried sewage.

Professor Huxley's American addresses^s will be widely read on both sides of the Atlantic. They form a small volume, and comprise only three lectures upon evolution, and an address given in Baltimore at the inauguration of the Johns Hopkins University, and to these is added a lecture at South Kensington on the study of biology. It is a popular book, dealing in a simple way with great subjects, treating them in English wonderfully clear and rich; and the volume is adorned with some excellent woodcuts of reptiles, birds, and horses, designed to give emphasis to the evolutionary teaching. The construction of the lectures is masterly, and the author has evidently put into them his best powers of exposition, and most characteristic forms of clear thought. Like so much of Professor Huxley's literary work, the mission of this volume is to carry the doctrine of evolution into the house, so that unlearned people may understand the place that it holds in the distinguished author's mind among the factors of scientific thought, and thus appreciate the origin and succession of the various kinds of life which are known on the earth's surface and in the strata. In all this there is necessarily not much that is new, and it amounts essentially to an effort to lift a scientific belief into the place which in some minds is occupied by a less clearly defined religious dogma, which is less tangible. So long as evolution is discussed among scientific men and inquired into as a possible instrument of research or a means of co-ordinating knowledge, every utterance in support of the doctrine is received with respect; and when the hypothesis is taken, as Professor Huxley now takes it, out of the arena of sceptical discussion,—when, addressing the general public, he tells it “the whole evidence is in favour of evolution, and there is none

^s “American Addresses, with a Lecture on the Study of Biology.” By Thomas H. Huxley. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

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against it" (p. 91), his position is that of a literary man whose art requires him to put the case strongly to make it clear; and who knows he is not speaking to those scientific men who believe that there is evidence against evolution as well as in its favour.

There are supposed by the author to be three possible hypotheses respecting the relation of living beings in the present and the past. First, the assumption that the universe has always existed in its present condition. Secondly, the assumption that the several successive stages of nature were different, and had no necessary relation to each other. And, thirdly, the hypothesis that the successive groups of life on the earth have been evolved by a natural process from antecedent forms. The first hypothesis is dismissed very briefly; and, as it holds a place in some thoughtful minds, as we think, without quite sufficient estimation or refutation of the evidence in its favour, or what *may* pass for such. For the grand geological fact pre-eminent before all others in the untrained mind is not so much the change of species from age to age, as the pre-existence throughout all time of genera of which those species are modifications. It is not as though this pre-existence of type were an exceptional fact. Among sea-shells, for instance, going back to the early secondary ages of geology, there are few genera met with which do not survive at the present day, and probably no extinct genus which is represented now by a form that can be supposed to be descended from it. Going back to the primary strata, no inconsiderable number of genera are met with, such as *Nautilus*, *Terebratula*, *Rhynchonella*, *Avicula*, *Pinna*, *Dentalium*, &c., &c., which have lived on in all subsequent time; while no living descendants are known of the large number of extinct generic types. We do not mention these things as bearing in any way against evolution, but only as showing the sort of evidence which it endeavours to meet. The author deals with these considerations as though they were exceptional facts rather than a general rule with some great groups of the animal kingdom, for it is observed—

"If the surrounding conditions are such that the parent form is more competent to deal with them and flourish in them than the derived forms, then in the struggle for existence the parent form will maintain itself and the derived form will be exterminated. But if, on the contrary, the condition was such as to be more favourable to the derived than to the parent form, the parent form will be extirpated and the derived form will take its place. In the first case, there will be no progression, no change of structure, through any imaginable series of ages; in the second place, there will be modification and change of form."

This reasoning is self-evident, but the conclusion drawn from it, that the existence of persistent types is no real obstacle in the way of the theory of evolution, might, perhaps, have been stated more guardedly. Because since these persistent types of life are spread over the whole ocean, and have existed in all, or nearly all, geological formations, any reasoning about conditions having been favourable to parents in one locality will not be quite clear. And if conditions are supposed to have been so favourable to the persistence of mollusca since the close

or beginning of primary time, what evidence, it might be asked, is there that, in the previous unknown ages, the geological conditions were less favourable to parents than to their progeny. And there can be no doubt that in a broad way the types of life now on the earth are the same as they were in the earliest geological records in which their several kinds first became known. Whatever variation has taken place since then has thus, it might not unfairly be argued, been circumscribed within the narrow limits of the class groups.

The second hypothesis, called the *Milonic*, is treated at greater length, and refuted. There is something grotesque in Milton's idea of animals struggling into existence full-grown out of the ground just as they are now. And since no one having the slightest geological knowledge could entertain such a notion, it might have been more useful to have discussed the Biblical account of the creation rather than Milton's elaborate gloss. It is worth remark that, in refuting Milton, it is shown that the whole series of stratified rocks must be referred to the fifth and sixth days of creation, and that everything from the middle of the Palæozoic period to the newest rocks must be referred to the sixth day. This comes to something very like a statement of the point that we just now indicated, that the main types of life date from the oldest known time, and that, therefore, the geological formations can give no absolutely conclusive evidence of their origin. We say nothing of the supposed imperfection of the geological record. The records of vast numbers of animals are hidden from us; but if it is invoked for the intermediate types of life which evolution requires, it might also be called upon on the other side for the mammals and birds of the primary strata, and should therefore be appealed to with caution. The positive geological evidence in favour of evolution is of two kinds,—first, the existence in a fossil state of animal types presumed to be of intermediate grade in organisation between some that now live, such as reptiles and birds. These are called *intercalary types*. Evidence of this kind is also furnished by the fact that fossil representatives of some groups like the birds show modifications which tend to extend the definition of the class as limited by surviving genera. Just as genera die out, so larger groups of animals also pass away without leaving representatives. The case, in favour of evolution is also made to rest strongly on the discovery in a fossil state of certain extinct animals allied to the horses, which occur in the several divisions of the Tertiary strata both in America and Europe; and in structure of teeth and limbs show a remarkable sequence of modifications, which looks very like a perfect chain.³ The exposition of these animals is an attempt to trace the one-toed horse back to a four-toed, or possibly five-toed ancestor. Let it be granted, that the evidence is conclusive, and it is certainly good evidence; it might also be regarded as showing that genera of horses have become extinct which had three and four and five toes, and that the one-toed type has survived. The evidence of descent is unfortunately limited to the occurrence of the types in successively older Tertiary deposits. And it is a proof of the intensity of the author's conviction that he should conclude that all animals have been derived from each other in

the way in which the horses would appear to have been evolved. The discovery of a three-toed or one-toed horse in Eocene rocks would, however, effectually dispose of the argument till the four and five-toed forms occur in rocks of still older date. For the general reader, the book is the best and briefest exposition of the geological aspect of evolution that we possess; and contains an excellent summary of the new discoveries and interpretations of structure of fossil animals by which the doctrine is most powerfully supported.

Under the title "Theory and Fact,"⁹ Dr. Paul Kramer makes a contribution to Darwinian literature in which mathematical formulæ are introduced in a surprising manner to demonstrate the nature and limits of variation. He then passes to illustrations drawn from passages in Darwin's writings. The third chapter deals with the law of natural selection, and the fourth and last chapter treats of the secondary modifications of specific character in plants and animals. His conclusions are antagonistic to those of the Darwinian school, chiefly because the theory has been built, as he thinks, upon too narrow a basis; and because the principles relied upon do not make the phenomena of nature sufficiently intelligible to the understanding.

Every scientific man knows that, second to the imagination, doubt is the most potent engine of discovery at his command. But the growing influence of personal ascendancy on the part of leading scientific men has been a barrier of late years to the exercise of scientific scepticism. The utterances of many of the scientific authorities have come to take a tone which reminds us of Papal infallibility; and the younger men, grateful for what they have learned, too often forget or avoid the duty of revising the grounds for their convictions and of amending their master's work. This would seem to be the view taken by the author of "Scepticism in Geology,"¹⁰ for he comes forward to analyse and criticise the teaching of Lyell and others upon the phenomena of earthquakes, of the elevation of land, the formation of gorges, glacial denudation, and some other of the great subjects of physical geography. Unfortunately, his qualifications for the work are not of the highest order, he having neither the knowledge of recent scientific literature—such as Mallet's "Papers on Vulcanicity," or Sterry Hunt's "Essays"—necessary in grasping problems of this magnitude, nor a technical knowledge of physics, nor sufficient power of thought. Thus he is sometimes dealing with difficulties which he does not altogether understand, as in the following passage—

"Hutton satisfied himself and many others, his followers, by the assertion that 'the materials of the harder rocks transported into the sea are spread out and form strata analogous to those of more ancient date. Though loosely deposited along the bottom of the ocean, they become afterwards altered and consolidated by volcanic heat, and are then heaved up, fractured, and contorted' (Playfair's Works, iv. p. 57). Sir James

⁹ "Theorie und Erfahrung beiträge zur Beurtheilung des Darwinismus." Von Dr. Paul Kramer. Halle: Louis Nebert. 1877.

¹⁰ "Scepticism in Geology, and the Reasons for it." By Verifier. London: John Murray. 1877.

Hall, to corroborate this, instituted instructive chemical experiments, such as heating lime in a closed gun-barrel to produce the crystalline texture assumed by melted matter under high pressure. But no sea, no water could have existed on the surface of a globe of molten rocks. The water in contact with sand or rock heated red-hot would have turned into vapour. What, then, becomes of high pressure exercised by the old ocean?" (pp. 7, 8).

Here the author is simply attributing to geologists views which no one holds. They are founded on his own mistaken reading of passages which Lyell only notices in his "Sketch of Geological Progress."

Notwithstanding blemishes such as this, the book is not a bad one. But fuller knowledge and more vigorous thought are required from an author who would discuss geological difficulties wisely; not merely as an iconoclastic doubter, but looking to both sides of the balance in the manner of John Stuart Mill.

There appear to be still people who refuse to accept the evidence of the antiquity of man, and think their opinions worth printing. Persistent among such is Mr. Whitley, who communicates to the Victoria Institute a so-called "Critical Examination of the Flints from Brixham Cavern."¹¹ If Mr. Whitley had anything new to publish, the Royal Society was the place to which his discoveries should have been sent; but as a matter of fact the paper consists of little more than a collection from Mr. Prestwich's "Report to the Royal Society" of the mistakes made during the inquiry into the contents of Brixham Cave, together with the author's opinion that the flints found in the cave and presumed to be of human workmanship are accidental flakes. As his paper is illustrated with a photograph of the flints, it carries its own refutation to any one who is able to recognise a worked flint implement from its form.

The new edition of "The Puzzle of Life"¹² is improved by the addition of references to the rooms in the British Museum, where specimens may be seen of the fossils and antiquities mentioned in the text, and by new matter. In its revised form it ought to increase in favour with children. We should, however, have liked to see the defective illustrations to which we drew attention replaced by accurate figures.

Professor Pagenstecher of Heidelberg, in the second volume of his "Zoology,"¹³ treats of the organs and functions of vegetative life in the animal kingdom. The digestive organs occupy more than half the volume, while the remainder of the 520 pages are given

¹¹ "A Critical Examination of the Flints from Brixham Cavern." By N. Whitley, C.E. London: Hardwicke & Bogue. 1877.

¹² "The Puzzle of Life, and How it has been put Together: A Short History of the Formation of the Earth, with its Vegetable and Animal Life, from the Earliest Times; including an Account of Pre-Historic Man, his Weapons, Tools, and Works." By Arthur Nicols, F.R.G.S. With Illustrations by Frederick Waddy. Second Edition. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

¹³ "Allgemeine Zoologie, oder Grundsetze des thierischen Baus und Lebens." Von H. Alexander Pagenstecher. Zweiter Theil, mit 206 Holzschnitten. Berlin: Wiegandt, Hempel, & Parey. 1877.

to the circulatory vessels and the heart. A valuable feature of the work is that in each section of the subject the views of the several contributors to our knowledge are epitomised, and discussed. The anatomical descriptions which follow are clear, sufficiently full, and greatly helped by the woodcuts. It is an obvious advantage to have one set of organs traced in this way through the several classes, from the simplest forms to the more complex among the Cœlenterata, Echinodermata, Vermes, Rotifera, Arthropoda, Mollusca, and Vertebrata. The work is as well written as planned. It makes an important addition to the student's library, and supplies a place that is not occupied by any English work.

Professor Fick of Wurzburg has printed in "The Popular Science Series," edited by Virchow and Von Holtzendorff, a lecture delivered at Wiesbaden on "The Nature of Muscular Work."¹⁴ He deals with the involuntary action of the muscles, and shows that the work is not electrical or of a thermodynamic character, but is a chemical process.

Mr. Darwin's book on "The Forms of Flowers"¹⁵ is described by the author as a reprint of a series of papers communicated to the Linnean Society, connected and corrected, together with new matter, and an abstract of the researches of others. Following the grouping of flowers adopted by Linnæus into hermaphrodite, monœcious, diœcious, and polygamous species, each of these types is expounded at length. The hermaphrodite class contains, among other less important groups, the heterostyled dimorphic, and trimorphic species, and cleistogamic plants, to which, the volume is chiefly devoted. It is "shown that heterostyled plants are adapted for reciprocal fertilisation; so that two or three forms, though all are hermaphrodites, are related to one another almost like the males and females of ordinary unisexual animals." The cleistogamic plants are adapted for self-fertilisation, and have two kinds of flowers, one of which is fully expanded and perfect, the other minute and closed, with their elements more or less aborted or rudimentary, yet perfectly fertile. As in some other of Mr. Darwin's books, the details and technical information are printed in smaller type. The book is well arranged, excellent in its clearness, well illustrated, and will take rank as one of the most perfect of the monographs with which its author has enriched biological science.

"The Fern World"¹⁶ is an attractive book, treating of ferns in many ways. The volume comprises five parts. In the first part, a short account is given of the structure and classification of ferns, which is too brief to be of much use to the young student. The second part treats of fern culture, and is full of information about soil, planting, formation of rockeries, &c. The third part is called "Fern-hunting,"

¹⁴ "Das Wesen der Muskelarbeit." Von A. Fick. Berlin: Carl Habel. 1877.

¹⁵ "The Different Forms of Flowers on Plants of the Same Species." By Charles Darwin, M.A., F.R.S. With Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1877.

¹⁶ "The Fern World." By Francis George Heath. London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

in which the directions are full, practical, and excellent. The fourth part, called "Rambles through Fernland," takes us away to the shores of West Somerset and North Devon, along the Countisbury cliffs by Lynton and Clovelly, and then south to Torbay. The fifth part gives an account of the forty-five British ferns without dwelling unnecessarily on their varieties. The frontispiece is a photograph of a grand grouping of ferns, and there are twelve nature-printed plates. The chief defect of the volume is an absence of emphasis of the technical characters by which the forms are recognised.

The wealth of illustration of "The Vegetable World" ¹⁷ will make it a favourite book with young people. It is so arranged as to serve the purpose of a popular handbook of botanical science, which has the merit of being thoroughly intelligible and well charged with facts.

"The Royal Parks and Gardens of London" ¹⁸ consists chiefly of a reprint of articles from the "Journal of Horticulture." It is a book of no pretension, which the lover of the flower-beds in the public gardens of London will be glad to possess. It treats of the flowers and gardens at Buckingham Palace, in the Duchess of Teck's garden at Kensington Palace, of Kensington Gardens, Horticultural Gardens, Botanical Society, Hyde Park, St. James's and Green Parks, Victoria, Battersea, and Regent's Parks, of Hampton Court, Kew Gardens, and the Crystal Palace; and concludes with some chapters of designs for flower-beds.

"Agrostographia" ¹⁹ is an elegant pamphlet on grasses, with excellent plates of the several kinds. It gives an historical account of the cultivation of the several kinds of grasses, and treats of the quantities to be sown to the acre for pasture, hay, lawns, and other purposes, and mentions the proportions in which the several species should be combined with a view to the various possible results on different soils. The third chapter gives a short popular account of each of the natural and artificial grasses. It is a concise and useful book for those who use grass in large quantities for agricultural purposes.

Dr. Lang of Sydney published as far back as 1834 a little book in which he set forth convictions that the Polynesians were of Malay origin, and that, drifting over the Pacific by way of Easter Island, they peopled America. The second edition, ²⁰ now issued, states fully the

¹⁷ "The Vegetable World : Being a History of Plants, with their Structure and Peculiar Properties. Adapted from the Work of Louis Figuier, with a Glossary of Botanical Terms." New and Revised Edition, with 473 Illustrations. London : Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

¹⁸ "The Royal Parks and Gardens of London ; their History and Mode of Embellishment, with Hints on the Propagation and Culture of the Plants Employed," &c. By Nathan Cole, Kensington Gardens. With Numerous Wood Engravings and Geometrical Designs. London : "Journal of Horticulture" Office. 1877.

¹⁹ "Agrostographia : A Treatise on the Cultivated Grasses and other Herbage and Forage Plants." By the Lawson Seed and Nursery Co. (Limited). Edinburgh and London : William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

²⁰ "Origin and Migrations of the Polynesian Nation ; Demonstrating their Original Discovery and Progressive Settlement of the Continent of America." By John Dunmore Lang, D.D. Second Edition. Sydney (Australia). London : Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

additional evidence in favour of his convictions which the author has gathered. Altogether, his book is a delightful one, full of quaint facts, and valuable learning about the Polynesian nation. He begins by showing the great distances of six hundred or one thousand miles for which these islanders are known to be drifted by gales in open canoes; then discusses the means of determining their relationship with other nations. First, several of them have a caste similar to that of India. Secondly, the custom of taboo prevails throughout Polynesia and in India, though it also stretches across the continent of Asia to Greece. In strict taboo in the South Seas, when neither man nor beast may emit a sound, bandages are put on the snouts of the pigs and on the bills of the poultry to keep them quiet. Thirdly, in Tahiti, as in Bengal, women may not eat with their husbands; like Asiatics, the people sit on the ground cross-legged; in the Fiji Islands there is a custom similar to the suttee of India; and in several of the islands the betel is chewed as by the natives of India. And, fourthly, the languages are compared with those of Asia, so as to demonstrate their affinity with Malay and resemblance to Chinese; and it is remarked that, like the Chinese, these people have a language for ceremonial purposes distinct from that of everyday life. An inquiry is then made as to the period when the separation from the Malay nation took place; and the abundance of Arabic and Sanscrit words in Malay which are not found in the Polynesian languages is regarded as showing that the separation must have been extremely ancient. The greater part of the book, which is divided into eleven chapters, treats of the migration of the people and of the American native nations. It is enriched with much pleasant ethnological learning, and the argument is skilfully arranged.

Dr. Robert Brown, under the title of "*The Countries of the World*,"²¹ is producing a luxuriously illustrated account of his travels, designed apparently to give in a popular form such a description of the peoples, life, and physical phenomena of the world as will constitute a physical geography. It has none of the characteristics of ordinary manuals, but is sparkling with personal experience; and by the humour and charm of its style will interest many people, young and old, who would not read text-books. For young people, it will admirably pave the way for the systematic knowledge which should be afterwards acquired. The present volume treats of the Arctic regions, the Fur Countries of North America, of the Dominion of Canada, and of the Far West of the United States.

A description of the River Volga,²² by Dr. Legrelle, embraces an account of much of Russia, dealing more with the people, their costumes, industries, religious belief and habits, than with the physical features of the country. The shores of the Volga are said to form a

²¹ "*The Countries of the World; being a Popular Description of the Various Continents, Islands, Rivers, Seas, and Peoples of the Globe.*" By Robert Brown, M.A. Vol. I. London: Cassell, Petter, & Galpin.

²² "*Le Volga: Notes sur la Russie.*" Par A. Legrelle. Paris: Hachette & Cie. 1877.

sort of museum of comparative anthropology, and constitute a better ethnological boundary between Europe and Asia than the Ural Mountains. In its course the river runs through twenty Russian governments, and receives two hundred affluent streams. The right bank is everywhere higher than the left bank, but in descending from Nijni-Novgorod the level of the right bank becomes lower until the inequality is lost in the steppes. The river everywhere abounds in sturgeon and sterlet, and contains salmon and bream. Owing to the fall being only a thousand feet, its usual course is sluggish; but when the snows melt the whole country is sometimes flooded, so that steamboats have passed over villages in a great sheet of water like a sea. The Volga is shallow, only occasionally reaching a depth of a hundred feet. In the upper part of its course the surplus waters of spring-time are dammed up by sluices, and kept in reservoirs, so that they may be poured into the river to stimulate it to flow faster. The author commences at the source, and in passing down the stream gives an interesting account of the several towns and villages on its banks. At Ruibinsk, in the government of Yaroslav, the fisheries are very extensive, being visited in spring and summer by a hundred thousand people, who work incessantly; in winter the population is reduced to fifteen thousand. Moscow is described in great detail, as is the great fair at Nijni-Novgorod. Thence the author passes to Kazan and its university, where the first lay college in Russia was established in 1758; and thus makes his way to the Caspian, describing Saratov and Astrakhan. The book is excellent and light reading, being the work of a newspaper correspondent, whose eye is always noting picturesque effects of dress and occupation, and is able to touch lightly on more serious subjects.

The credit of therapeutics as a progressive science needs from time to time to be supported by new discoveries. A considerable period, however, is often necessary to discriminate between the real and imagined virtues of newly introduced remedies. At the present time, salicylic acid and its compounds are the fashionable drugs, in metropolitan practice at least, and current opinion has assigned to them a powerful influence over some diseases. Dr. Walter Douglas Hogg has rendered good service in condensing into his inaugural thesis for the Paris Doctor's degree²³ an excellent *résumé* of the history, properties, and therapeutical uses of this substance, and appending a series of carefully-recorded original observations. Since the employment of this substance seems likely to mark an epoch in therapeutics, and is still one of the novelties of medicine, it is worth while to enter at some length into the contents of Dr. Hogg's short treatise.

The history of the current use of salicylic acid constitutes an interesting chapter in that of the application of theoretical chemistry to practical medicine, and it illustrates also how an apparently useless

²³ "De l'Usage Therapeutique de l'Acide Salicylique." Thèse pour le Doctorat en Médecine par Walter Douglas Hogg, Docteur en Médecine de la Faculté de Paris, Pharmacien de 1^{re} Classe, Paris: A. Parent. 1877?

discovery may, by the progress of unconnected investigation, become of great practical importance. Salicine, obtained from willow-bark, has been occasionally employed in medicine for the last twenty years as an antipyretic; and salicylic acid, originally obtained by submitting salicine to the action of potash, and also from the oil of winter-green, has been occasionally, although rarely, used in medicine. It was recommended, for instance, about ten years ago as a tonic, but attracted little notice. Subsequently carbolic acid, which had come into general use as an antiseptic, was found in 1869, by Kolber and Lautemann, to yield salicylic acid by exposing it to the action of carbonic acid. This led to experiments as to the antiseptic properties of salicylic acid, which were found to be considerable. It was found, also, that it could be taken in large quantities without producing poisonous effects. Its relation to salicine suggested its therapeutical use, which has been found fully to justify the expectations which were formed from its chemical character. It is a tasteless, inodorous substance, capable of irritating the mucous membranes, and producing in large doses, first flushing and then perspiration, together with some interference with the special senses, and a little gastro-intestinal irritation. Its poisonous dose varies, but probably commences at about two drachms, when, as in a case which Dr. Hogg relates, the symptoms are those of an irritant poison with collapse. The author has collected very carefully all recorded instances of its toxic influence. In animals which are killed by a large dose there have been found, besides the evidence of irritation of the alimentary canal, remarkable fluidity of the blood and disseminated hæmorrhages. The temperature is sometimes raised.

In spite of some adverse testimony, there is a fair concurrence of opinion as to the antiseptic influence of salicylic acid as an external application. It hinders the growth of the cell-fermentation and arrests the development of vibrios and bacteria. It may be employed with especial advantage when wounds are slow in healing, and in some affections of the throat and nose, especially in diphtheria, and in diseases attended with fetid discharges. It is especially, however, as an internal remedy that it has been most largely employed, and of the diseases in which it has been given, rheumatic fever is that in which it has been said to produce most effect. It does not prevent the development of cardiac complications, but it is said by some to produce a remarkable effect on the fever and on the painful joint affections of that disease. Dr. Hogg, from his survey of recorded facts, is careful not to exaggerate its value, and indeed would assign it a lower place than most physicians in this country, where it is becoming generally recognised as the most useful remedy for rheumatism yet introduced. Another disease in which it has been employed is typhoid fever, in which its antiseptic effect in the alimentary canal seems to be of distinct value, and it is said to relieve the blood of extractive matters which exist in excess in that disease, an influence very clearly shown by an analysis of the excreta. In intermittent fever its effects appear to be inferior to those of quinine.

In diphtheria it is said to be of great use as a local application, but to have no effect when given internally. In cystitis its antiseptic properties are useful, and it seems to have a very marked influence on the catarrhal form of the affection. Erysipelas has been treated by it with apparent advantage. In lung diseases and in some gastric disorders it appears useful, but only for its local action. The author sums up his conclusions in the opinion that the praise bestowed upon it must be accepted with reserve, and is in no small degree to be ascribed to the influence of its novelty. He believes that it can only be usefully employed as a local antiseptic and not as an antipyretic; that it may be given with advantage in some putrid diseases, whether of the alimentary canal, as typhoid fever, of the lungs, as pulmonary gangrene, or dilatation of the bronchi, and in some other affections as a local application, and that its antipyretic influence is solely due to its diuretic action relieving the organism of hurtful substances. Salicylate of soda and salicine behave in the system very much in the same manner as salicylic acid, but their action is less energetic. Salicine possesses, moreover, some tonic properties. Dr. Hogg has appended a series of cases, carefully recorded, of acute rheumatism treated by this agent, but in which its beneficial effect was not marked. The thesis is clearly and concisely written, and does credit to Dr. Hogg's industry.

The discovery by Drs. Bowditch and Buchanan of the relation of wetness of soil and its drainage to the mortality from consumption, is a fact of great importance and promise, not only for its immediate and practical bearing, but as a first and unexpected instalment of knowledge of the relation of disease to local physical conditions. An able attempt to extend that knowledge has been made by Dr. W. H. Pearse in a paper lately read before the Plymouth Institution on the mortality from consumption in Devonshire.²⁴ It is an attempt to collate the geological and physical conditions with the mortality from phthisis, and the results reached are of much interest. They show, however, how great and many are the difficulties which beset the attempt. The influence of geological conditions is trifling, in comparison with those of occupation and hereditary taint, where these exist. A single family highly predisposed to phthisis will bring up the death-rate of a portion of the healthiest districts to a level with the most unhealthy, and the influence of the crowded "schools" of lacemakers in Eastern Devon is evident in a high mortality. Several facts, however, seem to come out with clearness from Dr. Pearse's researches, extended over a period of ten years. One is the very interesting observation that while dampness of soil is a powerful cause of phthisis, a high rainfall is not. The healthiest parts of Devonshire are those in which the rainfall is greatest. Of course, it does not follow that rain is conducive to health; the most rainy districts are also those

²⁴ "The Geography of Devonshire and Consumption." Abstract of Paper by Dr. William H. Pearse, Read November 30, 1876, from the "Journal of the Plymouth Institution."

which are highest, most airy, and in which the inhabitants lead outdoor lives. These favourable conditions produce great salubrity in spite of the poor food and overcrowded cottages which obtain for the most part in the same districts; and it is clear that a high rainfall has no influence in neutralising the beneficial effect of these healthy conditions, although a wet subsoil has. Another fact is the healthy character of the Granite and North Devon Devonian formations. Many of the villages of the Ilfracombe and Lynton district enjoy an absolute or practical immunity from phthisis, and the death-rate of the whole district—Ilfracombe, as a health resort for invalids, being excluded—is extremely low. The death-rate of the Carboniferous is everywhere much higher than that of the Devonian formation, but this is in part to be explained by other influences, having to do with occupation, &c., which need special local investigation. Dr. Pearse ends his paper with some speculations as to the manner in which local geological conditions may influence disease, but it is evident that a much wider study of facts is needful before any generalisation can be safely drawn.

Mr. Jackson of Kew has edited with much care Barton and Castle's "*British Flora Medica*,"²⁵ which appeared originally in 1839. The original work has been for a long time little known. Embracing almost exclusively indigenous plants, and confining itself to those to which popular or professional opinion has assigned medicinal virtues, it neither fulfils the purpose of a British nor of a medical flora. It is, nevertheless, a useful book, and thoroughly merits the careful editing it has received. It is truly remarked in the preface, that the indigenous plants of Britain are too much neglected in physic, and all past and present experience shows that in them there probably lurks a vast amount of unknown and unnoticed utility. In the work before us, every plant is figured and described which is supposed to possess any remedial power. The figures are small, four being contained in each octavo page, but they are accurate and well coloured. The chief work of the editor has been the condensation of the letterpress, whereby the nine hundred pages of the original work have been condensed into the four hundred and fifty large-type pages of the volume before us. The English popular, the Latin, and the French, and German names of each are given, and a full botanical description, followed by an account of its distribution, its etymology, and its supposed properties and use. The latter reflects the old opinion rather than that of the present day.⁶ The reputed virtues are fully given, and form, as may be expected, a very interesting and instructive section of the book. The present use of the various plants is less accurately described, and appears to have been left much as it was in the original edition. It is a curious illustration of the way in which experience and knowledge are passed over and forgotten to note, in connection with the present

²⁵ "*The British Flora Medica*." By B. H. Barton, F.L.S., and Thomas Castle, M.D., F.L.S. A New Edition, revised by J. R. Jackson, F.L.S. London: Chatto & Windus, 1877.

furor for salicine and salicylates, that the willow was used for gout long ago in 1783. Stone cured fifty cases of ague by its use, and the willow-bark was recommended in "hectic fever," and other allied diseases.

The publication of a third edition of Dr. F. T. Roberts's "Handbook of the Theory and Practice of Medicine"²⁶ within a very few years of the issue of the first edition is sufficient evidence both of its popularity and of its merits. The author has in it attempted to combine the two elements of clinical and systematic teaching, and has succeeded in so far as the combination is possible. Each element in the work is well executed, but the result is very often to overload the pages with subdivided details, and certainly to render the work "stiff reading." But in its scope, it occupies a unique and certainly very useful position among the text-books of medicine. The present edition reappears in two volumes instead of one; but this apparent augmentation of bulk is, we are assured, not real, and is due only to the adoption of more uniform type and more convenient arrangement. Some subjects, however, have been more fully discussed, and some are treated for the first time. The encyclopædic character of the book will render it very serviceable to the student, and reflects the greatest credit on the author's ability and industry.

"The Hunterian Oration" of Sir James Paget,²⁷ delivered in February last, and published at the time in the medical journals, has been republished in more convenient form, and has received the addition of a series of notes of much interest to students of Hunter's life. This oration is the most eloquent of those of recent years, if not of all preceding ones, and worthily the most honoured by the unwonted presence of Royalty at its delivery. It is marked by all the thoughtfulness, earnestness, sagacity, and rare command of the "English undefiled," which render everything Sir James Paget writes alike delightful and instructive, and which has given a new charm to the somewhat hackneyed theme of Hunter's life. The theme is hackneyed, however, only because it has too often been treated by those who have little sympathy with the spirit of Hunter's work; and when studied afresh by one who can enter into Hunter's scientific enthusiasm, and see clearly the marvel of his work, and estimate accurately the merit of his motive and character, the spirit of the life is perceived with fresh reality, and its outward facts receive new light. It is as a surgeon and pathologist that Hunter is best and chiefly known.* Sir James Paget has carefully considered his claims to the high position assigned to him as a practical surgeon, estimating the originality of the chief discoveries with which his name is associated, and comparing him with his chief contemporaries. But it is as a physiologist and comparative anatomist that Hunter's chief original scientific work was done, and on which his claim to scientific fame must in large measure

²⁶ "A Handbook of the Theory and Practice of Medicine." By Dr. F. T. Roberts, M.D., B.S., M.R.C.P. London: H. K. Lewis. 1877.

²⁷ "The Hunterian Oration." By Sir James Paget, Bart. London: Longmans & Co. 1877.

be based. The way in which this latter work was pursued by him in untiring perseverance and yet in silence, and preserved unknown for long after his death, and the history of the narrow escape of that work from entire loss, constitute one of the most remarkable chapters in the history of scientific investigation. The larger part of Hunter's scientific research would have remained unknown had it not been for the rare personal devotion which genius often inspires in subordinate minds, and which has again and again preserved for posterity that which else would have been lost. As Sir James Paget relates in one of the notes at the end of his oration, Hunter's assistant devoted a large part of his time for several years after Hunter's death to the task of copying the most important of the scientific manuscripts; so that when, years after, a close connection of Hunter's—with what Sir James Paget calls "a sort of senile degeneration in morals from which all who are growing old have to guard themselves"—first pilfered from and then destroyed the record of most of Hunter's best work, the copies which Clift had made preserved it to posterity. The whole story of Hunter's work, indeed, abounds with facts most suggestive in their illustration of the natural history of genius. The strange contrast between his early and later intellectual life, the inequality of his natural endowments, the strange contrast between his accuracy in scientific observation and carelessness in some other things, the way in which some of his intellectual tendencies overbore all others, and the way in which his work was pursued in spite of difficulties which in kind and degree were such as are rarely surmounted, are characteristics most remarkable, and as Sir James Paget shows, of wide suggestiveness.

There are few aspects of disease more terrible, from both a social and an individual point of view, than that comprehended under the terms idiocy and imbecility. The subject is itself unattractive, except to a very strong and pure benevolence or an ardent pathological enthusiasm. It has hence been less studied than any other department of pathology of equal extent, estimated by the number of the afflicted; and the competent treatises on the subject which we possess are very few. We welcome, therefore, such a comprehensive and scientific study of the whole question as that which Dr. Ireland has just published,²⁸ and which not only embodies the result of a large, well-studied experience, but presents very fairly the results of European investigation into the subject. Of the causes of idiocy, that which stands out in the most terrible prominence is its hereditary reproduction. Of all mental derangements, it is that which is most frequently propagated by descent. In about one half of the cases inherited neurotic tendency may be traced, sometimes showing itself as some other form of nerve disease. Idiocy may beget idiocy, as in the diabolical experiment recorded of some parish authorities, who, in order to get rid of the expense of maintaining a female idiot, hired a male idiot of a

²⁸ "On Idiocy and Imbecility." By William W. Ireland, M.D., Edinb., Medical Superintendent of the Scottish National Institution for the Education of Imbecile Children. London: J. & A. Churchill. 1877.

neighbouring parish to marry her, by which the latter parish had to maintain the two, and also three idiot children which resulted from the union. The variation in the diseases resulting from hereditary taint, the manner in which generations and individuals may escape and yet transmit the tendency, is one of the strangest phenomena of heredity. Something more than the inherited taint is evidently necessary for the production of idiocy, and these exciting causes may produce it when no inherited taint exists. Dr. Ireland attributes considerable influence to profound mental emotions affecting the mother during pregnancy, and quotes evidence to show that the exciting and anxious male occupations into which women are now rushing and are being led, increase the proportion of idiots in their offspring, and may probably prove a widely effective cause of degeneracy of race. A careful survey of the evidence relating to marriages of consanguinity indisposes him to attribute much influence to it, except as intensifying hereditary taint. The account of the causes of idiocy should, we think, include a more systematic description of the etiology of acquired idiocy, described under the several sections which follow, and in which Dr. Ireland first vindicates his classification of idiots, and then describes in detail the characteristics of some examples, the pathological anatomy, and the treatment of each variety,—viz., the genetous or congenital, the micrencephalic, the eclamptic, epileptic, hydrocephalic, and paralytic idiocy, cretinism, traumatic and inflammatory idiocy, and idiocy by deprivation. These sections are followed by chapters on the growth of idiots, on insanity in children, on the general sensory and mental deficiencies of idiots, and on the best methods of educating idiots and imbeciles. In the chapter on education a large amount of experience is embodied, and the subject is discussed in a very useful manner. It is one of the brighter lights on this dark subject to learn how much may be and has been done in the education of idiots. This country was long behind France and America in the attempt, but our institutions, thanks mainly to private benevolence, are now among the best. That the task is one of great difficulty it is hardly necessary to say. It must be both physical and mental, and succeeds far better as carried on in institutions than in private life. It should, if possible, begin early, but the period between the twelfth and fifteenth years is that in which most can be done. Cleanliness has first to be taught, and then the simple properties of objects. Speech may be taught to a large proportion, and many who cannot be taught to speak may be educated to express themselves in signs. The education of the senses has to proceed on a regular method. A few imbeciles can be taught to read, but the difficulties in the task, occasioned by the unsystematic character of English spelling, are great; and Dr. Ireland mentions an instance of an imbecile girl who had learned to read saying to him, as if a bright idea had just struck her, "You sometimes can know how to say a word from the way it is spelt."

A very small pamphlet²⁹ from Berlin, one of an annual series, deals

²⁹ "Deutsche Zeit- und Streit-Fragen." Jahrgang VI. Heft 86 und 87. "Volks-Gesundheitspflege und Schulc." Von Karl Fischer. Berlin. 1877.

very wisely with a great subject, that of the better education of the people in the laws of health. The question of whether the laws of health should be taught in schools is first discussed, and then the problem of the best method of instruction, followed by an example of a catechism on the subject.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY.

WE have received "The Annual Register for 1876,"¹ and are glad to be able to say that this useful chronicle maintains its long-earned reputation. The chief events of the year are given under the main headings of "English" and "Foreign History;" and a "Chronicle" records the minor incidents. A few notes on remarkable trials, an obituary, the text of certain important public documents (including the Andrassy Note and the Berlin Memorandum), and an ample index, complete the volume. We are disposed to think that a well-edited chronicle like the Annual Register is even more valuable in these days of inexhaustible literary production than in previous times. Historians of these and of future times will certainly find far more material than they can use or even winnow with ease; and they will be glad of a contemporary record which will at least show them what the events were which were thought of the greatest public importance at the time when they occurred. The real difficulty of such a chronicle is to accentuate the right events; and this the Annual Register appears to us to do well.

Lieutenant-Colonel G. T. Denison, who commands the bodyguard of the Governor-General of Canada, has brought out a "History of Cavalry."² It appears from his preface that the Emperor of Russia, in 1874, offered three prizes for the three best historical books on the history of that arm, the competition being open to officers of all armies. Colonel Denison's present work is a contribution to that competition. The prizes have not yet been awarded; but the author has received permission to publish his essay in English at once, and the Emperor has accepted the dedication. Beginning, as he does, with the very beginning of things, and carrying his sketch down to the recent Franco-German war, Colonel Denison's work is necessarily large and comprehensive. His style is plain and lucid, though not elegant, nor even spirited. His facts are well selected, and succinctly told; and we are generally satisfied with his judgments. We note, in particular, his correct estimate of the disastrous though heroic day of Balaklava. On the other hand, we think that he hardly emphasises

¹ "The Annual Register for the Year 1876." London: Rivingtons.

² "A History of Cavalry from the Earliest Times." By Lieut.-Col. George T. Denison, Commanding the Governor-General's Bodyguard, Canada. London: Macmillan & Co.

sufficiently the transfer of reputation from the Austrian to the Prussian cavalry in 1866. His remarks on the cavalry warfare in the American Civil War and in the Franco-German War are very valuable. His conclusions by no means favour the theory which was in fashion a few years ago, that the days of cavalry are past. On the contrary, he deems this arm to be more necessary than ever. Its use has, doubtless, been modified by the invention of arms of precision; but Colonel Denison looks forward to a day when cavalry also will reap the benefit of this invention, of which they appear so far to have been only victims; and when some very revolutionary War Office will venture upon the bold innovation of arming cavalry with the revolver. The author also insists that cavalry soldiers should be men of picked intelligence.

The latest of the series of "Epochs of Modern History," edited by Messrs. E. E. Morris, J. S. Philpotts, and C. Colbeck, is written by the Dean of St. Paul's, and is styled "The Beginning of the Middle Ages."³ It is intended to be a sort of preface or introduction to the series, giving a broad sketch of the events and tendencies which marked the times preceding the period covered by the other volumes. We are glad to say we think very highly of this work. We are not to look in it for any very profound or original contributions to historical knowledge; indeed, the author himself speaks with due modesty of his indebtedness to earlier historians. He has, however, produced a clear and intelligible sketch of the history of Europe from 450 A.D. to 1000 A.D., a period of which we have hitherto had no brief general outline. Three good maps of Europe in 350, in 525, and in 800, form an excellent complement of a very useful book.

Sir Alexander Grant has contributed an essay on Aristotle⁴ to Mr. Lucas Collins's well-known "Ancient Classics for English Readers;" and the high reputation which this series so deservedly enjoys will be in no wise diminished by this latest addition. Sir Alexander begins with a brief sketch of Aristotle's life, and then devotes the bulk of his book to a careful examination of his works and teaching. This examination is very learned and very sound. An interesting chapter on the position which Aristotle has held at various periods since the diffusion of Christianity ends the volume. Sir Alexander Grant has produced one of the most profound and learned works of the series, though not, perhaps, the liveliest or most "popular."

From Edinburgh we receive a very beautiful book, full of the most charming wood engravings of the Scottish capital.⁵ The text, which is "by various hands," is full of interesting historic reminiscences. The illustrations, however, form the more important part of the book.

³ "The Beginning of the Middle Ages." By R. W. Church, Dean of St. Paul's. London: Longmans & Co.

⁴ "Aristotle." By Sir Alexander Grant, Bart., LL.D., Principal of the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

⁵ "Edinburgh Past and Present, its Associations and Surroundings." Drawn with Pen and Pencil. Edinburgh: W. Oliphant & Co.

They are designed by several of the best-known Scottish artists, and are all engraved, with great success, by Mr. Ballingall, who, moreover, contributes a chapter, and edits the whole work. They are very numerous, and are well chosen; and we notice, in particular, that moonlight effects have been used in several cases with the most gratifying result. This is one of the most beautiful works which have recently issued from the press; and we prophecy for it a very large sale as a gift-book, and also among the thousands of patriotic Scotchmen who are to the fore in all parts of the globe, and who retain everywhere a loving pride in the most beautiful of cities.

The Rev. S. Kettlewell has written a ponderous work on the authorship of the "*De Imitatione Christi*;"⁶ and when we mention that he finally refers it to Thomas à Kempis, some of our readers will perhaps wonder that he was at so much pains. Seldom have we seen a more vigorous pounding of dead dogs than the present volume contains. And it is not unfair to say that the dead dogs in question are occasionally beaten with the thickest and coarsest of sticks; for Mr. Kettlewell's English is often not of the purest. For instance—

"We have but to call to mind the blessed change in the life of Monsieur de Renty, to which some allusion was made in the earlier part of this volume, and what the lives of others similarly influenced by such teaching as the '*De Imitatione*' inculcates, and we shall feel persuaded how much better men they are in themselves, better both for themselves and for the world around them; those who come within their reach and influence are the better for it in some way, for they live not unto themselves alone."

This sentence is so long that it really takes considerable time to arrive at the positive conclusion that it is ungrammatical; and it is a type of much of the verbose and tautological outpour that makes so many men hate the word "sermon." Of course Mr. Kettlewell, in the above-quoted sentence, and in many similar sentences which precede and follow it, only means to say that many a man has been the better for reading the "*De Imitatione*." However that may be, we feel pretty sure that no one will be better for reading this dull and wordy volume.

Dr. Willis has devoted great labour to the history⁷ of one of the most illustrious and most unfortunate members of his own profession, Michael Servetus; and his narrative of that remarkable career and its painful close is very interesting. Few events in history afford a more shocking illustration of clerical cruelty and bigotry than the treatment of Servetus by Calvin, or show more clearly the tendency of the clerical reformer to be simply one who wishes to be his own Pope.

⁶ "The Authorship of the '*De Imitatione Christi*.'" By Samuel Kettlewell, M.A., late Vicar of St. Mark's, Leeds. London: Rivingtons.

⁷ "Servetus and Calvin: A Study of an Important Epoch in the Early History of the Reformation." By R. Willis, M.D. London: Henry S. King & Co.

The early years of Servetus are veiled in much obscurity. He himself stated at one time that he was born in Aragon in 1509, and at another that he was born in Navarre in 1511. He was certainly a Spaniard, and was probably of gentle birth. We know that he was educated at Saragossa and Toulouse; that he served, in some unknown capacity, Quintana, the confessor of Charles V.; that he had some intercourse with Œcolampadius, Zwingli, and others of the Swiss Reformers; and that he studied Erasmus. In 1531 he published under his own name the treatise "*De Trinitatis Erroribus*." Bucer and Luther appear to have been offended with the book, while Melancthon and Œcolampadius, in their private letters, speak far more favourably of it than their positions or subscriptions would permit them to do publicly. Finding that the work was likely to bring him into danger, and that the Reformers were not disposed to stand by him, Servetus entered himself, under the assumed name of Michael Villeneuve, at the University of Paris, where he made the fatal acquaintance of Calvin. After this he became reader for the press of the Brothers Trechsel at Lyons, and edited Ptolemy's Geography for them. In his notes to this work occurs the story of St. Gregory's "*Non angli sed angeli*;" and he aptly remarks that the English language is so difficult to pronounce because those who speak it are a compound of so many races. The Irish have much in common from the Spaniards, from whose country they are distant only three days' sail. The Spaniards are the most superstitious people in the world. In France he had seen the King touch for scrofula, but he had not seen that they were cured. Of Judæa he says, unfortunately for him as the event proved, that, far from flowing with milk and honey, it was without amenity. At Lyons Servetus became the pupil of the physician Champier or Campeggius, whose teachings induced him to return to Paris, where he became the comrade of the famous Vesalius as assistant to Quinterus (Winter von Andernach). Of these two the master says:—"Auxiliarios habui, primum, Vesalius, juvenem Mehercule! in anatome diligentissimum; post hunc, Villanovanus familiariter mihi in consectionibus adhibitus est, vir omni genere literarum ornatissimus, in Galeni doctrina vix ulli secundus." In 1538 Villeneuve (who was not known to be the Servetus of the "*De Trinitatis Erroribus*") incurred the censure of the University on account of certain reflections on the medical faculty, and of practising judicial astronomy or divination. A little later we find him residing at Vienne under the protection of the Archbishop. There he edited a second edition of the Ptolemy, in which, out of deference to his patron, and to his patron's patron, the King, he suppressed the passage which objects to Judæa as a land flowing with milk and honey, and altered that respecting the royal touch, "I did not see that any were cured," into "I have heard say that many were cured." Later he annotated Pagnini's Bible, and in his notes he frequently attributes prophecies which were generally taken as referring directly to Christ to other persons, whom, however, he considers as types of Christ. In 1546 he approached Calvin by letter, seeking instruction on theological matters.

The great reformer was accustomed to be treated with great respect, and loved such flattery. Villeneuve, early in the correspondence, became outspoken and free; first his want of politeness and then his unorthodoxy outraged Calvin, who soon writes, *Servetus having offered to come to Geneva, "Si venerit, modo valeat mea autoritas, vivum exire nunquam patiar."* Villeneuve intrusted Calvin with a MS. copy of his "*Christianismi Restitutio*," which he could never get back. In 1552, however, he had the work secretly printed by Arnoullet of Vienne. On the last page occur the letters "M. S. V.," the initials of his names, Michael Servetus Villanovanus. It should be borne in mind that Villeneuve's identity with the Servetus of the "*De Trinitatis Erroribus*" was still unknown. Of the "*Restitutio*" Dr. Willis remarks that it is a sort of "paraphrase and new interpretation of the Gospel according to John, in which the Neo-platonic doctrine of the Logos is particularly discussed, and copiously interspersed with pantheistic ideas, whilst the dogmatic teaching of the Church of Rome and its practical application is repudiated *in toto*, and the chief doctrines of Lutheran and Calvinistic Christianity are controverted."

We will not follow Dr. Willis further in his able review of the "*Restitutio*," merely noting that the work contains undoubtedly a clear mention of the circulation of the blood through the lungs by the pulmonary artery and vein. Servetus, however, did not dream of the circulation as now known. Like his contemporaries, he considered the liver the source of the blood, and the heart that of the body's heat. It was, as the author well says, an act almost of insanity to publish such opinions as the book contains in those times of persecution for religious opinion. Calvin received an early copy of the work, and was shocked by its heresies, the more, possibly, as they were those of a deeply hated personal enemy. He could not himself denounce the writer to the authorities, because Servetus was living in a Roman Catholic country, under the protection of a Roman Catholic prelate, who would have smiled at a charge of heresy made by such a heretic as Calvin. The latter, therefore, instigated a young man at Geneva to write to a relative at Lyons denouncing the book. The trick succeeded. The correspondence was laid before the clerical authorities of Lyons without any appearance of Calvin in the matter. Servetus was laid by the heels and tried at Vienne, but managed to effect an escape from prison before judgment was delivered. He was sentenced in his absence to be burnt, and the doom was executed on his effigy and on his book. The author escaped to Geneva. Here Calvin at once procured his arrest and trial on many counts of heresy, and one of defaming M. Calvin and the Church of Geneva. During the trial Calvin was requested by the court, who were evidently disposed to deal justly with the prisoner, to visit and endeavour to convert him. The attempt failed, and Calvin afterwards took a lively and bitter part in the proceedings, during which he touched on the old passage about Judæa, and laid it down that whoever asserted that Judæa did not flow with

milk and honey sinned against the Holy Ghost. The unfortunate prisoner was interrogated for a fortnight on all sorts of matters, from the deepest questions of speculative theology to his reasons for not having married. He had to wait during another fortnight of discussion among his judges, after which Calvin brought thirty-eight new charges against him, of which the following is a specimen—

[“The prisoner is charged with asserting that] one and the same divineness which is in the Father was communicated immediately, bodily, to His Son, Jesus Christ; from whom, mediately, by the ministry of the Angelic Spirit, it was communicated to the Apostles; that in Christ only is Deity implanted bodily and spiritually; all of the divine that others have being given through Him by a holy substantial *habitus* or breath.”

To which the prisoner replies, “This I say is the truth.” And on such an unintelligible passage an able man was destroyed in the name of Christ in 1553. After the hearing of the charges, many weeks were passed in consulting the Councils of the cantons. In the interval Calvin wrote to a friend, “*Spero capitale saltem fore judicium.*” Servetus meanwhile addressed to his judges several not undignified appeals, and an accusation of Calvin of which no notice was taken. Sentence of death was at length passed, in accordance with the hopes and indecently expressed anticipations of Calvin. Servetus sent for Calvin, and asked his pardon for any personal wrong done to him. The tyrant priest, of course, disclaimed all personal feeling, preached to the miserable prisoner on his heresies, and (to quote his own self-satisfied words), “Seeing that all I said went for nothing, and unwilling to trespass on the time of the magistrates, or to appear something more than my master (!), in obedience to the precept of Paul, I took my leave of the heretic *αὐτοκατάκλιτος.*” The next day Servetus was taken from his prison. After vainly praying his judges for a less painful mode of death, he rose with the words “O God, save my soul: O Jesu, Son of the eternal God, have compassion upon me!” He was led away and suffered for half an hour the tortures of a burning death. And thus a man who would almost certainly have largely increased the physical knowledge of the world was burned because Calvin disliked him, and because he called Christ the “Son of the eternal God,” instead of “the eternal Son of God,” as his persecutors preferred. Neither his own attempted defence, nor the apologies of all his biographers and of bigoted sectarians, can ever clear Calvin’s memory from the disgrace of one of the foulest murders ever committed. Dr. Willis has done his work well and clearly. We would have preferred to have more of the original language in the important letters or speeches, as we are not quite sure always of the author’s translations. We cannot, for instance, think that “*Diabolus inesse divinitatem*” p. (436), means “the devil was in the divinity,” although we freely admit that we see nothing that the words can mean as Dr. Willis quotes them. On the whole, the work is a valuable contribution to our biographical stores.

We cannot but be pleased to welcome a biography of the greatest

statesman of the present century.⁸ Camillo Cavour was born at Turin in 1810, the second son of the Marquis Benso di Cavour. At eighteen, he became an officer of engineers, and three or four years later resigned his commission, after having been censured for some sympathetic utterance on the French Revolution of 1830. He now became what the translator of M. de Mazade's work is pleased to term an "agricultor," at first in the capacity of manager of his elder brother's estates. He seems to have found enjoyment in this work, which did not hinder him from mixing in social life or from foreign travel. His mind ripened between 1832 and 1848. His views were always thoroughly liberal. Himself of aristocratic origin, he neither extolled nor despised this advantage. He possessed a temperateness of view which is rare among Southern men. He admired this land of compromise, and preferred among our statesmen Pitt, Canning, and Peel. In the extraordinary year 1848 he became editor of the "*Risorgimento*," and deputy for Turin. He now supported the bold policy which brought on the temporary disaster of Novara. When the young King Victor Emmanuel chose D'Azeglio as his Minister, Cavour gave him firm support. Here we may note that Nicholas of Russia omitted to acknowledge the notification of Victor Emmanuel's accession; thus, probably, as he certainly did in the case of Napoleon III., embittering a future foe by a gratuitous incivility. In 1850 Cavour became D'Azeglio's Minister of Commerce, to which post he shortly added the Ministry of Finance. The position of Piedmont in 1852, between France, Austria, and that impalpable but not feeble power the Papacy, was not enviable; and her Government had to pass laws for muzzling the press in deference to her mighty neighbours. On this, D'Azeglio aptly said: "Suppose we had to pass close to a den where a lion was sleeping, and that one of our guides told us, 'Do not speak; make no noise, lest you awaken him,' and if one of us were to begin to sing, I imagine we should all combine to shut his mouth." Early in 1852, Cavour resigned, finding the members of D'Azeglio's Cabinet opposed to his liberal views. With the Premier he remained fairly satisfied and on good terms. He now made a journey to France and England, where he left the most favourable impressions.⁹ In November 1852, he was appointed Prime Minister of Piedmont, and began his great all-too-short career. We soon find him opposing the payment of the clergy by salary with these words, remarkable indeed in the mouth of a Minister—

"I have the misfortune—or the good luck, which you will—to be Minister in a country where a certain degree of centralisation reigns, and where the Government has quite enough on its hands. I declare to you that, if you add this one of which you speak to the powers of Government, you will give what will be threatening to liberty. . . . It has been carried out on a very large scale in some European countries. In France . . . what ensued? I have a great respect for the French clergy, and I admit that it

⁸ "The Life of Count Cavour." From the French of M. Charles de Mazade. London: Chapman & Hall.

is more moral and also more zealous than it used to be; but no one can deny that it is also less national and less liberal than was the clergy of the old régime. . . . It will be said that there is another course, and that we might leave the faithful to remunerate their own clergy. What would be the consequence of this? A double amount of zeal, fanaticism, and Ultramontanism. Such a system exists in Ireland. There the clergy is unsalaried; its means of existence consist of charity and the voluntary contributions of the faithful. That clergy is both more fanatical and less liberal than the clergy of France."

We have quoted these remarks at length because we deem them profoundly wise, and because we in England are far too apt to rush at an important conclusion on the ground of a passionate appeal, or of a brilliant *mot* from a popular orator; and, save in matters pertaining to personal freedom, rarely study the examples afforded by history or by contemporary foreign nations. To how many Englishmen, for instance, has it now occurred that salaried officials either of Church or Dissent, and individuals closely connected with either, are persons who must on no account be listened to on the question of disestablishment? In foreign policy, Cavour had the wisdom of patience. In the earlier years of his Ministry, for instance, he could look on calmly at the mistakes and outrages of Austria, because he knew that these must set the public opinion of Europe against her. To await events, to be moderate in everything, to make no new enemies, to spend liberally in productive works; these were the chief ends of his policy up to 1854. In the Crimean War he saw his opportunity of making Piedmont a power to which all things might be possible hereafter. Austria was the enemy with whom he knew that his greatest struggle would be; and her shillyshally policy at this epoch gave him the opportunity of allying himself with England and France in the war against Russia. Many wondered why the little Italian state should plunge into a war which concerned her so little, but the policy was clear and true to him who looks into things. Austria must either join the Allies, remain neutral, or join Russia. Cavour's bold alliance prevented her buying a guarantee of her Italian possessions by the first policy; it secured Italy the moral support of the Western Powers in the second case, and their material support in the third. As a matter of fact, Austria tried to carry out all three policies at once, and naturally failed in this attempt at the impossible. This alliance brought Cavour into intimate relations with one of England's ablest and worst-used public servants, Sir James Hudson, whose name is not mentioned without respect by any lover of Italian unity. Of many blunders of recent Liberal Governments, few were greater than their shabby treatment of this eminent man; and, without expressing any opinion as to Sir Henry Elliott's merits, we must say that the abuse of this gentleman, in which certain eminent Liberals had perforce to indulge last year, was at least a self-induced retribution. The Sardinian contingent behaved very creditably in the Crimea; and when the war ended, Cavour was careful that the demeanour of his country at the Peace

Congress of 1856 should be conciliatory towards Russia. Here again Austria aided him by assuming a bearing which provoked the Russian envoy to ask if it was Austria that had captured Sebastopol. During and after the Congress, which, perhaps, Sardinia influenced more than any other of the Powers, Cavour was steadily gaining the goodwill of Napoleon III. and of Lord Clarendon. Palmerston was more conservative in his views; at one time he accused Cavour of being too Russian, and he pointed out that it was not Sardinia's best policy to be on bad terms with Austria, a power which could band the other Italian states against her. To this advice D'Azeglio could well answer that Sardinia had no choice but to be on bad terms with a power which could only oppress and injure Italy as long as she held part of the country; and Cavour replied aptly to the personal taunt that he was "liberal enough not to be Russian, and too liberal to be Austrian." The whole result of his policy was such that he obtained a sway over the French Emperor, that England was warmly on the side of Italian progress, and that old Metternich himself said, "There is only one diplomatist left in Europe, Cavour; and he, unfortunately, is against us." It seems certain that Napoleon III. cherished a heartfelt wish for the independence of Italy, for which he had fought in his youth. It was a generous and noble impulse, and it was a fortunate circumstance for Cavour. Orsini's attempt on the Emperor's life neutralised the good-will for a time; but Napoleon showed himself generous in this too. The Italians undoubtedly owe him a great deal; and but for that unfortunate bargaining for Nice and Savoy, his admirers could have claimed for his memory one of the noblest achievements in history. In July 1858 a meeting of Cavour and the Emperor took place at Piombières; and here were discussed many things that were soon to bring forth good fruit—the Austrian War, the kingdom of Italy, the marriage of Princess Clotilde, the cession of territory to France. Five months later saw the famous *journée* of January 1, 1859. The early part of the year was a cruel time for Cavour. The British Government was opposed to the idea of a war against Austria. A large mass of French opinion, including the religious and aristocratic sections, was equally opposed to it. The French Ministers were at times somewhat difficult. In March he went to Paris to see the Emperor, and there found public feeling strongly hostile to his wishes, and very suspicious of himself. He returned in a desponding mood. Both England and France recommended a disarmament on the part of Sardinia. Fortunately, however, in April, Austria made this question the subject of an ultimatum. Sardinia refused, and France rushed to her side, her ruler making the famous utterance that the only choice lay between "Austria lording it to the Alps and Italy free to the Adriatic." The French army arrived in Turin April 30; ten bloody weeks ensued; and the treaty of Villafranca was signed July 11. The abrupt end of the campaign came without Cavour's consent or even knowledge; and it so shocked him that he refused to countersign the treaty, and resigned office. For a

time he was almost broken-hearted with grief and indignation ; it must, however, be admitted that Napoleon had much to say in defence of his conduct. The war was not for the interests of France ; it had cost much French blood and treasure ; its continuance, even if localised, would have been costly in a still higher proportion ; and France was threatened on the Rhine. On the other hand, Italy had gained the splendid province of Lombardy, her princes had been taught a wholesome lesson, the cause of her unity had received not only recognition but a powerful impetus, and the clauses respecting the minor states, which so offended the Italians, contained the saving condition of an appeal to the popular vote. Whatever its merits or demerits, may have been, the treaty was signed by the new Sardinian Ministry of La Marmora. But the treaty by no means restored quiet. The question of annexing the smaller states to Piedmont at once cropped up, supported chiefly by the Tuscan Ricasoli : and now, as France cooled in her support of Italian unity, England became more zealous. The popular feeling brought Cavour back to power in January 1860. In March he performed that act which is the most painful for us to write of—he purchased French sympathy or indifference with the cession of Savoy and Nice, a step which for a while alienated nearly all the great powers. Two months later Garibaldi made his heroic invasion of Sicily. This event increased Cavour's difficulties with foreign powers, but it made impossible any doubt as to what Italy must do. To the reproaches of Prussia, Cavour made this reply, which alone would stamp him as a statesman of the first order : “ He regretted that the Prussian Government should disapprove of his master's conduct, but consoled himself with the belief that he was setting an example which, probably, some little time hence, Prussia might be very happy to follow.” For another year and a quarter Cavour was engaged in a perpetual struggle with absolutism abroad, and with opponents of all kinds at home, a struggle really with that monstrosity the temporal power of the Papacy. In this he was slowly but surely successful, though the success became visible only years after his death. That event took place in June 1861. He died a Christian, receiving the last offices of the Church from the hands of his old friend Fra Giacomo, to whom he pronounced, among his very last utterances, the famous words, “ *Libera chiesa in libero stato.*” Not only Italy which he had created, but all Europe, mourned the loss of the wisest and noblest statesman of this century. His great wisdom has continued to bear fruits since his death, and Germany owes to his memory almost as great a debt as Italy. A grand life, and M. de Mazade's account of it is worthy of the subject. The translation is neither very well nor very ill done.

There appears to be a very strong demand at the present time for lives of eminent Scottish Protestants. We had, in our last number, to notice a life of Thomas Erskine of Linlathen ; and we now have before us a series of similar works. The examination of them is not entirely pleasant ; for the matter is apt to be uninteresting, and the method is generally dull. As contributions to mankind's “ proper study,” they doubtless have some value, and are occasionally curious,

if not interesting. Thus it is to the ordinary Englishman not a little surprising to observe that religious young Scotchmen commonly write to their friends inordinately long letters full of the most wearisome discussions of abstruse questions of Calvinistic⁸ theology. This we saw in the correspondence of Thomas Erskine aforesaid; and we now find that a friend of his, Dr. J. Macleod Campbell, was in the habit of inflicting the longest doctrinal letters on his own father, who was also a minister, a fact which reminds us of a saying about the sucking of eggs. Dr. Macleod Campbell was the "Campbell of Row," about whom much was said about the year 1831, when he was deposed by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland for teaching "the doctrine of universal atonement and pardon through the blood of Christ, and the doctrine that assurance is of the essence of faith and necessary to salvation." His son has just written the record of his life,⁹ which extended from 1800 to 1872. Dr. Campbell was intimate with most of the foremost men of the Scottish religious world, and by them he was regarded with boundless admiration and love. Norman Macleod, in a sermon which he preached on his death, declared emphatically that he was the best man whom he had ever known. He was, therefore, without doubt a nobly pious man. There was, however, little in his life to call for a biography. His son has performed his task with becoming modesty, allowing his father's letters to tell the story as far as possible. But the letters do not interest or instruct us much; for Dr. Campbell's opinions on books and men were not better than those of the ordinary run of educated men. For those who hold religious views similar to his, his doctrinal letters will probably have an interest.

Our next volume is a biography of the late Dr. Ewing, Bishop of Argyll,¹⁰ who was on intimate terms with Dr. Campbell, the subject of the preceding notice, and with Erskine of Linlathen, already named. Dr. Ewing was a liberal Churchman, a man of noble life, honest and fearless in opinion, and endowed with abundance of good common sense. For such men we must be thankful, especially when they arrive at positions in which they can help to make others resemble them, and restrain fanaticism and intolerance. We give some idea of Bishop Ewing's views on ecclesiastical polity when we state that he was opposed to Bishop Gray's efforts at disestablishment, that he welcomed Dr. Temple's promotion, and that he regarded the present Archbishop of Canterbury with the warmest affection and admiration. Though his life contained few important incidents, we have found this volume fairly interesting; the Bishop's letters being naturally its best part. They are indeed excellent, being wise and manly in tone, and lively in manner. One of them contains the origin of a well-known story. When the Bishop received his honorary degree at Oxford—

⁸ "Memorials of John Macleod Campbell, D.D." Edited by his Son, the Rev. Donald Campbell, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co.

¹⁰ "Memoir of Alexander Ewing, D.C.L., Bishop of Argyll and the Isles." By Alexander J. Ross, B.D., Vicar of St. Philip's, Stepney. London: Daldy, Isbister, & Co.

"Dr. Routh, the venerable President of Magdalen, received me on my introduction to him very coldly; but he afterwards apologised to me very humbly for his mistake, saying that he had supposed I was *only a Colonial*."

Mr. Ross has performed his biographical task very ably.

Mr. Craven has added another biography of a French Catholic to those which have of late appeared in England, by translating the Life of "*Augustin Cochin*," by Count de Falloux.¹¹ We are bound to express a little surprise that an adequate sale is found for so many of these sketches of men whose names were almost utterly unknown, and whose lives contain so little incident. Within the last few months we have seen biographies of Gratry, Perreyve, and Ozanam, and to these we must now add the name of Cochin. Augustin Cochin was a man of deep and earnest piety, a pure and useful life. He possessed the difficult art of reconciling a certain amount of liberalism with a fervent belief in Pope Pius IX. He died in 1872, in his forty-ninth year. There is little to be learned from his life, but the record of it will probably interest a few sectarians.

The biography of J. C. Schetky, by his daughter,¹² is a pleasant and chatty record of a life of ninety-five years. Mr. Schetky was appointed teacher of drawing at the long-extinct military school at Marlow in 1808, and subsequently held similar posts at the Naval College at Portsmouth and at Addiscombe. Some of his marine sketches having attracted the favourable notice of the Duke of Clarence and the Prince Regent, he was made Marine Painter in Ordinary to George IV.; and in this capacity, in this and later reigns, he was present at many important events, and met many important persons. And as he was a good correspondent and wrote admirable descriptions of what he saw, he supplied the materials for an interesting book. Miss Schetky has performed her task very well indeed.

Another volume on our table records the life of one who was a far greater artist than Mr. Schetky, but who as a man was his inferior. Messrs. Chatto & Windus send us a new and almost entirely re-written edition of the late Walter Thornbury's "*Life of Turner*."¹³ Of this book, we will begin by protesting against the illustrations, which purport to be "*facsimiled in colours*" from the original drawings. It would not be an easy matter for any one except Turner himself to facsimile Turner's drawings; and least of all can that difficult feat be performed cheaply and mechanically; and the glaring daubs that are inserted in this book do not afford the slightest idea or reminiscence of Turner's work. The biography is somewhat discursive, embracing, as

¹¹ "*Augustin Cochin*." By Count de Falloux, of the French Academy. Translated from the French by Augustus Craven. London: Chapman & Hall.

¹² "*Ninety Years of Work and Play. Sketches from the Public and Private Career of John Christian Schetky, late Marine Painter in Ordinary to Her Majesty*." By his Daughter. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons.

¹³ "*The Life of J. M. W. Turner, R.A.*" By Walter Thornbury. A New Edition. London: Chatto & Windus.

it does, the history of water-colour painting, and describing "Turner's Predecessors," in itself a vast field. The squalid life of Turner, his obstinacy, his secret sensuality, offer little that calls for our admiration. It is, perhaps, not quite true, as has been said, 'that all that we now learn of him lowers him. Mr. Thornbury has shown that he possessed much tenderness, and that he at times displayed a courageous generosity; but, when full credit has been given for all this, the life still remains squalid, and Turner's reputation will always stand higher with those who know him only by his works. A man of his undoubted greatness must, of course, always afford something to interest the world, and that something has been well selected and put before the reader in an agreeable form in this volume.

We are glad to commend Mr. Dean's "Life of Theodore Parker"¹⁴ to all to whom the study of the way of life and thought of a really able and deeply pious man is welcome. We need not here discuss the teachings of Theodore Parker. Indeed, it would perhaps be hard to claim for him any distinctly original contribution to our systems of morality. But throughout his all too short life he possessed a mighty influence on many of the leading minds among his countrymen and among our own; and he was regarded by his friends with a love and admiration that can hardly be over-estimated. In public and private his voice was ever heard on the side of right and progress; and this being so, we can hardly be surprised that he was rejected by the sect of which he was a minister, albeit that this sect was that of the Unitarians. The loss was, however, rather theirs than his. His influence was neither lessened nor weakened by it; and they now claim him as they claim Channing. Mr. Dean's sketch is well drawn, and presents a full and faithful view of this noble character.

From Germany we receive the correspondence between Jacob Grimm and F. D. Gräter¹⁵ in the years 1810-13. It treats exclusively of their researches and labours in the ancient literature of Germany. It is well known that these two eminent men became foes at a subsequent period; and we think that a few signs of the wrath to come may be perceived in these letters by him who sees. Gräter presents himself here as a rather pompous don; and Grimm, then a young man, writes with great liveliness, and also with a bold sense of equality, which must have been distasteful to the older scholar, however much the judgment of later generations may have confirmed it.

In opening Mr. Home's "Lights and Shadows of Spiritualism,"¹⁶ we rather expected to find an autobiographical work from which the sceptic would draw considerable amusement. This expectation has been deceived. Mr. Home's work is not amusing, and is autobiographical only

¹⁴ "The Life and Teachings of Theodore Parker." By Peter Dean. London: Williams & Norgate.

¹⁵ "Briefwechsel zwischen Jacob Grimm und Friedrich David Gräter, aus den Jahren 1810-1813," Herausgegeben von Hermann Fischer, Heilbronn: G. Henninger.

¹⁶ "Lights and Shadows of Spiritualism." By D. D. Home. London: Virtue & Co.

in a very slight degree. We are compelled to say that he has produced a dull book, in which he poses as a sincere believer in what he is pleased to term a "much-insulted truth." He exhibits the fault which is so common in those who write on supernatural matters after having committed themselves to definite opinions about them : starting with the *idée fixe*, he ignores everything that is opposed to his views, and puts forward the most twaddling assertions that favour them as arguments. In the dedication of his work he tells us that his wife is "a Christian and a spiritualist." He then proceeds to trace the presence of spiritualism through ancient and modern history. He would have us believe that it is the one great truth that has been manifested continuously through all time and in all places, and that it is a sort of basis of orthodox Christianity. It is to be observed that he thus claims for it a more universal sway and a wider influence than have ever been claimed for the Mosaic revelation, or even for Christianity, by their most enthusiastic supporters. In the present day, when every shallow effort to "reconcile" theological inconsistencies is applauded, many pious but ill-trained intellects will welcome this attempt to confirm and prove the truth of Christianity by the performances of Dr. Slade and his likes. We, however, fail to see anything in Mr. Home's evidence which proves any connection between spiritualism and Christianity, far less anything which puts spiritualism in the light of a support of Christianity. The ancient oracles, the *daimon* of Socrates, the prophecies of the Bible, the alleged miracles of the early Christian period : all are gravely cited as manifestations of spiritualism. Joan of Arc, Savonarola, Luther, Bunyan, Fox, Wesley, and of course Swedenborg, were among the more eminent *mediums* of past time. Even, however, if this be true, there is a great distinction to be observed between these famous men and their successors of the present day. The *mediums* of the past did not come exclusively from America ; they did not take money for their manifestations ; they did not hold dark *séances* ; and if they ever said or did anything, it was generally grammatical or sensible. It is not related of the *daimon* of Socrates that he ever put red-hot coals in the philosopher's hair without burning it ; the witch of Endor was never conveyed through the air and deposited upon Saul's table in embarrassment caused by the loss of one of her slippers ; and if Luther did throw an inkpot at the devil (a fact which, we may observe, is doubted by some historians, hypercritically perhaps), the dullest intellect can at least see that this action was wiser and more consequent than Mr. Home's in causing a human eye to be painted by "the spirits" upon an old shoe which had belonged to a lady's dead child. It is true that Mr. Home disowns many of the more completely exposed *mediums* and impostures ; but we cannot entirely accept his repudiation. We observe that the bulk of those who admire him admired Dr. Slade, and the numberless quacks who, under the pretence of spiritualism, have drawn money out of the pockets of the foolish, have discovered laws of nature which do not hold uniformly in uniform conditions, have attempted to defile the name of religion, have traded on the most sacred feelings of the be-

reaved, and have corrupted the young. We see nothing in this book to avert from Mr. Home's own theories the contempt which all must feel for many of the detected impostors whom he denounces so vigorously.

Mr. Bowden Smith, the senior modern language master at Rugby, has brought out a very good school edition¹⁷ of the first two books of La Fontaine's Fables. Prefaced by some instructive remarks on fables, the text is followed by a due quantity of excellent short notes, which are just what is needed by a boy who is studying French by the side of Latin and Greek. The fables which are not original are carefully referred to their old authors; and the notes give due prominence to the identity of French with Latin. We believe that few authors are more useful than La Fontaine for teaching English boys, and his special virtue is the large number of words which have to be "looked out." Ordinary French prose is sufficiently easy to make it only a fair risk for a lad to go in with his lesson unprepared, which is not what a teacher thinks desirable; but there are not many boys in our public schools who are equal to the task of translating La Fontaine at sight. We congratulate Mr. Bowden Smith on having produced a very useful edition of this very useful book.

BELLES LETTRES.

"THE Cheveley Novels" were introduced to the public with rather an unusual flourish of trumpets, not unaccompanied with a certain amount of mystery. The title alone attracted attention. A challenge was thrown down to the past. Are the "Cheveley" novels to rival the "Waverley"? asked the public. The critics, too, have welcomed the first instalments of the first of them, "The Modern Minister,"¹ as far as it has gone, with an unusual unanimity of praise. We certainly cannot join in the chorus. We are, however, quite willing to agree with them that the author shows a great deal of fluency, that one or two passages are fairly good, and that here and there a certain degree of humour is shown. But here our praise must stop. We are at the same time, however, also quite willing to grant that it is unfair to judge an author by only two or three instalments. One novelty in this work we are glad to observe—and we trust other novelists will follow the arrangement—a list of the characters, with short notes upon each of them. We have found it of the utmost use. We would further suggest that there should be also given an analysis of the plot. This, like the list of characters, would also be a great boon

¹⁷ "Fables of La Fontaine." Books I and II. Edited, with Notes, by the Rev. P. Bowden Smith, M.A., Assistant Master of Rugby. London: Rivingtons.

¹ "The Cheveley Novels." "A Modern Minister." Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

to reviewers. To return, however, to the novel itself. Once or twice the author, as we have hinted, is very happy in his descriptions. For instance, the accounts of the Rev. Westley Garland might have been written by Sydney Smith in one of his happiest moods; "he was so handsome, so wealthy, so talented, so unmarried" (p. 9). But the author very often misses his mark. Thus we have a description of Miss Turner "scalping a corner of the fossil cheese" (p. 15). We have heard of a miser who would "skin a flint for six-pence," but we doubt if even he could scalp a fossil, even if it were a petrified Stilton. Further, the descriptions of natural scenery are far too ambitious, and, if we may use the term, "loud," for our taste. Here is a bit from an account of a house built on a cliff on the Yorkshire coast: "It was grand to hear the winds sweep through the shrubberies at night, and beset the craggy wall, as though an army of demons were scaling it with the lightning at their flanks." As the former was a geological-wild-Indian metaphor about scalping a fossil, so this must be regarded as a military-meteorological simile. Here, however, is quite a different style, rich, glowing, Eastern, and Oudâish: "Ashton St. Aubyn, smoking a hookah, was reclining upon a pile of skins; around him were new books from India, latest publications of the Presidencies, tropical flowers and broad-leaved plants, and clouds of gauze and lace, shading the low, carved chamber, fragrant of woods as a spice *châlet* of the Southern Islands" (p. 58). Surely in this passage we hear a very old note, or else a very close imitation of it. We had marked a number of passages for comment, some on account of their bad taste, and some on account of their blunders. But we shall stay our hand till further instalments arrive, and enable us better to judge of the author's powers.

"Mottiscliffe"² is a fair example of the ordinary novel. The author, so to speak, knows his country. He falls into no blunders in his description of squires and country parsons. He uses the word "eliminate" (ii. 79) quite correctly, although the generality of novelists from Dickens downwards, and of American essayists from Emerson downwards, use it in the sense of comprehending, including. Are, however, the author's views about the payment of novels quite so correct? The average novel does not, we fear, bring in three figures, two of them only being oughts. Again, the author does not repeat quite accurately Sydney Smith's excellent story about a widow. In our copy of Sydney Smith it is not a "well-jointured," but a *showy* widow on whose appearance the whole horizon is immediately clouded with majors. The writer possesses a much larger stock of what may be called literary information than most novelists. His principal fault is that he uses two words when one would do.

"A Woman-Hater"³ does not do justice to Mr. Reade's powers.

² "Mottiscliffe: An Autumn Story." By James Walter Ferrier. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

³ "A Woman-Hater." By Charles Reade. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

He is, for the first time, dull. We waded through all the dreariness of the first volume to find ourselves in the second plunged into a fierce controversy about the Rights of Women, and we really could go no further. A novel is most certainly not the place for such a discussion. If Mr. Reade will turn a novel into a pamphlet, he must take the consequences.

"Shoddy"⁴ is slightly superior to the average run of circulating library novels, but only slightly. The author has yet to learn the art of individualising his characters. Such a character, say, as Mr. Sherwin might be turned into a real success by a good novelist. The author's strong point, we should imagine, lies rather in essay than in novel-writing. Here and there we meet with some shrewd and just observations on men and women and the world generally.

"Frank Carey"⁵ has vigour and dash about it. The author has a good eye for description, and seizes the salient points. This is no small gift. We cannot, of course, pretend to say whether his descriptions of Australian life are true or not; but at all events, they are very vigorous and lifelike, and that is saying more than can be said for the generality of novels dealing with Australian affairs.

We like "Cleansing Fires"⁶ far better than Mrs. Sears's last novel "Kismet." It is in every way more interesting and more human. The conversations are often really good. Mrs. Sears draws, we think, her women better than her men. The two characters, Neta Mordaunt, the actress, and Monica Hazleton, are elaborated with skill and precision. Lastly, the scene of the fire at the theatre deserves a special word of commendation.

In spite of one or two slips, we can recommend "Marjorie Bruce's Lovers"⁷ to ladies. There is, too, an intellectual flavour about the book which ought to count for something. A little more care, however, would have avoided one or two blunders. One of the best scenes is in the second volume, "Dressing for the Ball." Here we have a very pretty picture of a girl standing before a large mirror smiling at her own image, doing "pretty, foolish things without end."

We hardly know whether we ought to call "The Dowerless Damsel"⁸ a novel or not. It certainly is not without merit. The descriptions of scenery are firm and powerful. But the effect is spoilt by a certain jerkiness of style and great inequality. The description and general account of Egypt will be read with much inte-

⁴ "Shoddy: A Yorkshire Tale of Home." By Arthur Wood. London: Tinsley Brothers. 1877.

⁵ "Frank Carey: A Story of Victorian Life." London: Sampson Low & Co. 1877.

⁶ "Cleansing Fires." By Mrs. Newton Sears. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

⁷ "Marjorie Bruce's Lovers." By Mary Patrick. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

⁸ "The Dowerless Damsel: An Autobiography." By A. Dorset. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

rest at the present crisis by many who are not professed novel-readers. The book is not of an ordinary kind.

Was it worth while for Sir Garnet Wolseley to edit a novel, and so play into the hands of his opponents, who assert that he is only a mere "pen-and-ink" man? Was it worth while, too, for him to edit such a story as "*Marley Castle*?"⁹ These are questions, however, which rather concern Sir Garnet Wolseley than ourselves. We do not know what Sir Garnet Wolseley may or may not mean by editing. We will take it, however, in its most limited sense. That "*Marley Castle*" meets with Sir Garnet Wolseley's approbation we must infer from the fact that he has allowed his name to appear on the title-page. He must certainly have a curious idea of what a good novel should be. He must, too, have curious views about the beauties of the English language. As he is editor, we must hold him responsible for the penny-a-line style that pervades the book. Thus a silver spoon is called a "buccal ornament" (i. 3). How a spoon can be called an ornament of any kind we cannot imagine, still more how it can be called a "buccal ornament," which, if it means anything, means an ornament for the cheek. A savage might perhaps call an ear-ring an "aural ornament," or his nose-ring a "nasal ornament," but even he would hardly call a spoon a "buccal ornament." In much the same strain whiskers are termed an "hirsute appendage" (ii. 98), whilst a wig is a "capillary attraction" (ii. 97), and a member of Parliament is "a fractional portion of the wisdom of Parliament" (ii. 102). This wretched would-be-witty style was first begun by Dickens, and has been followed by all his imitators who possess none of his genius and all of his faults. It has now become the property of penny-a-liners, provincial newspaper correspondents, and the writers in fifth-rate comic journals. Now we put it plainly to Sir Garnet Wolseley, does he really think it either sensible, or learned, or witty to call a spoon a "buccal ornament?" We shall say nothing more about the book beyond this, that if Sir Garnet Wolseley really wishes to turn his literary powers to account, that he had better go out to the East as war correspondent to one of the morning newspapers, and leave editing novels to publisher's "readers."

Mr. Payn¹⁰ has a reputation for sensational writing. He rivals Miss Braddon in her own peculiar line. We have often had railway accidents in a novel. When a lady novelist does not know what to do with her villain, and does not exactly like to hang him outright, she generally puts him into the "*Flying Dutchman*," brings down a fog from heaven as Homer did upon his deities, and then in the middle of a tunnel invents a terrific collision by which the villain's

⁹ "*Marley Castle*." A Novel. Edited by Sir Garnet Wolseley, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., &c., &c. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹⁰ "*What He Cost Her*." By James Payn, Author of "*Lost Sir Massingberd*," "*Walter's Word*," "*Fallen Fortune*," &c., &c. London: Chatto & Windus. 1877.

spine is smashed into splinters, so that, as she is always careful to inform us, his death must have been instantaneous. Mr. Payn, however, has far more imagination than the average lady novelist. In his third volume he invents quite a new thing in railway accidents. This alone shows genius of no ordinary kind. The newspapers have for some time past been full of music-hall advertisements about a "Leap for Life," but Mr. Payn has a leap for two lives. 'How this wonderful double leap is contrived from a train running at forty miles an hour, just as it comes into collision with the down express, we must refer the reader to Mr. Payn's own narrative. It is utterly beyond our power to do justice to such a gymnastic feat.

"Phyllis"¹¹ is another tale which, like "Marjorie Bruce's Lovers," we can on the whole recommend to ladies. It is told with much grace and force. The author's strong point, however, is analysis of female character. The heroine is particularly well drawn. Her feelings in the tableau scene in the first volume, and again in the quarrel with her husband in the second volume, are described with great skill and fidelity to nature.

We must now call attention to a few novels for which we have no space for any but the briefest remarks. First amongst them stands Mrs. Oliphant's "Carita,"¹² well known to all readers of the "Cornhill Magazine." Then comes "The Pilot and his Wife,"¹³ a Norwegian story, told with much force and vividness, and which will certainly interest all Norwegian tourists, whose numbers every summer keep increasing. "Severed by a Ring,"¹⁴ and "Shamrock and Rose,"¹⁵ are two average novels.

If Devonshire has no nightingales, she has many poets. One of the sweetest of them is Herrick.¹⁶ And to him we may truly say, *την αἰώνιον ἀνθόεναν*. At last Mr. Palgrave has given the world a worthy edition of him, and from which the Muses themselves might read. Further, Mr. Palgrave has prefixed to this dainty edition the daintiest of dedications, quite Catullian in spirit. We read it over and over again with renewed delight. "Hoc non deficit incipitque semper." Besides this charming dedication to the Lady Beatrix Maud Cecil, we have a critical essay on Herrick as a poet for the public. Mr. Palgrave is one of the very few literary critics of the day who is worth reading. This, too, is one of his best essays, in his best style, playful and yet earnest, light and yet incisive. Here is a sound bit of criticism on Herrick's poetry: "'Rural ditties,' and 'oaten flute' cannot bear the competition of the full modern orches-

¹¹ "Phyllis." A Novel. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

¹² "Carita." By Mrs. Oliphant. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

¹³ "The Pilot and his Wife." Translated from the Norwegian of Jonas Lie, by G. L. Tottenham. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons. 1877.

¹⁴ "Severed by a Ring." By Francis Geraldine Southern. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹⁵ "Shamrock and Rose." By E. A. Wolfe. London: Rivingtons. 1877.

¹⁶ "Chrysomela: A Selection from the Lyrical Poems of Robert Herrick." Arranged with Notes by Francis Turner Palgrave. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

tra. Yet this author need not fear. That exquisite and lofty pleasure which it is the first and the last aim of all true art to give, must, by its own nature, be lasting also" (p. xxvii.). And again: "Hence, through whatever changes and fashions poetry may pass, her true lovers he is likely to please now, and please for long. His verse, in the words of a poet greater than himself, is of that quality which adds 'sunlight to daylight,' and which is able 'to make the happy happier'" (p. xxvii.). Lastly, Mr. Palgrave has supplemented the whole with notes upon all the difficult passages and obsolete words. These, we need not say, are written with excellent judgment and taste. "Bents," however, at p. 17, we think, cannot mean 'the sweet gale' (*Myrica gale*), but rather some species of the Bent-grass family, probably *Agrostis vulgaris*. Again, at p. 70, "the gotwit" is not, in our opinion, as Mr. Grosart seems to think, "the pewit or plover" (*Vanellus cristatus*), but the knot (*Tringa Canutus*), which has a historical connection with the table, and is therefore placed with the pheasant, partridge, and the quail, "the choicest viands," as Herrick calls them, of the feast. In conclusion, we will merely say that all lovers of poetry should buy this delightful little volume of "golden apples."

Another volume of "golden apples"—

"Μῆλ' ἄ τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων"—

is Mr. Austin Dobson's "Proverbs in Porcelain." ¹⁷ In his admirable criticism on Herrick's verse, Mr. Palgrave observes that modern poets have invented lyrical poems unknown to the singers of the West, in "forms more intricate and sevenfold." Amongst these modern poets, masters of new measures, Mr. Austin Dobson must hold a very high place. He sings in triolets, and rondels, and rondeaus with the ease that a bird warbles its own woodnotes, and shows us what Pythagoras meant by Μούσας Σειρήνων ἡδίους. Here is a dainty poem addressed to millionaires and critics—

"Too hard it is to sing
In these untuneful times,
When only coin can ring,
And no one cares for rhymes !

"Alas ! for him who climbs
To Aganippe's spring :—
Too hard it is to sing
In these untuneful times !

"His kindred clip his wing ;
His feet the critic limes ;
If Fame her laurel bring,
Old age his forehead rimes :—
Too hard it is to sing
In these untuneful times !"

¹⁷ "Proverbs in Porcelain." By Austin Dobson. London : Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

Here again is a another poem in a still higher strain, "With Pipe and Flute," addressed to E. W. G.—

"With pipe and flute the rustic Pan
Of old made music sweet for man ;
And wonder hushed the warbling bird,
And closer drew the calm-eyed herd,—
The rolling river slower ran.

"Ah ! would,—ah ! would a little span,
Some air of Arcady could fan
This age of ours, too seldom stirred
With pipe and flute !

"But now for gold we plot and plan ;
And from Beersheba unto Dan,
Apolla's self might pass unheard,
Or find the night-jar's note preferred ;—
Not so it fared, when time began
With pipe and flute !"

And now, if the reader wishes to know who E. W. G. is, and further to learn all about triplets, and rondels, and rondeaus, let him turn to "The Cornhill Magazine" for last June. He will there find a delightful article, "A Plea for Certain Exotic Forms of Verse," by E. W. G. After having read it, let him place Mr. Austin Dobson's new volume by the side of E. W. G.'s "With Pipe and Flute," to which we called the attention of all lovers of poetry on its first appearance a few years ago.

Mr. Aubrey De Vere has sent us two volumes of his collected poems.^{18 19} As he promises us a third volume, we will now merely say that we consider his shorter pieces by far the best. Some of his sonnets are really very beautiful, full of nobleness of thought, tenderness of feeling, and often wrought with exquisite art. We are afraid, however, that only a select few will appreciate Mr. De Vere's tranquil refinement and gracious sadness.

We fear that Lord Southesk²⁰ is writing far too fast. It is just a year ago since we noticed his "Greenwood's Farewell," which gave indications of so great promise. We now have a volume of some three hundred octavo pages. It would be mere folly to deny that there are not many very beautiful passages scattered through the book, for Lord Southesk has too much feeling for nature and art to be commonplace. The best pieces, however, are the lyrics at the end of the volume. "Lost in the Forest," "Earth's Best," "Robin in the Wood," and especially "A Summer Fancy," are all good. If

¹⁸ "Antar and Zara, an Eastern Romance ; Inisfal, and other Poems, Meditative and Lyrical." By Aubrey De Vere. London : Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

¹⁹ "The Fall of Ross ; The Search after Proserpine, and other Poems, Meditative and Lyrical." By Aubrey De Vere. London : Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

²⁰ "The Meda Maiden, and other Poems." By the Earl of Southesk, K.T. London : Macmillan & Co. 1877.

"The Meda Maiden" does not show that advance which we had every right to expect, it is simply because Lord Southesk has not given himself time to do justice to his really great poetical powers.

Mr. Douglas-Lithgow²¹ repeats the old story. His verses are published by the request of his friends. He pleads for lenient criticism on the ground that they have been "written at all hours of the night and day, and often under most romantic circumstances." We should have imagined that romantic circumstances would have inspired the poet's brain instead of making it prosy. Further, his poems, Mr. Douglas-Lithgow informs us, have been written in "the intervals of study and active professional life." But what has this to do with the question whether they are poetry or not? If Lord Southesk were to say, "My poems were written in the intervals of my Parliamentary labours and my social duties as a landed proprietor and peer of the realm, so please excuse any little faults," it would not be a whit more absurd than Mr. Douglas-Lithgow's apology. Nobody asks Mr. Douglas-Lithgow, except those friends mentioned in the preface, to write verses, and his verses must be judged like all other persons'. Just now there are a number of literary games, such as the mesotich or spelling sentence, much in vogue, for which prizes are given. We must confess these games are not much to our taste. Yet we think a new literary poetical puzzle might be invented from Mr. Douglas-Lithgow's pages. The method would be to print one of his poems as a piece of prose, and offer a prize to anybody who could turn it back into verse.

Feebleness, with every now and then a touch of eccentricity, is the note of Mr. Thomas's poems.²² Here is a specimen of his descriptive powers—

"The owl strikes up her dismal gush
Of cooing, till across the glen
Some mate responds, and thus the two
Half through the night alternate coo" (p. 9).

The cooing of owls is, we suspect, a fact quite new in the annals of natural history. Here, too, are some lines to a girl—

"Purity! thy priceless pearl is
Grandly set in modesty;
But what makes my heart most whirl is
That thou art so frank and free" (p. 67).

They illustrate, we think, with great happiness the old saying that there is only one step from the sublime to the ridiculous.

Mr. Longfellow²³ has in two volumes given us a collection of poems on places, with a map of England, thus uniting the useful with the

²¹ "Pet Moments." By R. A. Douglas-Lithgow. London: Provost & Co. 1877.

²² "Boyhood Lays." By William Henry Thomas. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

²³ "Poems of Places." Edited by Henry W. Longfellow. "England." London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

poetical. He of course, in his preface, enlarges on the pleasures and advantages of travelling. He does not, however, go very deep even in these matters. But there is another side which he does not see. Emerson has often enlarged upon it with much truth and insight. There are few real travellers in the true sense of the word, for as the proverb has it, "Those who would carry back wealth from the Indies must take out wealth there." Claudian, in his poem "*De Seneca Veronensi*," rightly summed up the whole matter between the average traveller who goes abroad and the true traveller who stays at home—

"Plus habet hic vitæ plus habet ille viæ."

Mr. Longfellow's preface takes, too, no notice of the fact that when we go to look for beauty we are nearly sure to miss it. As Emerson well puts it: "The shows of the day, the dewy morning, the rainbow, mountains, orchards in blossom, stars, moonlight, if too eagerly hunted, become shows merely, and mock us with their unreality." Further, Mr. Longfellow does not give us any criticism upon descriptive poetry—what it really is in its highest form. Generally speaking, descriptive poetry is merely rhymed topography. Singularly enough the finest piece of descriptive writing in the English language—Wordsworth's "*Tintern*"—is omitted. Indeed the omissions are very remarkable. "*Sherwood Forest*" is given, but the Robin Hood ballads, and Keat's ode, and Munday's and Chettle's drama are never mentioned. "*The New Forest*" is given, but nothing from Rose's "*Red King*" or his "*Gundimore*," quoted in Lockhart's "*Life of Scott*." Lastly, we think, if only for the sake of contrast, as well as for its humour, we might have had some quotations from Brathwaite's "*Drunken Barnaby's*" famous journey. Still Mr. Longfellow's book will be handy. It is conveniently arranged as a work of reference.

Mr. Myers²⁴ must not be confounded with the average poet of the day. He possesses not only earnestness, but individuality and originality. What perhaps his verses want are more art. We do not mean polish in the common sense of the term, but that indefinable beauty which is, so to speak, the hall-mark of the highest poetry. It is this which his "*Acta Magnanimorum*" want. We cannot but rejoice when we see a poet selecting such themes as "*The Wreck of the 'Birkenhead,'*" and "*The Death of John Chiddy*." But such subjects as these impose a double burden on the poet. The death of Leonidas and his noble five hundred have by time's magic spell gathered a halo of glory round them, so that their mere names act and react both upon the poet and his readers, but the name of John Chiddy, the common day-labourer, who lost his life by saving some score or two of his fellows, has no such spell about it, although he was in a sense quite as much a hero and a martyr as Leonidas. Again, how much Mr. Myers rises above the narrow prejudices of most poets of the day may be seen by the fact that he inscribes a

²⁴ "*Poems*." By Ernest Myers. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

sonnet to Darwin. Most poets, and we may add very many painters, seem to look upon Mr. Darwin as Antichrist. Mr. Herbert Spencer, in his "Study of Sociology," quotes a letter from an American clergyman to Professor Tyndal, in which the writer says, "Every suicide in our land, and they are of daily occurrence, is indirectly the effect of the bestial doctrines of yourself, Darwin, Spencer, and Huxley" (p. 419). Only a short time ago a highly cultivated English clergyman said to us, evidently with perfect sincerity, that he ascribed all the vice and profligacy of the day to the teachings of Darwin. That Mr. Myers should perceive that Darwin is neither the Antichrist of morality or of art, but, on the contrary, that his doctrines are the strongest aid and support to both, makes his poems worthy the study and consideration of all earnest thinkers. To them we commend his volume.

That volumes of poetry should keep increasing is no great wonder. The number of highly educated men is far greater than it was, say even ten years ago. We see the results in such a volume as Mr. Pyne's.²⁵ His poetry is highly finished, very graceful, but wanting in originality. There is not a single stanza in the minor poems to which we can object, but there is not a single stanza which lingers in our mind after we have read it. Far more originality is shown in Mr. Nicholson's "The Christ-Child,"²⁶ even if it were only in his protest against our senseless method of spelling certain words. His preface is a model of good sense. We think that he has very fairly estimated his own powers. He seems to be quite aware, what the majority of poets are not aware of, that to take any rank as a poet in these days, life must be dedicated to the Muses. Mr. Bennoch²⁷ has evidently received so much pleasure from the composition of his poems that he stands in need of no compliments from his critics. This is as it should be. Poetry should be its own reward. Mr. Bennoch's poems have been the means of attracting to him many of the greatest literary men of the day. This fact, and the pleasure which Mr. Bennoch must have derived from their society, is a far better testimony than all the favourable criticisms of all the newspapers.

Amongst reprints of poetry we have to acknowledge "The Globe Edition of Milton."²⁸ When we say that it is edited by Professor Masson, we shall have said enough to recommend it to every intelligent person. The two last volumes of Messrs. Kings' magnificent edition of Tennyson²⁹ call for a word or two. We are now enabled to fairly

²⁵ "A Dream of the Gironde, and other Poems." By Evelyn Pyne. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1877.

²⁶ "The Christ-Child, and other Poems." By Edward Byron Nicholson, M.A. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

²⁷ "Poems, Lyrics, Songs, and Sonnets." By Francis Bennoch, F.S.A. London: Hardwicke & Bogue. 1877.

²⁸ "The Poetical Works of John Milton." Globe Edition. With Introductions. By David Masson, M.A., LL.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1877.

²⁹ "The Works of Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate." Vols. VI. and VII. London: Henry S. King & Co. 1877.

judge "The Idylls of the King." As we remarked in these pages, it was impossible to criticise it by instalments. It is the relationship of the parts to the whole and the whole to the parts by which we should judge the artistic merit of a work, and the grasp which a poet has of his subject. Into this we cannot, of course, now enter, but we may briefly say that, in certain respects, "The Idylls of the King" appears to us to be the greatest of all modern poems, and that Tennyson by it stands to all contemporary poets as Simonides said of Sophocles, *ἀνθρῶς ἀειδῶν*.

And here, at the end of the volumes of poetry, we may fitly notice Professor Shairp's excellent little volume, "The Poetic Interpretation of Nature."³⁰ It will not make poets, but it will enable those who are not poets to learn what they should love and admire in poetry. As far as we have observed, Professor Shairp puts forward no new theories about poetry, but simply acts as the interpreter both of the poets and of nature. And if any one should object to the volume that it is too desultory, and does not sufficiently notice the new views and the new philosophies that are abroad in the present day, we must remember that the volume is composed of lectures delivered to very young people. We shall look for a deeper and more searching and systematic treatment of some of the subjects when Professor Shairp addresses his new Oxford audience. The first chapter that we turned to was "Will Science put out Poetry?" We are afraid there are many people, both poets and artists, who think so, and imagine that science is going to snuff out poetry as we snuff out a rushlight. The real fact is, that science will make poetry shine brighter and steadier. The aim of both science and poetry is the same—truth. Each discovery that science makes widens the realms of poetry. Of course Professor Shairp treats the subject, as might be expected from him, with a liberal spirit. But he does not insist enough, we think, upon this fact—that it is the discovery by science of absolute law in everything, the certainty that nothing happens by accident, which will deepen the spirit of modern poetry, and increase that reverence and awe which must be at the bottom of all poetry in whatever age it may exist. We have, however, nothing but praise for Professor Shairp's work. The chapters on Shakespeare, and especially on Wordsworth, are excellent.

Our notice of Mr. Long's translation of Epictetus³¹ has been too long delayed. It is most unfortunate, we think, that it should appear in Bohn's Classical Series, a series renowned chiefly for school cribs, as it will thus escape the notice of the general reader. So valuable a book, to use Epictetus's own illustration, should not be hid in the chorus, especially such a chorus. It would be simple impertinence to praise Mr. Long's scholarship. We shall therefore say

³⁰ "On Poetic Interpretation of Nature." By J. C. Shairp, LL.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1877.

³¹ "The Discourses of Epictetus." With the *Encheiridion* and *Fragments*. Translated with Notes, a Life of Epictetus, and a View of his Philosophy. By George Long. London: George Bell & Sons. 1877.

nothing about the merits of his translation besides this, that it is the only one which an English reader should think of buying. Those who have the leisure can compare; Mr. Long's version with Mrs. Carter's or Stanhope's translation of the *Encheiridion*, or M'Cormac's freer rendering of the latter. The great value, however, of Mr. Long's edition, in our opinion, lies in the notes and the introduction to the philosophy of Epictetus. From Mr. Long's summary may be gained a full account of the Stoical doctrines as found in the writings of Epictetus. Here is a remark which we think may come home to a good many of our modern clergy: "I have not discovered any passage in which Epictetus gives any opinion of the mode of God's existence. He distinguishes God the maker and governor of the universe from the universe itself. His belief in the existence of this great power is as strong as any Christian's could be; and very much stronger than the belief of many who call themselves Christians, and who solemnly and who publicly declare, 'I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth'" (p. xxvi.). Further, it will probably astonish other Christians to find in Epictetus such sentences as, "Let your talk of God be renewed every day rather than your food" (Fragment cxviii.); and, "Think of God more frequently than you breathe" (Fragment, cxix.). Mr. Long's notes, too, are excellent. They are like the text which they illustrate—thoroughly practical. At p. 77 will be found a most important note upon the right method of education, and another equally good at p. 124. His criticisms, too, upon Mrs. Carter are also most valuable. We would refer the reader especially to those at pp. 149, 230, 231, 362, 365. Our only regret is that we have not space to give some quotations from them. This is, of course, not the place to speak of the philosophy of Epictetus, or how far the later development of Stoical doctrines coloured and even modified Christianity. Mr. Matthew Arnold in his well-known essay on Marcus Aurelius contrasts Christian and Stoical morality, and we certainly think that his remarks are borne out by the pages of Epictetus. Mr. Long has, in the present edition, done all that he could to make Epictetus accessible to the English reader. He has also given a collection of Fragments of Epictetus, many of which, as he warns us, do not belong to Epictetus, but have been fathered on many great names, as may be seen by a reference to Orellius or Mullach. Further, he has added a most full and valuable index, so that any particular subject may be found at once.

Dr. Ingleby³² is one of the very best of our Shakespearian critics. His exposure of the Perkins forgeries was masterly. His "*Shakespeare Hermeneutics*" has contributed more towards sound Shakespearian criticism than any book which has ever been written. His style, too—and this is a very great matter in essays which are purely critical—is incisive and trenchant. He drives the nail thoroughly

³² "*Shakespeare: The Man and the Book.*" Being a Collection of Occasional Papers on the Bard and his Writings. Part I. By C. M. Ingleby, M.A., LL.D., V.P.R.S.L. London: Trübner & Co. 1877.

home. We have no Shakespearian critic who is so logical. A page of Dr. Ingleby's closely reasoned arguments is worth all the volumes of fine writing with which we are just now so plentifully deluged. We cannot, however, consider the present work quite so interesting as most of Dr. Ingleby's Shakespearian writings, not because Dr. Ingleby falls short of his usual logical precision, but because the subjects are, to our mind, of less importance. For instance, the first essay is upon the right way of spelling the name of Shakespeare. To ourselves this appears such an infinitely small question beside the great ones, What did Shakespeare teach, and what were his views of life, that we do not trouble ourselves about it. In all these matters fashion rules. 'One generation spells the name one way, and the next another, and the next again another. The paper which will have most interest for the general public is that upon the "Portraiture of Shakespeare;" whilst the last but one, "Some Passages Reprieved," will be most to the taste of the purely Shakespearian critic. The latter is in Dr. Ingleby's very best style.

"Wortley and the Wortleys"³³ does great credit to the local firm by which it is produced. The paper, type, and printing are excellent. The lecture, of course, possesses rather a local than a general interest. There are, however, one or two good stories in it. A young Wortley wished to run away with the daughter of a judge. "How could such a marriage be made legal?" he one day asked the father. "Very easily," replied the judge; "let the lady run away with the man." Wortley acted on the suggestion, and confuted the father out of his own mouth.

Below will be found the titles of a number of reprints of novels, many of them considerably above the average, which we have received from Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co.³⁴

³³ "Wortley and the Wortleys: A Lecture Delivered before the Sheffield Literary and Philosophical Society." By the Rev. Alfred Gatty, Vicar of Ecclesfield and Sub-Dean of York. Sheffield: Thomas Rodgers & Sons. 1877.

³⁴ "A Garden of Women," by Sarah Tytler. "Brigadier Frederic," by MM. Eeckman-Chatrian. "Penraddocke," by Hamilton Aidö. "Isoulte," by the Author of "Vera." "Chronicles of Dustypore," by H. S. Cunningham. All published by Messrs. Smith, Elder, & Co., London. 1877.

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